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THE HISTORY
OF
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE

THE HISTORY
OF
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE

Oxford

HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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But more artificial is the description of a Cylindrical dial at right angle to the horizon; such as is to be seen in ^tColossus of Art in Area quadrata CXC. whose varietie of invention is such, that if the Authors name had been concealed, I should

Turnbull's Dial in the Quadrangle

*As it was placed in Hegge's time, together with a specimen of Hegge's writing
From MS 40 in the C. C. C. Library*



The History
OF
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE

WITH
LISTS OF ITS MEMBERS

BY
THOMAS FOWLER, D.D., LL.D., F.S.A.
PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE

Oxford
PRINTED FOR THE OXFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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1893

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УДАДАЛ УБОГАТЪ

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IN PIOUS MEMORY

OF

RICHARD FOXE

THE MUNIFICENT FOUNDER

OF

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE

PREFACE.

THROUGH the kindly and tolerant consideration of the Oxford Historical Society, I am enabled to publish the History of my College in as much detail as I could wish. Soon after my election to the Presidency, I found that the elaborate Statutes of the Founder, and some of the Manuscript Books which were in my custody, possessed a singular interest as illustrative of the domestic life of the Oxford Colleges, as well as of the habits, sentiments, and usages of their inmates, at different periods of academical history. But it was not till I discovered much additional material, some of it lying neglected in different parts of the College, in the shape of account-books, orders, letters, appeals to and decrees of Visitors, &c., that I formed the idea of putting together such information as I could collect from all sources, printed or manuscript, in the form of a continuous history. In executing this task, I have endeavoured to give as faithful a portraiture as has been in my power of the periods through which I have passed, without, at least any conscious, exaggeration or extenuation. As in the case of all other institutions, I presume, which have existed for nearly four centuries, there have been dark as well as bright spots in the history of the College, and it would be to practise a fraud on the reader as well as to defeat the object of a work such as this, were I to attempt to glose over the charges or events which have come to my knowledge. Hence, with the exception of here and there softening a coarse expression, I have reproduced faithfully the language or the substance of the documents which record or suggest these less gratifying incidents of College life.

The social and domestic history of Corpus is probably representative of that of many other Colleges, and it is mainly the wealth of the materials, especially of those collected by the careful antiquary, William Fulman, which has probably induced the Committee of the Historical Society to allow me so much space for producing what I may perhaps call a typical example of College history. Should it resolve to continue, at intervals, the series begun by the Warden of Merton and myself, it will probably not be necessary that the work should be executed on so extensive a scale as in the pioneer volumes.

I may observe that the relation of my article in the volume on 'The Colleges of Oxford,' edited by Mr. Andrew Clark and published by Messrs. Methuen & Co., to the present work is that of a short sketch of the more striking features and events in the life of the College to a detailed and continuous history. The former was written for the general public; the latter is intended for the perusal of those who take a special interest in academical history, or in the social characteristics of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, or, more specifically, in the story of bygone days in their own University or their own College.

I have now only to acknowledge my obligations to the various authorities, whose printed or written works I have laid under contribution, and the personal friends from whom I have obtained information or assistance. These are, in the first place, due to William Fulman (for an account of whom see pp. 196-9 of this work); for, had it not been for the stimulus of his example and the abundance of his collections, so legibly and methodically written out, this book would probably never have been undertaken. Fulman, though undoubtedly he entered into other men's labours, and specially into those of Brian Twyne, himself also a Corpus man, was the most accurate, and perhaps, saving Wood, the most indefatigable of Oxford antiquaries. Wood himself, of course, I have abundantly consulted, but, though it may appear ungrateful in one who has made so much use of his labours, it is necessary to point out that he is by no means always

a safe authority. He is often exceedingly careless in his quotations from or references to other works, he relied too much on his own vague recollections of chance gossip, and he had the inveterate habit of embodying in his own writings, without any or with very scant acknowledgment, long passages from other writers, thus lending the authority of his own name to statements which really depended entirely on the testimony of persons whose names were concealed from the reader. Instances of what I mean are referred to on pp. 101-2, 168, 173, 435 of this work. Hearne's MSS., for the period which they cover, have been carefully examined. There are, of course, many other writers of whose works I have made use, but I hope that, in each case, I have rendered due acknowledgment either in the Text or the Notes. Two, however, of my authorities demand specific mention in this place. One is Mr. Joseph Foster, of whose *Alumni Oxonienses* I have made free use throughout my work, and especially in my annotations on the Lists at the end. This most laborious, extensive, and, considering the space over which it travels, surprisingly full and accurate collection of names will, henceforth, be absolutely indispensable to the student of academic history¹. The other is Mr. Chisholm Batten, whose *Life of Bishop Foxe*, prefixed to his episcopal Register at Wells, passed through the press simultaneously with my article on Foxe in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Though we had exchanged information on certain points, the two lives

¹ I may here notice that, had it not been for the facilities of reference afforded by Mr. Foster's volumes, it would have been necessary for me to enter into much greater detail than I have done with regard to the entries in the Lists. Thus, I have generally omitted the age, the condition, and the parent's residence (which, as distinguished from the birth-place, is what usually occurs in the Matriculation Registers), but all these particulars, with additional information, can easily be obtained from Mr. Foster's works.

It may be convenient here to state that the names of two of the early Fellows, Robert Greenwent and John Fox, of some of the early Chaplains and Clerks, and of several of the early Commoners (the last designated in my list by the letters n.i.), do not occur in Mr. Foster's volumes. This omission is doubtless due to the fact that he had not the opportunity of consulting the College documents in which these names appear. The Choristers, during the early years of the College, do not seem to have been members of the University, and would, therefore, have no right to a place in his lists.

were perfectly independent of one another, and neither had been seen by the author of the other. But, in re-writing my biography of Foxe for the present work, there were several minor details of the Bishop's life, noticed by Mr. Batten, with which I was able to supplement the information which I had myself collected, so that I trust everything of any importance known about our Founder is now contained in my first chapter. In our general views on the character, career, and conduct of Foxe, on his relations with Wolsey, and on all the more material facts of his life, I am glad to find that Mr. Batten and myself are in perfect accord.


Coming to the assistance and information which I have derived from personal friends, I must, first of all, thank the Fellows of my own College for their full permission to publish, according to my own discretion, any extracts, which might appear to me to be serviceable, from the College documents. Without this permission, it is plain that the work could not have been carried out. My thanks, in the second instance, are due to Mr. Falconer Madan, Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library and a member of the Committee of the Oxford Historical Society, who has revised my proofs, patiently answered many tiresome questions, and made numerous suggestions, of the most useful character, during the progress of the work. I must also express my obligations to many other friends and acquaintances, amongst whom are the Rev. Andrew Clark, Fellow of Lincoln, who, besides other services, most kindly placed at my disposal the proofs of his volumes on Wood's Life and Times, as they were struck off at the Press; the Rev. C. W. Boase, Fellow of Exeter, and my cousin, the Rev. J. T. Fowler, Vice-Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham, both of whom, besides other good offices, assisted me, in the earlier stages of my labours, in deciphering old writing; the Rev. W. D. Macray, Fellow of Magdalen, the Rev. R. G. Livingstone, Fellow of Pembroke, Mr. C. H. Firth and Mr. R. L. Poole, both of Balliol, the Warden and Mr. R. B. Gardiner of Wadham College, Mr. T. W. Jackson, Fellow of Worcester, the Rev. A. C. Radcliffe, late Rector of

Stoke Charity, the Rev. E. J. Heriz Smith, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., Mr. George Parker, of the Bodleian Library, and Mr. F. Adams, Reader for the Press at Messrs. Spottiswoode's, who all, in various ways, either by drawing attention to particular books or manuscripts, or by answering questions connected with their own studies, have given me valuable assistance. Nor ought I to omit to express my gratitude to the Bishop of Winchester, who has given me permission to publish, to Mr. Charles Wooldridge, Registrar of the Diocese of Winchester, who afforded me access to, and to my old friend, the Dean, who assisted me to decipher, the curious Manuscript, contained in Bishop Horne's Register, which gives so interesting an account of the Visitation of Corpus in 1566. To Dr. Kitchen I am indebted also for many answers, always cheerfully given, to questions on the memorials of Bishop Foxe at Winchester.

T. FOWLER.

C. C. C.,
Nov. 22, 1892.

It may here be mentioned that the College Registers of Admissions of Fellows and Scholars, from which Hegge's Catalogue, with its continuations, is abridged (though they do not contain the earliest admissions of all), are complete from the admission of John Widall on July 4, 1517, down to our own time, with the exception of a period of ten years during the present century. The names, dates, and other particulars during this period have been recovered by myself. The Registers also contain some, but by no means all, of the admissions of Chaplains, Clerks, Choristers, and Famuli Collegii, down to 1660. Others have been recovered from the Index in vol. xi of the Fulman MSS., the extant Buttery Books (which begin with that for 1648-9), and various other sources, as has also been the case with the names of Exhibitioners, Gentlemen-Commoners, and Commoners. The



names of several members of the College, not known to have been included under any of these classes, have been supplied from the University Matriculation Books, and a few from other sources. See pp. 451-6.

As it is a necessary incident of an undertaking like the present that the knowledge of the writer should be extended, and his views of certain points undergo some modification, in the course of the work, the reader, who takes an interest in any special question of historical or antiquarian research, is requested to consult all the passages bearing upon it which are referred to in the Index. Thus, as it was only as the work progressed that I became convinced that the College, during a considerable period, received a class of students not recognised in the Statutes, and corresponding either with ordinary Commoners, or, more probably, with Battelers, this fact is not distinctly stated till I arrive at the later pages of my Book.

The Index, though it includes a large number of names of persons, does not attempt to give a complete list of all those which occur in the book, but only of those to which some special interest attaches. The Lists of names, in the body of the work, are themselves so short, that it is hoped that any one, in search of a name, and acquainted with the approximate date, will easily be able to discover it for himself; while Mr. Foster's two series of Alumni Oxonienses supply, in alphabetical order, nearly every name (with the exceptions noted on p. ix) which occurs in the College books.

THE HISTORY
OF
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE
BY THE PRESIDENT.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 9, l. 2 from bottom of page ; note to word 'generally'.

Moreover, as my friend Mr. E. Peacock says in a letter to me :
"A man in the high position of Foxe would assuredly only hear the confessions of the great men about court, and there is abundant evidence to prove that they had their own chaplains who acted as their private confessors."

p. 20, l. 11 ; note to words "Perpetual Administrator".

That Wolsey was never actually Bishop of Winchester is plain from 'Letters and Papers of Henry VIII' (Rolls' Publications), Vol. IV, Pt. 3, p. 2389, No. 5429, where, in a letter to Gardiner and others, he "marvels that the bulls are only as *in perpetuam administrationem*, and not *in perpetuum titulum*, as he has those of Durham," and wishes to know the cause ; and again from p. 2390, No. 5432, where the writ for the restoration of the temporalities is made out for Wolsey as "perpetual administrator of that see."

p. 21, l. 9. For 'the historian', *substitute* 'probably the father of the historian'.

p. 26, l. 19. For 'chantrey' *substitute* 'chantry'.

p. 35, l. 3. For 1686 *substitute* 1586.

p. 35, l. 24 ; note to words 'a lawyer':

For further particulars of Pate, see Rudder's Hist. of Gloucestershire, p. 118.

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p. 45, l. 3. For 1504 *substitute* 1506. See correction of p. 79, &c.
p. 67, l. 17; note to words 'St. John the Baptist':

See 'Evidences' in the College Archives, Vol. I, pp. 50-52.

pp. 79-82. By way of explanation and justification of the numerous corrections on these pages, I ought to state that, when they were being written, I relied on the authority of Schepreve, Wood, and Fulman, which was so accordant, and appeared to be so circumstantial, that it did not occur to me (as, perhaps, it ought to have done) to examine, for myself, the Magdalen Registers and Account Books. But, shortly after my book appeared, I was informed by the Rev. W. D. Macray (who has since commenced the publication of a Register of the Members of Magdalen) that the dates of Claymond's birth and of his admission to the Presidency did not correspond with those to be gathered from the documentary evidence at Magdalen.

To begin with the inferred date of his birth. In the Ledger or Register (on a rough fly-leaf at the end of Reg. A. fol. 96^b) there is a list of admissions, headed 'Anno Domini 1484. In Vigilia Sancti Jacobi' (i.e. July 24), and, amongst them, occurs "Claymond xvi annorum in festo Michaelis prox." (Not necessarily the exact birth-day. The age was often reckoned from some great Church Festival occurring about the time of the actual birth-day.) This entry determines the birth-year as 1468. Wood and Fulman must both have been misled by a couplet in Schepreve's Epicedion:

"Viderat hic noster Claymundus lustra bis octo,
Quando suum tristis Parca resolvit opus."

Fulman writes in the margin of his MS. copy of the Epicedion, "ætat. 80," thus converting what appear to be the very "round" numbers of Schepreve into a definite statement. If, as there can hardly be any doubt, the Magdalen entry is correct, Schepreve must either have been ignorant of Claymond's real age, or have indulged himself in an extraordinary stretch of poetical license. Unfortunately, the inscription on the brass in the chapel affords no evidence, and (see Wood's Colleges and Halls, sub C. C. C.) never seems to have done, on Claymond's age at his death or the date of his birth.

Next, as to the date of Claymond's admission or election to the Presidency of Magdalen. Both Wood and Fulman give the year 1504, the date of his predecessor Mayew's promotion to the See of Hereford, but an inspection of the 'Computus' for the financial year 1506-7 makes it plain that Mayew vacated the Presidency at the end of 1506, having held it, up to that time, in conjunction with his

Bishopric, and that Claymond was admitted, or at least began to enjoy the revenues, about the 10th of May, 1507. The entries in the 'Computus' run as follows:

Porcio domini Presidentis.

Sol. d. Episcopo Harford pro porcione Presidentis primo termino vli (the annual stipend of the President being £20).

Sol. d. Presid. (i. e. Claymond) pro porcione sua tercio termino XLVI^s * * quarto termino vli.

It thus appears that the Presidency was vacant about one and a half terms, i. e. quarters. At this time, the expression 'terms' was used, for financial purposes, as the equivalent of 'quarters,' and the 'Computi' began with the Michaelmas Quarter, which counted as the first quarter of the Financial Year.

In consequence of the fresh evidence here adduced, the following corrections should be made in the text of my History:

p. 79, l. 9. For 1483? *substitute* 1484.

l. 10. For 1504 *substitute* 1507.

For 'about 1457' *substitute* 'in 1468'.

l. 11. For 'nine years' *substitute* 'nineteen or twenty years'.

l. 5 from bottom of page to bottom of page. Erase the words from 'In Dr. Bloxam's' to 're-elected.'

p. 80, ll. 2-4. For the words 'if Foxe' to 'school-boy' *substitute* the words 'Foxe may have made Claymond's acquaintance on some visit to Oxford.'

p. 82, l. 24. For 'at the good old age of 80' *substitute* 'in his 70th year'.

Quitting this subject, I revert to other corrections or additions.

p. 81, l. 2. To 'new learning' append the following foot-note:

¹ From a letter of Linacre to Claymond (while the latter was still President of Magdalen), it may be inferred that, though a patron of the Greek learning, Claymond himself was, at least at that time, only acquainted with the elements of the language. This letter is copied twice in the Fulman MSS., sc. in Vol. VII, fol. 37, and Vol. IX, fol. 64, 65.

p. 108, note, 5th line from bottom. For 'conantur' *substitute* 'conatur'.

p. 114, note, 3rd line from bottom. For 'composed of' *substitute* 'containing'.

p. 160, last line. For 'but' *substitute* 'as'.

p. 162, l. 3 from bottom. For 'Then' *substitute* 'There'.

p. 180, l. 30. To word 'Martha' append foot-note :

¹ There is a note on Anyan in Wood's Life and Times (Ed. Clark), Vol. I, p. 154, which I have not thought it necessary to notice in the text. The word 'wencher,' as applied to Dr. Spencer, probably does not mean more than that he had married a wife.

p. 181, l. 10 from bottom. For 151 $\frac{3}{4}$ *substitute* 161 $\frac{3}{4}$.

p. 182, l. 3. Insert comma after 'nos'.

l. 27. For 'was' *substitute* 'had been'.

p. 220, ll. 27, 28. For 'is or was a stone over' *substitute* 'still exists a stone covered with a brass over'.

l. 29. To 'rhyme' append the following foot-note :

¹ The brass is to be found at the foot of a pillar in the Chancel, on which is painted a fresco of St. Blaise.

p. 237, ll. 11, 16. For N *substitute* M.

p. 245, l. 13. For arupict. *substitute* acupict.

l. 34. To the words 'sectam etc.' append the following foot-note :

¹ I have discovered, through the good offices of Sir F. Pollock, that, in the Record Office, there is an unofficial document ('Coram Rege' Roll, No. 1887, rot. 1109), agreeing almost word for word with the above statement, but containing a good deal of additional matter of a technical kind. Unfortunately, the judgment is not entered.

p. 249, l. 4 from bottom. For 3rd *substitute* 4th.

p. 266, l. 7. Erase '? pile or'. The word is 'piece.'

p. 271, l. 29. After 'Hebreæ' *insert* 'Edward Young, author of the "Night Thoughts," subsequently Fellow of All Souls, whose name occurs amongst the Gentlemen Commoners in 1704 (cp. p. 440)';

p. 271, n. 2, last line. After the word 'Fellowship' *insert* 'Theophilus Leigh was grand uncle of Jane Austen, the novelist, who was also second cousin of George Leigh Cooke, noticed subsequently. See an article by Mr. Arthur Sidgwick in the Pelican Record for March, 1895. Theophilus Leigh had a great and apparently just reputation as a wit. See the Memoir of Miss Austen by her nephew, the Rev. J. E. Austen Leigh, Ch. I.'

p. 284, l. 8. After 'which' *insert* 'office'.

p. 298, l. 14. To the word 'Degrees' append foot-note:

¹ Dr. W. Ogle informs me that, in 1849, he read an old school-boy exercise on Livy as a dissertation for his B.A. Degree.

p. 303. To name of George Leigh Cooke, append note:

In the Memoir of Jane Austen by her nephew, the Rev. J. E. Austen Leigh (already referred to in an added note to p. 271; see above), there is an amusing and characteristic letter, dated April 21, 1805, in which Miss Austen speaks kindly and favourably of 'cousin George,' then a young M.A. Giving an account of a somewhat stupid party, she says: "All that bordered on wit or on sense came from cousin George, whom altogether I like very well." For further notices of G. L. Cooke, see pp. 306, 322-3.

p. 318, l. 8. For 10, 1824, *substitute* 24, 1832, and for 'Cambridge' *substitute* 'Cambridgeshire,'

l. 17. For 'Divinity' *substitute* 'Greek'.

p. 381, note 1, l. 20 of note. After the word 'Annals,' *insert* the following sentence:

Some confirmation, however, of the statement is afforded by the fact, noticed in Berthe Vadier's short monograph of Vivès (Geneva, 1892), that, during the residence in Oxford of the Princess Mary, to whom Vivès was preceptor, the King and Queen often came from London to Oxford, to hear him lecture (see p. 36 of the monograph).

The next sentence should commence as a new paragraph: ¶ It is possible &c.

p. 403, l. 24. For 'Stoake <Matric. Book>' *substitute* <Stoake, Matric. Book>.

p. 405, l. 19. Append note to Franc. Randolph:

¹ Principal of St. Alban Hall. Founder of the University ('Randolph') Galleries.

p. 411, l. 9. *Erase* 'Parr.' It has been pointed out to me by Mr. Finch Smith of Lichfield that the insertion of this name in the continuation of Hegge's Catalogue is a mistake, due, doubtless, to the fact that it was borne by Mr. Greswell's father, the Rev. William Parr Greswell. It does not occur in either of the entries made in the Register, nor in the Oxford Calendars, nor in Mr. Foster's transcript of the Matriculation entry.

p. 412. To name of Mr. Perry, on this page and also on p. 317, append 'Archdeacon of Stow'.

p. 414. To name of Mr. Digby, append 'Subsequently Permanent Under Secretary of the Home Office'.

p. 415. To name of Sir Charles Pearson, append 'P.C.'

To name of Dr. Sanday, append 'Subsequently Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church'.

To name of Mr. Hanbury, append 'Financial Secretary to the Treasury; P.C.'

p. 416. To name of Mr. Gibson, append 'Subsequently Coadjutor Bishop of Cape-Town'.

To name of Mr. Wm. Peterson, append 'Subsequently Principal of the University of Mc Gill College, Montreal'.

p. 417. To name of Mr. Cookson, append 'Fellow of Magdalen'.

p. 420. To name of Mr. Robertson, append 'Q.C.'

p. 421. To name of Mr. Arthur Sidgwick, append 'University Reader in Greek'.

p. 431, l. 2. To Jeremiah Smith, append note:

' High Master of Manchester Grammar School.

p. 433. Under 1889, in Mr. Johnston's name insert 'William' after 'Selby'.

p. 438. Under name of Tho. Bond, affix 'to 1596 <1596'.

p. 440. To 'Young' append the following note:

This must have been Edward Young, author of the 'Night Thoughts.' See Johnson's Lives of the Poets. He was previously a Gentleman Commoner of New College, and afterwards Fellow of All Souls.

At end of the entry '1714. Jac. Oglethorpe' &c., add <pp. 275-6>.

p. 443. Under 1802, there should be no gap between 'Henry' and 'Drummond'.

Under 1824, for 'Edwd. Simpson' *substitute* 'Valentine Bennett Simpson', and transfer note 15 to 'Edwd. Simpson' on next page, substituting for 'Cambridge' 'Cambridgeshire'.

Under 1826, for 'Rob. Blagdon Hole' *substitute* 'Rob. Blagden Hale', and append note: M.P. for West Gloucestershire.

p. 444. Under 1832, append to 'Edwd. Simpson' the following note: Assumed name of Hicks. M.P. for Cambridgeshire.

p. 445. In names of Mr. Welby, 1852, *substitute* Earle for Erle.

To name of Mr. Coxhead, 1855, *prefix* †

p. 446. To name of Mr. C. P. Scott, 1865, append 'M.P. for Leigh Division of Lancashire'.

p. 448. In name of Mr. Buckland, 1877, for Hen. *substitute* Harvey.

p. 451. Between the names of Robert Pursglove and Nicholas Wadham *insert* the following entry :

William Hugh, author of 'The Troubled Man's Medicine' and other religious works, is said by A. Wood (Fasti) to have taken his B.A. Degree from Corpus in April, 1539, and his M.A. on June 6, 1543; also (Ath. Ox. ed. Bliss, Vol. I, p. 182) to have died in Corpus in 1549. See also Dict. Nat. Biog. sub nomine.—But cp. the doubtful entry ('perhaps of Corpus') in Reg. Univ. Ox. (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), Vol. I, p. 196. Possibly there has been the common confusion between C. C. C. and Ch. Ch.

p. 453. To name of George Hughes, 1620, append the following note :

One of the first Fellows of Pembroke College; afterwards Vicar of St. Andrew's, Plymouth, and a noted Presbyterian divine. See A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

p. 460. In the list of 'Famuli Præsidis', transpose
Hen. Pilgrime, 1592², and Hen. Keepe, 1592.

Also re-arrange Stevens, Dewhurst, Wood, Cubb, and Bodyn in the following order :

Hen. Cubb
Ed. Stevens
Joh. Dewhurst
Gul. Bodyn
Joh. Wood.

p. 463. Under Acts and Proceedings *insert* the following references : 315-7, 319-26,

Under Bachelor Scholars, for 321-2 *substitute* 322.

p. 466. Under Coleraine, Lord, his death, *substitute* 272 for 302.

Under Cooke, John, *add* :

— his death, 302.

p. 467. Under Dudley, First Earl of, *insert* 305.

Under Early hours &c., for 41 *substitute* 40-1.

p. 482. Under Vivès, Ludovicus, substitute for the references, there given, the following : 58, 71, 87-8, 381.

Under — his bees, *substitute* for the references, there given, the following : 71, 85, 370-1, 381.

FELLOWS ADMITTED SINCE THE PUBLICATION
OF THE HISTORY.

1893. *Dec. 22.* **Robinson Ellis**, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and University Reader in Latin, elected to the Corpus Christi Professorship of Latin, vacated on July 10 by the death of Professor Nettleship. Professor Ellis was admitted Fellow on the same day.

1894. *Oct. 12.* **Leonard Trelawney Hobhouse**, M.A., late Fellow of Merton College, and formerly Scholar of C.C.C. Admitted to an Official Fellowship in virtue of his appointment to an Assistant Tutorship.

HONORARY FELLOWS ADMITTED SINCE THE
PUBLICATION OF THE HISTORY.

1894. *Nov. 3.* **Philip Lutley Sclater**, M.A., F.R.S., Secretary of the Zoological Society. Formerly Fellow.

Frederick William Walker, M.A., High Master of St. Paul's School. Formerly Fellow.

Rev. Edward Lee Hicks, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Manchester. Formerly Fellow.

Robert Seymour Bridges, M.A., B.M. Formerly Commoner.

C. C. C.

Sept. 25, 1895.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

p. 382, note 2, add: ¶. But, in a letter to the *Times* of Dec. 7, 1895, by Miss Mary F. S. Hervey, it seems to be proved that the two figures in Holbein's picture are those of Jean de Dinteville. Seigneur de Polisy, and George de Selve, Bishop of Lavaure. Mr. Sidney Colvin, writing in the *Times* of Dec. 10 following, accepts, without hesitation, Miss Hervey's proofs.

C. C. C.

Mar. 23, 1896.

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HISTORY OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.

CHAPTER I.

RICHARD FOXE, THE FOUNDER; HUGH OLDHAM,
WILLIAM FROST, AND OTHER BENEFACTORS.

THE Founder, Richard Fox or Foxe, as the name is variously spelt, was born at Ropesley, a small village near Grantham in Lincolnshire, in 1447 or 1448. In his examination touching the marriage of Henry VIII and Queen Catherine by Dr. Wolman on April 5 and 6, 1527, he speaks of himself as seventy-nine years old. The house in which he was born (now the Peacock Inn), part of which is still standing, including the room pointed out as the place of his birth, seems to have been known as Pullock's or Bullock's Manor¹. His parents, Thomas and Helena Foxe, probably belonged to the class of respectable yeomen or smaller gentry (classes which in Lincolnshire then as now passed into each other), for, though it became afterwards common to speak of his mean extraction, his earliest biographer, Thomas Greneway (president of Corpus Christi College, 1562-8), describes him as 'honesto apud suos loco natus'².

¹ In order not to over-crowd the early pages of this biography with foot-notes, I have appended a Note on the history of Pullock's Manor, so far as it can now be recovered, at the end of the Life of Foxe. See pp. 27-29.

² 'Thomas Fox,' says Mr. Chisholm Batten (Life of Foxe), 'was a person of position above a yeoman, though perhaps not entitled to wear coat armour.' The usage of the word 'yeoman' probably differs, or differed, in different parts of England. When I was a boy, a person farming a small estate, of his own, worth not more than £300 or £400 a year, would generally, in Lincolnshire, have been called a 'yeoman.' 'Thomas Fox's only sister, Elizabeth Fox,' Mr. Batten proceeds to say, 'married John Bronneswell, and from this marriage many illustrious families

According to Wood¹, he was 'trained up in grammar in Boston, till such time that he might prove capable of the university.' 'He may have been,' says Mr. Batten, 'at a grammar school at Boston, but the Corpus Christi guild there, of which he became a member in 1492 whilst Bishop of Bath and Wells (Harl. MSS., 4795), had no school attached to it, and in the same year other courtiers were admitted to membership.' According to another account (referred to, but without stating the authority, in Ingram's Memorials of Oxford, C.C.C. p. 2), he received his school education at Winchester, but there is no early or documentary evidence of either statement. From Greneway² onwards, his biographers agree that he was a student of Magdalen College, Oxford, though the careful antiquary Fulman (1632-1688) adds 'most probably'³; but the explicit statement of Greneway, writing in 1566, appears to derive striking confirmation from the large number of Magdalen men who were imported by Foxe into his new College of Corpus Christi. From Oxford he is said by Wood to have been driven by the plague to Cambridge, with which

are descended.' And again, 'John Fox described as of Ropesley, and who probably occupied the house where the bishop was born, received from Sir Christopher Barker, Garter (28 Henry VIII, i. e. circa 1536), a grant of arms, in which the pelican is introduced amongst the charges on a chief, but the charges on the field are lions' heads.' In the Wood MSS, in the Bodleian Library, D 11 (1) pp. 93, 4, there is a Pedigree evidently intended to connect Foxe with the Lincolnshire family of Rouse. From 'the collections of Rob. Sanderson DD, Bp. of Lync, which he collected out of certaine charters in the custody of Newton of Haydor Arm, p. 345,' it appears that Nich. Roys of Grantham had a son John Roys, who married a wife Juliana, by whom he had a son John Roys of Grantham (17 Ed. 3), who had a daughter Juliana, married to one Fox (10 H. 4), having issue George Fox of Roppesley (10 H. 4), who married a wife Rosa (10 H. 4). The pedigree is not carried beyond this point.

¹ Hist. and Antiq. of Colleges and Halls, sub C.C.C. The present Grammar School at Boston was endowed by Queen Mary in 1554. But there appears to have been an earlier grammar-school founded, in 1510, by the Guild of the Blessed Mary. See History of the County of Lincoln, published at London and Lincoln by John Saunders, Junr., 1834. Of course, there may have been a grammar-school prior to this, or a school or schools attached to one or more of the religious houses. But of such we have no record.

² There are several copies, with slight variations, of Greneway's Life of Foxe in the Corpus Library. See MS. 280. There is no documentary evidence at Magdalen of Foxe ever having been a student there.

³ Fulman MSS. in the C.C.C. Library, vol. ix. fol. 9 b.

University he was subsequently connected as Chancellor, and, at a still later period, as Master of Pembroke. He did not, however, remain long in either of the English seats of learning. 'Long continuance in those places,' says William Harrison in his *Description of England* (2nd ed., 1586), 'is either a sign of lack of friends or of learning, or of good and upright life, as bishop Foxe sometimes noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarry any longer at Oxford than he had a desire to profit.'

Impelled mainly, perhaps, by the love of learning ('*literarum desiderio incensus*,' according to Greneway), which, owing to the respective political conditions of the two countries, it was then far easier to gratify in France than in England, and partly, perhaps, by the desire of adventure and advancement, Foxe repaired to Paris, at that time a great centre of attraction to the curious and studious from all parts of Europe. Here it was, in all probability, and not at either Oxford or Cambridge (at neither of which Universities is there extant any official record whatever of his admission or graduation), that he took the degree of Bachelor, and subsequently of Doctor of the Decrees or Canon Law.

'During his abode at Paris' (I am here following Fulman¹), 'it happened that Henry, Earl of Richmond, the remaining Head of the House of Lancaster, having, by the encouragement and endeavours of his friends in England, entertained some hopes of regaining the crown into his family, came with the French King, Charles the Eighth, to Paris, soliciting his assistance in his enterprise upon the English crown. Here many English, both of such as daily fled out of their country and such as were then students in that University, addressed themselves to the Earl. Amongst which was Richard Foxe, then a priest and Doctor of the Canon Law, whom the Earl finding to be a man of good abilities and aptitude for the managing of public business, took him into special favour and familiarity, and presently employed him in matters of no mean concernment. For the Earl's affairs were then in such a state as required not only diligence but speed, lest any delay should

¹ MSS. in C C C. Library, vol. ix. fol. 9 b.

discourage those that attended him in France or expected him in England, so that he was forced to leave Paris, where things went on but slowly, by reason of the many rulers in the King's minority, and depart to Rouen, to hasten the preparations for his voyage: whereupon he made choice of Doctor Foxe to stay behind and pursue his negotiations in the French Court, which he performed with such dexterity and success as gave great satisfaction to the Earl.'

The first definite notice we have of Foxe, in any original document, is in a letter of Richard III, dated 22 Jan. 1484-5 (preserved in Stow's *London and Westminster*, sub *Stepney*¹), in which the king intervenes to prevent his institution to the vicarage of Stepney, on the ground that he is with the 'great rebel, Henry ap Tuddor.' The king's nominee, however, was never instituted, and Foxe (who is described in the Bishop's register as L.B.) had, in fact, without the king's knowledge, been already instituted by proxy, on Oct. 30, 1484.

A story is told of Foxe², which, though probably perverted or exaggerated by transmission, is eminently characteristic of the ambition of the young ecclesiastics of the time: 'A very old woman there (i.e. at Ropesley) told us that she had heard it when she was young, that Richard Foxe went away very meanelly from his parents into France when he was young, and, after some time spent there, returned to his parents againe in very good sort; and, when they would have had him stay with them, he refused, saying he must over sea again, and, if one thing hit out aright, all Ropesley should not serve him for his Kitchen.' Mr. Chisholm Batten³ thinks that this story may be referred to the spring or summer of 1484, when Foxe may have come over from France to Eng-

¹ I was originally, in writing my article on Foxe in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, indebted to a personal communication from Mr. Chisholm Batten for my knowledge of these facts. His work, subsequently published, has enabled me to correct the date and to state more accurately the circumstances mentioned in the next sentence.

² The original story (which I have given in the text) is told in Twine's *Collectanea*, C. C. C. MSS., No. 280, f. 194 b. It is copied by Fulman, almost exactly, in the *Fulman MSS.*, vol. 9. fol. 26 a, and by Wood, *Colleges and Halls*, pp. 352, 3, with some variations.

³ *Life of Fox*, p. 6.

land, previously to being presented to the vicarage of Stepney, and that the 'one thing' may have been the renewed invasion of England by Richmond.

Mr. Batten also supposes that Foxe acted as Secretary to Richmond from January, 1485, while they were still in France. He was by Richmond's side when they landed at Milford Haven, and while the Earl, beginning the Psalm, 'Judica me Deus et decerne causam meam,' kissed the ground and signed himself with the Cross. And, after the great victory of Bosworth Field (22 Aug. 1485), he was the chief of the ecclesiastics who lifted up their voices in prayer. Soon after this victory, the Earl (now Henry VII) constituted a council in which were included the two friends and fellow-fugitives, Morton, bishop of Ely, and Richard Foxe, 'vigilant men and secret,' says Bacon, 'and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else.' On Foxe were conferred in rapid succession, besides various minor posts, the offices of principal secretary of state (in which, however, he may, perhaps, be said to have been continued rather than appointed), lord privy seal, and bishop of Exeter. The temporalities of the see of Exeter were restored on March 25, 1487, and the consecration took place in Norwich Cathedral on April 8, following, Morton, Courtenay, and James officiating¹. As Lord Privy Seal, he could, of course, spare little time for diocesan work, and he at once appointed a vicar general and a suffragan bishop, evidently reserving himself for affairs of state. 'In conferring orders,' says Fulman, 'and such like episcopal administrations, he made use of Thomas [Cornish, afterwards provost of Oriel and precentor of Wells], titular bishop of Tine, as his suffragan; himself, for the most part, as it seems, being detained by his public employments about the court.' On 28 Nov. of this same year was signed at Edinburgh a treaty² between Henry VII and James III, which had been negotiated, on the part of England, by Foxe and Sir Richard Edgcombe, controller of the king's household. This treaty provided for a truce and also for certain intermarriages, in-

¹ Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum*.

² My authority for this, as for any subsequent treaties mentioned, is Rymer's *Fœdera*.

cluding that of the king of Scots to Queen Elizabeth, widow of Edward IV, but the negotiations were afterwards broken off, in consequence, it is said, of Henry's unwillingness to cede Berwick. In the summer of 1491 Foxe was honoured by being asked to baptise the king's second son, Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII¹. Shortly afterwards (by papal bull dated 8 Feb. 1491-2) he was translated to the see of Bath and Wells, the episcopal work being, as at Exeter, delegated to the titular bishop of Tine (i.e. Tenos, a sinecure bishopric in the Ægean Archipelago), who already combined the duties of suffragan of this diocese with those of the diocese of Exeter². In the treaty of Estaples (3 Nov. 1492), which terminated the siege of Boulogne and the war recently commenced with Charles VIII of France, Foxe is mentioned first of the English ambassadors, Giles, Lord Daubeney, being second, and others following.

In 1494 (the temporalities were restored on 8 Dec.) Foxe was translated to Durham, probably not merely for the sake of advancement, but because his diplomatic talents were likely to be useful to the king on the Scottish border. In this diocese he seems to have been resident, and he left a permanent memorial of himself in the alterations which he made in the buttery of the castle. It may be noticed that the woodwork in these alterations, which bears the date of 1499, already exhibits Foxe's device of the pelican in her piety, with his usual motto, 'Est Deo gracia.' In April 1496 Foxe acted as first commissioner in settling the important treaty called 'Intercursus Magnus' (see Bacon, 'Henry VII') with Philip, archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy, regulating divers matters concerning commerce, fishing, and the treatment of rebels, as between England and Flanders. In the summer of

¹ In Foxe's examination before Wolman he is reported as having distinctly stated that he baptised (baptizavit) Prince Henry. This statement is fully confirmed by a document in the College of Arms, of which a copy may be found in the Ashmolean MSS. vol. mcv. fol. 92. The statement of Harpsfield (Hist. Angl. Eccl.) and others that Foxe was godfather is founded, probably, on a perverted tradition of the baptism.

² Mr. Batten says that Foxe did not appoint Bishop Cornish to act definitely for him as Suffragan, as he had done at Exeter, but that he received a special commission from Dr. Nykke, the Vicar General, on each occasion.

1497, during the troubles connected with Perkin Warbeck, who was now a fugitive and under the protection of James IV of Scotland, that king invaded England, and besieged the castle of Norham. 'But,' says Bacon, 'Foxe, bishop of Duresme, a wise man, and one that could see through the present to the future, doubting as much before, had caused his castle of Norham to be strongly fortified, and furnished with all kind of munition, and had manned it likewise with a very great number of tall soldiers more than for the proportion of the castle, reckoning rather upon a sharp assault than a long siege. And for the country, likewise, he had caused the people to withdraw their cattle and goods into fast places, that were not of easy approach; and sent in post to the Earl of Surrey (who was not far off in Yorkshire) to come in diligence to the succour. So as the Scottish king both failed of doing good upon the castle, and his men had but a catching harvest of their spoils. And when he understood that the Earl of Surrey was coming on with great forces, he returned back into Scotland.' This fruitless siege was followed by certain negotiations with the king of Scots carried on by Foxe with the assistance of D'Ayala, the Spanish envoy of Ferdinand and Isabella, who had been interested by Henry in his affairs. The result was that, though James refused to surrender Perkin Warbeck to the king of England, he contrived to facilitate his withdrawal to Ireland, and in December 1497 a long truce was concluded between the two kingdoms. In the following year (probably in November 1498) the peace thus established was in great danger of being again broken through the rough treatment which some Scottish stragglers had received at the hands of the English soldiery quartered at Norham Castle. James was highly indignant at this outrage, but Foxe being appointed by Henry to mediate, and obtaining an interview with the Scottish king at Melrose Abbey, skilfully brought about a reconciliation. The Scottish king appears to have taken advantage of the occasion to propose, or rather revive (for as early as 1495 a commission to treat in this matter had been issued to Foxe and others), a project for a closer connexion

between the two kingdoms by means of his own marriage with the Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. The offer was readily, if not greedily, accepted by Henry, though, on Foxe's advice, he determined to move in the matter slowly. It was not till 11 Sept. 1499 that the second, and more effective, commission was issued to Foxe, as sole commissioner, empowering him to arrange the preliminaries of this marriage with the Scottish court. The marriage itself, which resulted in the permanent union of the English and Scottish crowns under James VI, did not take place till the 8th of August 1503. Another marriage, almost equally important in its consequences, that between Prince Arthur, the king's eldest son, and Catherine of Arragon, subsequently the divorced wife of Henry VIII, had been solemnised on 14 Nov. 1501. 'The manner of her receiving,' says Bacon, 'the manner of her entry into London, and the celebrity of her marriage, were performed with great and true magnificence, in regard of cost, show, and order. The chief man that took the care was Bp. Foxe, who was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works¹, and a good master of ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the active part belonging to the service of court or state of a great king.'

Shortly before this event Foxe had been translated from Durham to Winchester, the temporalities of which see were restored to him on 17 Oct. 1501. It is probable that, besides his desire to reward Foxe still further (for Winchester at that time was not only the highest in dignity of all the bishoprics, but is said to have been the richest see in England), the king was anxious to have him nearer the court, especially as the differences with Scotland might now seem to have been permanently settled. In 1500 Foxe also held the dignity of chancellor of the university of Cambridge, then an annual office.

One of the first cares of Bp. Foxe, after his appointment to Winchester, was probably the construction of the present roof

¹ It appears that Foxe was skilled in engineering not only from the above account of his defence of Norham Castle, but also from a letter of his dated April 30, 1522 (preserved in Ellis' Letters, 2nd Series, vol. ii), in which he speaks of having improved the haven of Calais by the construction of sluices.

of the choir in the Cathedral. Mr. Chisholm Batten and the present Dean (Dr. Kitchin) are of opinion that the internal roof was completed and decorated by Foxe before the end of 1502, as, among the coats of arms which are to be found on the bosses, are those of Arthur, Prince of Wales, and Catherine of Arragon, and these, they think, would hardly have been inserted, had not the roof been in substance completed before Prince Arthur's untimely death. The flying buttresses, which support the choir roof, and have Foxe's pelican carved on them, are referred by Mr. Batten to the same period.

It is probably to 1504 that we may refer the story told of Foxe by Erasmus (*Ecclesiastes*, bk. ii. ed. Klein, ch. 150; cp. *Holinshed, Chronicles*), and communicated to him, as he says, by Sir Thomas More. Foxe had been appointed chief commissioner for the purpose of raising a loan from the clergy. Some came in splendid apparel and pleaded that their expenses left them nothing to spare; others came meanly clad, as evidence of their poverty. The bishop retorted on the first class that their dress showed their ability to pay; on the second that, if they dressed so meanly, they must be hoarding money, and therefore have something to spare for the king's service. A similar story is told of Morton, as having occurred at an earlier date, by Bacon (*Hist. Henry VII*), and the dilemma is usually known as Morton's fork or Morton's crutch. It is possible that it may be true of both prelates, but the authority ascribing it to Foxe appears to be the earlier of the two. It is curious that Bacon speaks only of 'a tradition' of Morton's dilemma, whereas Erasmus professes to have heard the story of Foxe directly from Sir Thomas More, while still a young man, and, therefore, a junior contemporary of Foxe.

The imputation cast on Morton and Foxe by Tyndale (*The Practice of Prelates*, Parker Soc. ed. p. 305), that they revealed to Henry VII 'the confessions of as many lords as his grace lusted,' is one which it is now impossible to examine, but it may be due merely to the ill-natured gossip of the enemies of these prelates or of the catholic clergy generally. It is equally impossible, with the materials at our disposal, to estimate the

justice of the aspersion put in the mouth of Whitford, Foxe's chaplain, while attempting to dissuade Sir Thomas More from following the bishop's counsel (Roper, *Life of More*, ad init.), that 'my lord, to serve the king's turn, will not stick to agree to his own father's death.'

In the year 1504¹, Abp. Warham and Bp. Foxe were named by the Pope, Julius II, as commissioners to continue an enquiry into the claims of Henry VI to canonization. This enquiry had been begun many years before, and seems to have lingered on indefinitely, or, as Bacon puts it, 'died under the reference.' 'The general opinion was that Pope Julius was too dear, and that the king would not come to his rates.' But the more probable account of the matter, Bacon thinks, is that the Pope, jealous of the reputation of his see, 'was afraid it would but diminish the estimation of that kind of honour, if there were not a distance kept between innocents and saints².'

Notwithstanding his immersion in public business (the Dean of Wells, who had business with him, on behalf of the Wells Chapter, in 1506, says: 'ye wolde wonder what causes he hath to do and therefore we must abide his leisure'³), he found time to maintain the discipline of his diocese. According to extracts made by Mr. Batten⁴ from Bp. Foxe's Register at Winchester, he issued directions from Esher on July 6, 1505, to his archdeacons to visit personally all the churches in their respective archdeaconries and to insist upon the residence of all the parochial clergy; and he had not long before issued an inhibition that no excommunicated person was to be allowed to receive the Eucharist.

This, perhaps, is the best place in which to speak of Foxe's relations to Colleges in Oxford other than that of his own foundation. While Bishop of Exeter, he obtained a license in mortmain for a benefaction not exceeding £100 a year,

¹ See Mr. Batten's *Life of Foxe*, pp. 70, 71.

² Bacon's *Life of Henry VII*, Ellis and Spedding's Edition of Bacon's Works, vol. vi, pp. 233, 4.

³ Mr. Batten's *Life of Foxe*, p. 73.

⁴ *Life*, p. 75.

to the President and Fellows of Magdalen, in return for which prayers were to be said for him daily, at mass, during his lifetime, and, after his death, a requiem mass and a yearly obit¹. This benefaction affords confirmatory evidence of Foxe's previous connexion with the College, though it may have been simply due to his friendship with Claymond and other Fellows. In 1506, being now, as Bishop of Winchester, Visitor of the College, he held, through his commissary, an important Visitation, which led to the removal of the President, Richard Mayew, Bishop of Hereford, on the ground of the incompatibility of his other employments with the duties of the Presidency, as well as to other changes, for which see Dr. Ingram's *Memorials of Oxford*, ch. on C. C. C. pp. 5, 6, and Mr. H. A. Wilson's *Article on Magdalen College in The Colleges of Oxford*, p. 240. In the same year, letters were issued by Pope Julius the Second to Foxe and Layborn or Leybourne, Bishop of Carlisle, commissioning them, or either of them, to draw up an amended form of statutes for Balliol College, which had suffered much from misgovernment largely due, as was asserted, to conflicting jurisdictions and conflicting codes of statutes. Layborn, who was Foxe's immediate predecessor as Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, had fallen ill, and, consequently, the work fell solely to Bishop Foxe, who accomplished it so well that his statutes remained in full vigour till they were replaced by the ordinances of 1855². The language of these statutes has the literary ring of Foxe's Statutes, ten years later, for his own College, and thus forms a contrast with that of the more distinctively mediæval codes. In the Statute *De Visitatore* (p. 21), the Master and Fellows are enjoined to elect a Visitor, possessing certain ecclesiastical, pecuniary and academical qualifications, and it is probable that Bp. Foxe was himself the first Visitor elected under this Statute. Any way, Foxe was Visitor of Balliol in 1511, as, on

¹ See *Old Statutes of Oxford Colleges*, vol. ii. pp. 104-5. There are also two Decrees of Bp. Foxe printed in the Appendix to the *Magdalen Statutes*, pp. 108-9, 110-11 respectively.

² For some account of these statutes, see Mr. R. L. Poole's admirable article on Balliol College in *The Colleges of Oxford*, pp. 29-33. They are published at length in the *Old College Statutes*, vol. i. pp. 1-22.

October 18 in that year, the Fellows petition him to confirm the election of Thomas Cisson, whom they had elected Master. A like petition was presented, some years afterwards, in the case of Richard Stubbys, who was confirmed as Master on April 24, 1518¹.

Of Foxe's connexion with St. John's, Pembroke, and King's Colleges, Cambridge, I shall speak subsequently.

The year before the king's death (1508) Foxe with other commissioners succeeded in completing at Calais a treaty of marriage between the king's younger daughter, the Princess Mary, and Charles, prince of Castile and archduke of Austria, subsequently the Emperor Charles V. Though the marriage itself never took place, the child-prince was betrothed, by proxy, to the child-princess at Richmond on 17 Dec. of this year (see Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiii. 236-9), and the immediate objects of the alliance were thus secured.

On 22 April 1509 Henry VII died. Foxe was one of his executors, Fisher, bishop of Rochester, whose preferment had been given to him solely on Foxe's recommendation², being another. It is said by Harpsfield that Henry had specially commended his son to Foxe's care, and it is certain that he was continued in all the places of trust which he had occupied in the previous reign. According to Archbishop Parker (*De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*), Warham and Foxe, the two first named on the new king's council, took different sides on the first question of importance which was discussed within it. Warham was averse to, while Foxe advised the marriage with Catherine, who had remained in England ever since the death of her first husband, Prince Arthur. The marriage was solemnised almost immediately afterwards by the Archbishop himself, and the new king and queen were crowned together at Westminster a few weeks afterwards. It is insinuated by

¹ The deeds of confirmation in the Balliol Archives are numbered respectively D. 3. 3. and D. 3. 5. This information I have obtained through the kindness of Mr. R. L. Poole. Ingram (*Memorials of Oxford, C. C. C.*, p. 8) speaks of three Masters admitted by Foxe between 1511 and 1525, but Mr. Poole informs me that William Whyte, who became Master in 1525, was admitted by John Alyn, acting under the legatine commission of Cardinal Wolsey.

² See Fisher's dedication of his work on the Eucharist against *Œcolampadius*.

Parker that Foxe's advice was dictated solely by reasons of state, Warham's by religious scruples. Foxe had been present, and presided, on 27 June 1505, when Henry, instigated, or at least not opposed, by his father (see Ranke, *History of England*, bk. ii. ch. 2), had solemnly protested, on the ground of his youth, against the validity of the engagement with Catherine; but this conduct does not necessarily prove inconsistency, as the object of Henry and his father may have been merely to keep the question open, and subsequent events may have persuaded Foxe of the desirability of the marriage, while he probably never doubted its legitimacy.

The king's coronation was speedily followed by the death of his grandmother, the 'Lady Margaret,' as she is usually called, countess of Richmond and Derby. This pious lady named Foxe, in whom she appears to have reposed great confidence, together with Fisher and others, as one of her executors. He was thus concerned in what was probably the congenial employment of settling the incomplete foundation of St. John's College, Cambridge (that of Christ's had been completed before the Lady Margaret's death), though the principal merit of this work must be assigned to Fisher. In 1507 Foxe had been elected master of Pembroke College or Hall, in the same University, and continued to hold the office till 1519. Richard Parker (Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. v.), writing in 1622, describes him as a former fellow of Pembroke, and Doctor of Law of Paris. Like some of his predecessors and successors in the same office, Foxe (who was, of course, non-resident) seems to have been elected to the Mastership, rather for the purpose of acting in the capacity of patron and defender of the rights of the College, than of administering its affairs¹.

According to Polydore Vergil, the chief authority in Henry's council soon fell into the hands of Foxe and Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey. And according to the same writer (in whom,

¹ The Rev. E. Herz Smith, Fellow of Pembroke College, has kindly copied for me the document in which the Fellows of the time petition Foxe to accept the appointment. They have unanimously elected him, and protest that they know not to whom else to turn. If he will consent, he will oblige sixteen priests, and their successors, to pray for him daily.

however, as Lord Herbert of Cherbury remarks, 'I have observed not a little malignity'), mutual jealousies and differences soon sprung up between these two powerful counsellors. One cause at least assigned for these differences seems highly probable, namely, the propensity of Surrey to squander the wealth which, under the previous reign, Foxe and his master had so diligently collected and so carefully husbanded.

The influence of Foxe at Court at this time comes out emphatically in a despatch of Badoer, the Venetian ambassador, dated May 24, 1510 (Calendar of State Papers, Venetian), in which he says that the Bishop of Winchester is 'alter rex.' The Spanish ambassador, writing five days afterwards (May 29, Calendar of State Papers, Spanish), says: 'All business affairs are in the hands of the Bp. of Durham (Ruthall) and the Bp. of Winchester.' He then proceeds to state how he endeavoured to gain the good-will of these two prelates by stratagem, and how he promoted his objects by dangling cardinals' hats in their eyes. It appears, however, even from his own account, that the English bishops shewed their independence by replying to his overtures that 'the English did not solicit favours; if they did so, they would, they thought, be oftener made cardinals.' It may here be noticed that the Venetian despatches shew throughout and fully recognise the favourable disposition of Foxe towards the Republic. Indeed, Giustinian (July 17, 1516) ascribes his withdrawal from office to the succour given by the King to the Emperor against France and Venice. But, though this may have been one cause, I cannot doubt that the others, mentioned below, largely co-operated.

The altercation between Warham and Foxe (1510-13) as to the prerogatives of the Archbishop of Canterbury with regard to the probate of wills and the administration of the estates of intestates, is narrated at length by Archbishop Parker in the work above cited, and is confirmed by documentary evidence. Foxe, supported by Bishops Fitzjames, Smith, and Oldham, appealed to Rome, but, as the cause was unduly spun out in the papal court, they finally procured its reference to the king, who decided the points mainly in their

favour. It was with reference to this dispute that Foxe, in reply to a remark of the Archbishop, is said to have used the expression that, if Canterbury had the higher rack, Winchester had the deeper manger.

In 1510 Foxe was employed, in common with Ruthall, bishop of Durham, and the Earl of Surrey, to conclude a treaty of peace with Louis XII of France. But this peace was not destined to last long, and the war with France, which broke out in 1513, brought another and a younger counsellor to the front. 'Wolsey's vast influence with the king,' says J. S. Brewer (Reign of Henry VIII) 'dates from this event. Though holding no higher rank than that of almoner, it is clear that the management of the war, in all its multifarious details, has fallen into his hands. . . . Well may Fox say, "I pray God send us with speed, and soon deliver you out of your outrageous charge and labour, else ye shall have a cold stomach, little sleep, pale visage, and a thin belly, *cum pariegestionibus*.'" This letter (No. 4103 in Letters and Papers of Henry VIII) was written by Foxe on May 21, 1513, while he was busy equipping and provisioning the fleet at Portsmouth and Southampton. A little later in the year, Wolsey, Foxe, and Ruthall all attended the army which invaded France, the former with two hundred, the two latter with one hundred men each; but it does not follow that these ecclesiastics were present at any engagement. On 7 Aug. 1514, a treaty of peace and also a treaty of marriage between Louis XII and the Princess Mary were concluded at London, Foxe being one of the commissioners. At this time J. S. Brewer regards him as still powerful in the council, though his influence was inferior to that of Wolsey who now stood first, of Surrey (now Duke of Norfolk), and of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Warham appears to have fallen almost altogether out of consideration, a position which he may have owed to his rudeness and moroseness, while Foxe's continued influence may have been partly due to the gentleness and sweetness of his disposition. 'He was,' says Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, 'a lord of extreme authority and goodness.' But advancing years, combined probably with weariness of political

life, with a certain disinclination to the foreign policy, favourable to the empire and antagonistic to France, which now prevailed, and, there can be no doubt from his extant letters, with genuine compunction for the prolonged neglect of his spiritual duties, made him anxious to retire from affairs of state. At the beginning of 1516 he resigned the custody of the privy seal, which was committed to Ruthall, and henceforth he seldom appeared at the council.

The traditional story of Wolsey's ingratitude to Foxe, of the growing alienation between them, and of Foxe being ultimately driven from the council board through the intrigues of Wolsey, 'owes its parentage,' as Brewer says, 'to the spite of Polydore Vergil, whom Wolsey had committed to prison. The historian would have us believe that Wolsey paved the way for his own advancement by supplanting Fox, and driving him from the council . . . The insinuation is at variance with the correspondence of the two ministers¹. We see in their letters not only the cordial friendship which existed between them, but also the rooted disinclination of Fox to a life of diplomacy. It is only with the strongest arguments that Wolsey can prevail on him to give his attendance at the court and occupy his seat at the council table. He was always anxious to get away. He felt it inconsistent with his duties as a bishop to be immersed in politics, and he laments it to Wolsey in terms the sincerity of which cannot be mistaken . . . It must also be remembered that Fox belonged to the old order of things, when monastic seclusion to men of his devout turn seemed the only life that deserved the name of religious. Great was the fascination exercised by Henry VII, and still more by Henry VIII, over the minds of such men; but times of compunction came when the total alienation of thought and action from their duties as spiritual men became an intolerable burthen. So far from driving Fox from the court, it is the utmost that Wolsey can do to bring him there, and when he

¹ If, however, Giustinian's account, (Despatch of Aug. 6, 1517) of the conversation between his son and Foxe be accurate, the Bishop had said, about this time, that 'Wolsey was not Cardinal, but King, and that no one in the realm durst attempt anything prejudicial to his interests.' He (Foxe) had resigned the administration of the See of Bath to him.

succeeds it is evidently more out of compassion for Wolsey's incredible labours than his own inclination¹. In a letter to Wolsey, dated 23 April 1516 (Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII, ii. pt. i. 515), Foxe protests that he never had greater will to serve the king's father than the king himself, especially since Wolsey's great charge, 'perceiving better, straighter, and speedier ways of justice, and more diligence and labour for the king's right, duties, and profits to be in you than ever I see in times past in any other, and that I myself had more ease in attendance upon you in the said matters than ever I had before.' Had he not good impediment and the king's license to be occupied in his cure, to make satisfaction for twenty-eight years' negligence, he would be very blameable and unkind not to accept the invitation to court, considering Wolsey's goodness to him in times past. He considers that Wolsey has as much labour of body, and business of mind, as ever any man had, and with less help. 'And I require you, and heartily pray you, lay apart all such business from six of the clock in the evening forward; which, if ye will use it, shall after your intolerable labours greatly refresh you.' In a letter to Wolsey, written at a later date, 30 April 1522, Foxe speaks with still greater compunction of his former neglect of his spiritual duties, and with a still more fixed determination to take no further part in the affairs of state, to which Wolsey was endeavouring to recall his attention: 'Truly, my singular good lord, since the king's grace licensed me to remain in my church and thereabouts upon my cure, wherein I have been almost by the space of thirty years so negligent, that of four several cathedral churches that I have successively had, there be two, scilicet, "Excestre and Wellys," that I never see; and "innumerable sawles whereof I never see the bodyes;" and specially since by his licence I left the

¹ That Foxe was not driven from the court, but receded spontaneously, comes out incidentally in Fisher's dedication to him of his work on the Real Presence against *Ecclampadius*. Speaking of Foxe's influence with Henry VII, he adds, '*Quemadmodum et te, quantum per valetudinem aulam frequentare licuit, usus est et illustrissimus atque florentissimus rex Henricus octavus*' Harpsfield (Hist. Angl. Eccl. p. 644) speaks of 'obrepens senectus' as the cause of Foxe's renunciation of political affairs.

keeping of his privy seal, and most specially since my last departing from your good lordship and the council, I have determined, and, betwixt God and me, utterly renounced the meddling with worldly matters; specially concerning the war [with France] or anything to it appertaining (whereof for the many intolerable enormities that I have seen ensue by the said war in time past, I have no little remorse in my conscience), thinking that if I did continual penance for it all the days of my life, though I shall live twenty years longer than I may do, I could not yet make sufficient recompence therefor.' The tone of this letter, though the bishop's determination is firm, is throughout most friendly to Wolsey. Foxe's aversion to the French war had, it is plain from the passage quoted, as well as from subsequent parts of the letter, something to do with his disinclination to quit his pastoral charge, even for ever so brief a period, for the secular business of the court. In fact, of the two parties into which the council and the country were divided, the French and the German party, Foxe, as appears plainly in the despatches of Giustinian, favoured the former. This inclination to a French alliance, or at least to friendly relations with France, had come out strongly in a letter written to Wolsey, Oct. 30, 1518, on the occasion of the conclusion of the marriage contract between the Dauphin and the Princess Mary, daughter of the King and Queen Catherine (subsequently Queen Mary): 'It was the best deed,' he says, 'that ever was done for England, and next to the King the praise of it is due to you.' In the same letter, it may be noticed, he thanks Wolsey for licence of non-attendance on the court, 'wherein your Grace did no less for me than if you had delivered me of an inevitable danger of my life.'

The closing years of Foxe's life were spent in the quiet discharge of his episcopal duties, in devotional exercises, and the acts of liberality and munificence through which his memory now mainly survives¹. He was not, however, with-

¹ Harpsfield (*Hist. Eccl. Angl.* p. 644), after saying that advancing age warned him to forsake politics and apply himself more diligently to the affairs of his diocese, proceeds: '*Wintoniam itaque venit et longa absentiae suae damna accurata quadam exquisitaque omnis Episcopalis muneris diligentia famelicas animas*

out trouble in his diocese. Writing to Wolsey 2 Jan. 1520-1, he expresses satisfaction at Wolsey's proposed reformation of the clergy, the day of which he had desired to see, as Simeon desired to see the Messiah. As for himself, though, within his own small jurisdiction, he had given nearly all his study to this work for nearly three years, yet, whenever he had to correct and punish, he found the clergy, and particularly (what he did not at first suspect) the monks, so depraved, so licentious and corrupt, that he despaired of any proper reformation till the work was undertaken on a more general scale, and with a stronger arm. Once more we hear of him in a public capacity in 1523. The enormous subsidy of that year was energetically opposed in convocation, according to Polydore Vergil, by Foxe and Fisher, though of course without success. The charge on Foxe himself amounted to £2,000, on the Archbishop of Canterbury to £1,000, on Wolsey to £4,000. The largeness of the revenues of the great sees at this time is strikingly illustrated by the fact that Foxe's newly founded college of Corpus was rated only at £133 6s. 8d., and the two richest colleges in Oxford, Magdalen and New Colleges, only at £333 6s. 8d. each.

The story that shortly before his death Wolsey proposed to Foxe that he should retire from his bishopric on a pension, and that Foxe tartly replied that, though he could no longer distinguish white from black, yet he could well discern the malice of an ungrateful man, and bade him attend closer to the king's business, leaving Winchester to the care of her bishop, rests solely on the authority of Archbishop Parker. It is inconsistent with what we know otherwise of Foxe's relations with Wolsey, and has an apocryphal flavour.

Foxe, who appears to have been totally blind for several years before his death¹, died on Oct. 5, 1528, probably at his

sacris, per se et suos, concionibus, et tenuiores homines alimentis caeterisque rebus vitae necessariis destitutos cibis, vestitu, pecuniis fovens resarcivit.' After his blindness came on, 'omni jam quasi impedimento abrupto, totus die noctuque orationibus et sacris meditationibus affligitur.'

¹ Mr Batten thinks that Foxe became blind in 1521. The misfortune can hardly have befallen him till this year, as he conferred Orders on Dec. 22, 1520. In June, 1523, the Venetian Ambassador speaks of his blindness. Harpsfield dates it from ten years before his death, but he may be speaking merely roughly.

castle of Wolvesey in Winchester. According to a document found in his coffin, from which this date is taken, he was buried on the very same day¹, the place of sepulture being the splendid Gothic chapel in Winchester Cathedral, which he had previously constructed. The ecclesiastical historian, Harpsfield, says that, being then a boy at Winchester School, he was present at the funeral. This devout and gentle prelate passed away at an opportune moment, when the troubles connected with the divorce were only in their initial stage. He was succeeded by Wolsey, who held the see of Winchester in the capacity of Perpetual Administrator, a tenure which was destined to have but a short duration.

Foxe's Will (the original of which, and at least two copies, one in the Evidences, vol. i. p. 126, &c., the other in the Fulman MSS., vol. x, fol. 135, &c., are in the possession of the College) is dated Feb. 15, 1527, two days after he subscribed the additions to the College Statutes. It has been remarked as curious that he makes no mention of the College in it, but he had already executed two documents, one in 1517, the other in 1521, by which he attempted to secure the President and Fellows in the enjoyment of all lands and other possessions then in the hands of Feoffees (Evidences, vol. i. p. 279, &c.). All the moveable goods which he designed for the use of his society he had probably already given, so that, in fact, there remained no occasion for any further bequests or directions. The Will is largely occupied with precautions against suits for dilapidations, though he states his firm belief that he has left all the possessions of the see in sufficient repair and good condition. He attempts to conciliate his successor by handsome legacies to be made over to him in consideration of a full release from all claims on his estate, and it is noteworthy that, if Wolsey be his successor, these legacies are to be more ample than in the case of any one else. He also bequeaths presents to Henry Courtnay, Marquis of Exeter, William, Lord Sands, and Sir William Pullett, Kt., '*praedilecto mihi.*'

¹ One of the provisions of his will was that, if he died either at his Palace of Wolvesey or at the Hospital of St. Cross before noon, he should be buried that afternoon in his chantry in the Cathedral.

Among the executors are Sir William Paullett and John Claymond. The residue of his property, not already disposed of in this Will or elsewhere, he directs to be sold and the proceeds divided amongst the poorer tenants on his estates in the County of Hants or the Bailiwick of Downton, Wilts. At the close of the document, there is a touching mention of his blindness, which prevented him from himself reading the Will. Amongst the witnesses is Nicholas Harpsfield, the historian, his Commissary. It was executed at Marwell, his Manor-house near Winchester. The directions about his burial have been noticed above.

The most permanent memorial of Foxe is his college of Corpus Christi at Oxford, the foundation and settlement of which attracted great attention at the time (1515-16). It had been his original intention to establish a house in Oxford, after the fashion of Durham and Canterbury Colleges, for the reception of young monks of St. Swithin's monastery at Winchester while pursuing academical studies; but he was persuaded by Bishop Oldham of Exeter¹ (himself a great benefactor to the college) to change his foundation into the more common form of one for the secular clergy. 'What, my lord,' Oldham is represented as saying by John Hooker, *alias* Vowell, in Holinshed, 'shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of bussing² monks, whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see; no, no, it is more meet a great deal that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as who by their learning shall do good in the church and commonwealth.' The college (which it may be noted was founded out of the private revenues of Foxe and his friends, and not, as was the case with some other

¹ Bp. Fisher had given similar advice to the 'Lady Margaret,' mother of Henry VII, the foundress of St. John's and Christ's Colleges at Cambridge, and of the Divinity Professorships which bear her name at both Universities. See Hallstead's Margaret Richmond, p. 226, as quoted in Stanley's Memorials of Westminster Abbey.

² This word may either have the meaning of 'kissing,' from the amatory propensities of the monks, or may be only another way of writing 'buzzing,' = mumbling, muttering, from the way in which they talked or performed the services.

foundations, out of ecclesiastical spoils)¹ still possesses the crosier, the gold chalice and paten, the rings, and many other relics of its founder. In addition to this notable foundation Foxe also built and endowed schools at Taunton and Grantham² (the school of Sir Isaac Newton), besides making extensive additions and alterations in Winchester Cathedral, Farnham Castle, and the Hospital of St. Cross. His alterations in Durham Castle and his fortifications at Norham have been already noticed. At Winchester, besides the choir of the Cathedral already mentioned, the great screen, the side screens, the east window, and other works, he also executed, or had executed, the exquisite Renaissance work at St. Cross, in which the pelican is a prominent feature. He was a benefactor also to the abbeys of Glastonbury and Netley, to the Guild and Chapel of the Holy Ghost at Basingstoke, to the Church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, to Magdalen College, Oxford, and Pembroke College, Cambridge, and seems to have contributed largely to what we should now call the 'restoration' of St. Mary's Church, Oxford, as well as to the reduction of the floods in Oxford in the year of pestilence, 1517 (Wood, *Annals*, sub ann.)³. Notwithstanding these numerous benefactions, his household appointments seem to have been on a magnificent scale. Harpsfield tells us that he had no less than 220 serving-men⁴.

In 1499 a little book, entitled *Contemplacyon of Synners*, was printed by Wynken de Worde, 'compyled and fynyshed at the devoute and dylygent request of the ryght reverende

¹ See Harpsfield, *Hist. Angl. Eccl.* p. 644, confirmed by what we know of Bp. Foxe's purchases.

² Grantham was only endowed three days before Foxe's death. Though Harpsfield says of Taunton, '*ludi-magistro de idoneo annuatim stipendio prospexit*,' Mr. Batten says no trace of any endowment can now be found.

³ It is pleasant to think that, amongst all these works of munificence, and amidst all his grandeur, Foxe had not forgotten his native village of Ropsley. The present Rector, the Rev. G. S. Outram, informs me that 'it is supposed Foxe left his mark on the beautiful church, as the elaborate south aisle windows and the fine south porch are of the date when he was in the zenith of his glory.'

⁴ This I take to be the meaning of Harpsfield's expression '*Numerosam et amplissimam familiam ducentorum videlicet et viginti hominum aluit*,' though Mr. Batten thinks it might refer merely to the Episcopal open table.

fader in God the lorde Rychard byson of Durham' &c. It is possible that Foxe himself may have had a hand in this work. He also edited the *Processional* according to the use of Sarum which was printed at Rouen in 1528. At a later period he translated the Rule of St. Benedict for the benefit of the 'devout religious women' of his diocese 'unto our moders tongue, comme playne rude English easy and redy to be understande by the sayde devoute religiousse women.' The book was beautifully printed by Pynson on 22 Jan. 1516-17. From a letter to Wolsey, written on 18 Jan. 1527-28, it would appear that Foxe had at a subsequent time much trouble with some of his nuns.

That Foxe, though not himself the author of any considerable work, was thoroughly in sympathy with the learned men of his time and a patron and favourer of the 'new learning' of the Renaissance is abundantly evident, not only from the liberal and enlightened Statutes which he gave to his College, and the distinguished scholars he introduced into it, but also from the testimony of his contemporaries. Thus, Thomas Linacre, the famous humanist and physician, presented to him, as to Wolsey and other magnates, a copy of his translation of Galen, *De Sanitate tuenda*, printed by Rubeus at Paris in 1517. In the MS. dedication to Foxe of this copy, which is now in the possession of the College of Physicians, after a highly flattering though somewhat elaborate compliment on the foundation of his new College, he proceeds: 'Mitto igitur ad te hoc codice sex Galeni de tuenda Sanitate libros, quos proxime ut potui Latinos feci. Optaremque lectione tua dignos, nisi id omnino vota superaret. Nunc agi mecum praeclare putabo, si a Doctorum, quos in contubernio tecum habes, lectiones (<*sic*. ? lectione) non abhorrebunt,' shewing that Foxe's house was a well-known resort of learned men¹.

In the same year (1517), Sir Thomas More, writing to

¹ See the Life of Thomas Linacre, by J. N. Johnson, M.D., edited by R. Graves, London, 1835, where the dedication of this presentation copy to Foxe is printed in an Appendix, pp. 316-7. I am indebted to Mr. Chisholm Batten's Life for my knowledge of this work, as well as of the letter of More to Erasmus, to which I next refer.

Erasmus on the 15th of December¹, speaks of the enthusiastic admiration accorded by Bishop Foxe to his edition of the New Testament in Greek and Latin (the first edition which had appeared in Greek, it must be recollected), published in the preceding year. 'Wintoniensis Episcopus, vir ut scis prudentissimus, in celeberrimo coetu magnatum, quum de te ac tuis Lucubrationibus incidisset sermo, testatus est, omnibus approbantibus, versionem tuam Novi Testamenti vice esse sibi commentariorum decem, tantum afferre lucis.' Considering the ignorant clamour² which was raised against this book, this expression of opinion was to the credit of Foxe's courage as well as candour. There are several other letters to or from Erasmus, which leave no doubt of Foxe's general good will towards him. Thus, Ammonius writing to Erasmus Nov. 8, 1511, says: 'Tuas literas Domino Wintoniensi et Dunelmensi (Ruthall) in manum reddidi; ambo vultu sane quam hilari exceperere, ambo raras dotes tuas mirifice laudarent. Wintoniensis te accusare videtur, quod exterum secum agas, nec unquam ad se accedat.' But the two prelates were so much engaged that, after reading Erasmus' letters, they put the matter off to a more convenient season (the letters, no doubt, soliciting material assistance in some form or other)³. Ten days afterwards (Nov. 18), Ammonius writes again: 'Episcopus Dunelmensis operam et studium suum tibi pollicetur. Wintoniensis minus publica locutus est, sed

¹ This letter is No. 221 in the Appendix to Erasmus' Letters in Le Clerc's Edition (vol. iii. pt. 2).

² See Knight's Life of Erasmus, p. 137. There was one College in Cambridge which had forbidden the book to be brought within its walls, 'qui gravi senatus-consulto caverunt, ne quis id volumen equis aut navibus aut plaustris aut bajulis intra ejus collegii pomoeria invehret.' Erasmus Ep. 148, ed. Le Clerc.

³ In the collection of Erasmus' correspondence there are two short letters of Erasmus to Foxe, invoking his assistance against the violent attacks of Edward Lee, Dean of Colchester. They are numbered in Le Clerc's edition as 423 and 506. From the former of these it would appear that Erasmus had at some time appealed in vain for material help, whether in the form of money or preferment we do not know. 'Erasmus olim ambo tuum favorem, non successit. nunc non orat ut sibi favas, sed ut Leo tuo.' Foxe probably, like many other episcopal dispensers of patronage before and since, found it difficult to follow inclinations which might embroil him with his clergy. In this letter Erasmus notes Foxe's characteristic caution: 'Novi prudentiam tuam, quæ non facile pronunciet, præsertim in malam partem.'

magis amica : putabat sacerdotium te habere : respondi, spem quidem sacerdotii tibi datam, sed sacerdotium nondum datum : ille subridens interrogavit, num illa spes alere te posset ? Subrisi vicissim : atqui, inquam, auri et temporis dispendio hanc spem Erasmus emit : tunc ille jussit me hac de re secum alias commodius loqui, quod mihi hactenus non est visum. Sed gavisus vehementer sum Wintoniensem tam de te amanter sermonem habere¹.

In this connexion I may speak of the dedication by Bishop Fisher (who, like Foxe, was a patron of the new learning, and had shewn special kindness to Erasmus during his stay at Cambridge) of his treatise *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguis Christi in Eucharistia adversus Johannem Œcolampadium* in 1527. In his dedication of this work to Bishop Foxe, he says there are two reasons why the book should be dedicated to him : first and chiefly, 'Quum libuit, ob devotionem animi quam peculiariter ad Eucharistiae sacramentum habes et habuisti semper, insignire Collegium ipsum titulo nominis ejusdem' (of the College he had just spoken as 'satis magnificentum' and well furnished with teachers in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and in whatever ministers to the true study of Theology); secondly, his personal obligations, not only on account of the Bishop's encouragement to study and integrity of life, but for his good offices in obtaining for him the Bishopric of Rochester from Henry VII, to which and not to those of the Lady Margaret, as usually supposed, he says he was really indebted.

It is not only highly probable that Foxe, as one of Henry the Seventh's executors and specially skilled in architecture, took a principal part in the completion of King's College Chapel, according to the intentions and bequest of that monarch, but there is positive evidence that the glazing of the windows was executed in accordance with his direct orders. In Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. i. pp. 498-9, there is a memorandum of a

¹ These two letters are numbered respectively 127 and 128 in Le Clerc's edition.

payment of £100 to one Barnard Flower, the King's glazier, on Nov. 30, 1515, in which it is stated that the money is paid 'In way of prest towards the glaising of the great Church there in such forme and condition as my Lord of Winchester shal devise and commande to be doon.' These words will, perhaps, hardly bear the meaning that Bishop Foxe was himself to design the windows, after the manner of an artist, but they mean probably either that Flower's designs should be submitted to him or, as suggested in Willis and Clark's work, that the windows were to be executed, under Foxe's supervision, according to designs already approved by Henry VII. Flower died in 1525 or 6, but his successors were bound to carry out exactly his undertakings, so that the windows, in their present condition, probably represent the designs as finally passed by Bishop Foxe¹.

Foxe is also said to have been concerned in the building of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, the architecture of which, though on a much larger scale, resembles that of his own chantry in Winchester Cathedral².

There are seven portraits of Foxe at Corpus Christi College, the principal of which is the one in the hall by 'Joannes Corvus, Flandrus,' which represents him as blind, and was

¹ It may here be remarked that, not only is there some confusion in Mr. Batten's account of the relation of Bishop Foxe to these windows, but the statement in a foot-note on p. 107 as to the Fellows of King's having requested Henry VIII to appoint Dr. Foxe to the Provostship is founded on a misinterpretation of a letter which appears in MS. 280, fol. 197 b in the Corpus Library. This letter which is dated 14 Cal. Oct. (Nov. 2), without a year, and addressed to Henry VIII, accepts Henry's nomination of Dr. Foxe to the Provostship (which was not a Crown appointment, but depended on the election of the Fellows), informs him that Dr. Foxe had been unanimously elected, and delicately insinuates a hope that the rights of the College, now constantly violated, will in future be maintained. But the Dr. Foxe here mentioned is evidently not Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, but Edward Foxe, elected Provost in 1528.

² I cannot now recover my authority for this statement. But, though Sir Reginald Bray was the architect, it is very probable that Foxe was consulted. Speed (*History of Great Britain*, ed. of 1623, p. 763), speaking of Henry VII, says: 'Of his building also was Richmond Palace and that most beautiful place, the Chappell at Westminster, the one the place of his death, and the other of his buriall: which

~~the building~~ he and Bishop Foxe first (as is re-
-ought with them into England.

therefore probably painted after 1520¹. Three of these portraits are independent of the Corvus portrait (the others being copies), and apparently independent of them all are one at Lambeth Palace, painted probably while he was still Lord Privy Seal, as the letters C. P. S. occur after his name, and one, taken in 1522, at Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire. Among the engraved portraits are one by Vertue, 1723, and one by Faber, *circa* 1713; the former of the picture by Corvus, the latter of a picture, also in the possession of the College, representing the bishop while still having his sight, but clearly only adapted from the Corvus portrait. This picture is in the Library, and bears the date 1604².

NOTE ON THE FOUNDER'S BIRTH-PLACE AT ROPESLEY.

IN the college Evidences, vol. 13 (D. 1), p. 281, &c., it appears that John Claymond, Clerk, bought of Edward Foxe, Gent., the 'manner of Bullockes' and all other lands, &c. belonging to him in the pashes of Ropesley, Much Humby, Little Humby, and Saperton in the county of Lincoln. The date of this Indenture is Jan. 31, 1534. On p. 291, there is copied the Will of John Claymond concerning these lands, to the effect that they shall revert to Edward Fox, provided he repay the £200 purchase money to the President and Scholars of C. C. C. for their use. The date of this document is May 12, 1536. On p. 303, there is a deed of sale (dated Aug. 13, 1549) by Robert Morwent to Reginald Williams, Esq. of Burfeld (elsewhere Burghefeld, i. e. Burghfield), Berks, of these same lands for £200. Lastly, on p. 309, there is a Letter of Attorney, dated Oct. 9, 1567, executed by William Morwent, Gent., nephew and heir of Robert Morwent, empowering Humphrey Morris of the county of Oxon, Yeoman, to enter upon and take possession of these lands, and, generally, to act in his behalf with respect to them.

¹ Corvus (Jan Rave), fl. 1512-44, seems also, while in England, to have painted Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VII, Princess (afterwards Queen) Mary, and Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk. See Dict. Nat. Hog. sub Corvus.

² There is a note on the Corpus portraits of Foxe by Mr. Scharf in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix, pp. 47-49.

From this power of Attorney, it would appear that neither Edward Fox nor Reginald Williams had completed the purchase, and that the lands were still in possession of the Morwent family, either in their own right or for the use of the College.

The next notice of Pullock's Manor is contained in Brian Twyne's *Collectanea* (MS. 280 in College Library, f. 194 b), and probably belongs to the early part of the seventeenth century: 'In Ropesley parish 4 miles from Grantham there is an old house called by ye name of Pullock's manner: part of it which remayneth is inhabited nowe by one Elizabeth Linge an old widdowe, who lodgeth in an old roome called ye parler, where she and ye antient of ye parish doe all say our Founder Rich: Foxe was borne. There belongeth antiently to that mannerhouse 26[℥] lande by ye yeare' (estimated by Mr. Batten at more than £300 a year of our present money), 'which whether it were once belonginge to ye Foxes we could not learne; but it was sometime in ye handes of Richard Kellham, father to Ralfe Kelham, who was father to Edmund Kellham, by whom it is nowe come to ye hands of one Mr. Rich: Hickson who hath built a newe house uppon it, and ye old house where our Founder was borne he hath sold to one Thomas Raskell of ye same towne. There is a little grove by ye house where they told us that our Founder purposed to erect a feyn schoole' (afterwards erected at Grantham). Then follows the story of Foxe's visit to Ropesley, already given.

After this time we lose sight of Pullock's Manor, till, in 1705, we find a letter¹, addressed to Dr. Turner, then President, dated March 31, from which it appears that the house at that time belonged to Lady Brownlow. There were attached to it 2 Cow Commons and 10 Sheep Commons, valued at 7s. the year, the house and homestead (containing 20 perches), of which a plan is annexed, being valued at 5s. a year, i.e. the total rental was 12s. The writer, John Threaves, apparently an Agent, represents that one Mr. Thompson, a person of considerable estate in Ropesley, 'will engage to remove all difficulties' in the purchase, and will 'serve the College both with his person and purse.' It is difficult to suppose that the College did not close with this offer, but, if it did then purchase the house, garden, and common-rights, it must afterwards have parted with them. For in Dr. Randolph's time (see *Annals* under the year 1756),

¹ The letter and plan are inserted between fols. 25 and 26 of vol. 9 of the Fulman MSS.

we find that the house then belonged to Lord William Manners, and that his permission was asked for the insertion of a stone in the external wall, commemorative of the Founder's birth. At present this house (now the Peacock Inn), with about 37 acres of land, is the property of the College. From correspondence still extant, it is plain that it had already for some time belonged to the College, when application was made to Parliament for the enclosure of Ropesley in 1794.

HUGH OLDHAM.

Though the College owes its existence and far the larger part of its revenues to the munificence of Bishop Foxe, yet two of his friends, Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, and his steward, William Frost, were no inconsiderable benefactors. Of the former we have already heard in connexion with the judicious advice which he gave to Bishop Foxe regarding the character of his foundation. Hugh Oldham was undoubtedly a Lancashire man, as is expressly stated in the *Corpus Statutes*, where one Fellowship and one Scholarship are appropriated to that county in his honour. Various statements have been made respecting the place of his birth, but Mr. Cooper (whose account in the *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, together with that of Mr. Whatton in his *History of Manchester School*, A. Wood in the *Athenae Oxonienses*, and Godwin in his *Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, I shall mainly follow) thinks the most probable is Crumpsall in the parish of Manchester. The learned antiquary, Roger Dodsworth, however, maintains that his birth-place was Oldham. William Oldham, Abbot of St. Werburgh, Chester, and Bishop of Man, is said to have been his brother. He was educated in the household of Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, of whom Margaret of Richmond was the third wife, together with James Stanley, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and William Smith, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, founder of Brasenose and a great benefactor of Lincoln College, Oxford. With William Smith, it is said, he maintained a life-long friendship¹.

¹ See Whatton's *History of Manchester School*, p. 5. Mr. Whatton also states that Oldham was executor to Sir Reginald Bray, K.G., and the supervisor of the will of Thomas, second Earl of Derby.

Oldham went first to Oxford, but subsequently moved to Queen's College, Cambridge. He was chaplain to the 'Lady Margaret,' Countess of Richmond and Derby (with whom, perhaps, he first became acquainted while in the household of Thomas Stanley), and was the recipient of a vast amount of preferment, amongst which may be enumerated, though the list is by no means exhaustive, the Rectory of St. Mildred, Bread Street, the Deanery of Wimborne Minster, the Archdeaconry of Exeter, the Rectories of Swineshead, Lincolnshire, Ches-hunt, Hertfordshire, and Overton, Hampshire, the Master-ships of the Hospitals of St. John, Lichfield, and St. Leonard, Bedford, the Prebends of Newington in the Church of St. Paul, of Leighton Buzzard in the Church of Lincoln, of South Cave in the Church of York, &c. That, even before his elevation to the Episcopate, he was an ecclesiastic of much consideration, appears from the fact that on January 24, 1503 (see Holinshed's Chronicles), he was selected, together with the Abbot Islip, Sir Reginald Bray the Architect, and others, to lay the first stone of Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. Ultimately, by a Bull of Provision, Nov. 27, 1504, he was promoted to the Bishopric of Exeter. Oldham, as we have seen, had joined Foxe and other bishops in their dispute with Warham (1510-13) as to the prerogatives of the Archbishop of Canterbury with regard to the probate of wills and the administration of the estates of intestates. The story about the 'bussing' or 'buzzing' monks, and the handsome contribution made by Oldham towards Foxe's new College on the revised plan suggested by himself, show the intimate and confidential terms on which the two prelates lived. For Oldham, whom the Founder himself styles 'hujus nostri Collegii praecipuus benefactor,' besides other gifts, contributed to the building and endowment of the College what was then the large sum of 6,000 marks¹. In return for these temporal

¹ The following words, in the handwriting of Claymond, are prefixed to the *Charta Foundationis*: 'Non mirentur hujus Collegii Posterī, quod Dominus Fundator Reverendum in Christo Patrem ac Dominum Hugonem Oldam praecipuum appellat Benefactorem; donavit enim praeter caetera in pecunia ad hujus Collegii aedificationem et sustentationem senas millenas marcas.'—JO. CLAYMONDUS, primus Praesidens.

gifts, a daily mass was to be said in the Chapel for Oldham, at the altar of the Holy Trinity: during his lifetime, 'pro bono et felici statu'; after his death, for his soul and those of his parents and benefactors. The Bishop died several years before his friend, June 25, 1519, being at that time, it is said, under excommunication on account of a dispute concerning jurisdiction in which he was involved with the Abbot of Tavistock. He is buried in a chapel erected by himself in Exeter Cathedral, where there is a monument bearing a striking, though somewhat coarsely executed, recumbent figure, recently restored by the College. Bishop Foxe was one of the Executors of his Will, and he desired that, in case he died out of his diocese, he should be buried at Corpus.

Francis Godwin, in his Catalogue of the Bishops of England, says of Oldham: 'A man of more devotion than learning, somewhat rough in speech, but in deed and action friendly. He was careful in the saving and defending of his liberties, for which continual suits were between him and the Abbot of Tavistock . . . Albeit he were not very well learned, yet a great favourer and a furtherer of learning he was.' Godwin says that he could not be buried till an absolution was procured from Rome. Possibly Oldham's ill opinion of the monks may have been connected with the 'continual suits between him and the Abbot of Tavistock.'

Oldham is now chiefly known as the Founder of the Manchester Grammar School, an institution which, especially during the last half century, has conferred on the youth of that populous city educational benefits of the extent of which the good Bishop cannot have formed the most remote conception. The various conveyances of the property which forms the endowment of the School are dated respectively Aug. 20, 1515, Oct. 11, 1515, and April 1, 1525, but the Statutes, which are a Schedule to the Indenture of Feoffment, bear the last date. In these Statutes, it is provided that Hugh Bexwik, Clerk, and Joan Bexwik, widow, shall, during their lives or that of the longer liver, nominate the High Master and the Usher, and, after their deaths, the patronage shall be vested in the President of C. C. C., Oxford. The President was deprived or

relieved of this right by the new scheme drawn up by the Charity Commissioners in 1877, according to which he simply occupies the position of an *ex officio* Governor.

In the Hall of Corpus there is a very fine portrait, evidently contemporary, of Bishop Oldham, which, though ascribed, in the first edition of the Catalogue of the Tudor Exhibition (1890), to Joannes Corvus (Jan Rave), is of unknown workmanship. The error arose through a confusion of the portraits of Foxe and Oldham. There is a good engraving of the portrait in Corpus Hall by W. Holl. There is also another engraving, but whether it was taken from the same original or not is difficult to say, sketched and published by S. Harding. No original is named on the print.

WILLIAM FROST.

The other benefactor, contemporary with the Founder, was William Frost of Yavington or Avington, his Steward. The office of Steward to a Bishop, especially to a sort of Prince Bishop, like the Bishop of Winchester, was, at this time, often a place of great importance and dignity. Thus, another Steward of Foxe, William Paulet, whose good fortunes were due to Foxe's recommendation of him to Henry VIII, became, in Edward VI's time, Lord Treasurer of England and first Marquis of Winchester, and was founder of an illustrious family in the English Peerage. William Frost had married Juliana Hampton, one of the family of Hamptons of 'Old Stoke' (now called Stoke Charity), upon which marriage Thomas Hampton settled upon them the Manor of Tunstall in Staffordshire (see Shaw's Staffordshire). Juliana died childless in 13 H. VIII, and William in 21 H. VIII (July, 1529)¹. William Frost served the office of High Sheriff for the county of Hants in 1521², and his name occurs in May, 1517, together with the names of Bishop

¹ I am indebted for this information to the Rev. A. C. Radcliffe, Rector of Stoke Charity, in whose church there are brasses to the memory of Thomas and Isabella Hampton, the parents of Juliana, the wife of William Frost. Juliana was one of six co-heiresses of Thomas Hampton.

² Letters and papers of Henry VIII, vol. iii. pt. 1, No. 1042.

Foxe, Sir Thomas More, William Paulet, and others, on a Commission for enquiry into the arable land in Hampshire, which had been converted into pasture since the Act 4 Henry VII, contrary to the Statute of that date¹. When Bishop Foxe himself was accused of having made enclosures of arable land contrary to the Statute, he replied, in a letter to Wolsey already quoted, that 'he has caused enquiries to be made by his Stewards and others, and they have certified that the Inquisitions found against the enclosures were untrue.' His Steward, William Frost, he adds, 'is a sad, substantial and faithful man, well learned in the law².' According to Frost's directions in his Will³, he was to be buried near his wife, Juliana, 'in Monasterio Domus et Ecclesie Sancti Edvardi de Lettle,' that is, in Netley Abbey, and he left many legacies to religious houses to pray for his soul. The considerable Manor of Mapledewell in Hampshire had been settled contingently, after his own and his wife Juliana's⁴ death, on Corpus Christi College, on condition that a Scholar and Fellow of his kindred should be on the Foundation. But the Scholar was only to be elected, if he satisfied the requirements demanded of the other Scholars⁵. In return, the Founder provided that, after the death of William Frost and Juliana his wife, there should be a daily mass celebrated for the repose of their souls at the altar of the Holy Trinity, which was to be called 'Frost's Altar⁶.' The 'Frost's Kin' Fellowship and Scholarship were subsequently a frequent source of difficulty in the College, as it was not always easy to determine the claims to descent. These were all, I believe, traced through Alice Frost, William Frost's sister, who had married Robert Unwin of Horton, Wilts. It may be noticed that the initials W. F. and the arms of Frost occur in the cornice of the side screens in Winchester Cathedral, shewing

¹ Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, vol. ii. pt. 2, No. 3297.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pt. 2, No. 4540.

³ See Fulman MSS., vol. ix fol 54 a.

⁴ Frost seems to have had another wife, 'Martina Frost,' who survived him. Fulman MSS., vol. ix, fol 54 a.

⁵ C. C. C. Statutes, ch. 14.

⁶ C. C. C. Statutes, ch. 18.

that Frost contributed to this work. The date of the screens is 1525¹.

OTHER BENEFACTORS.

The material needs of the College were adequately provided for by Foxe and his friends, nor does it, like so many of its sister foundations, trace its present revenues mainly, or even largely, to the munificence of subsequent benefactors. It would be ungrateful, however, to pass over in silence those members of the College who, by gifts of land or money or books, have shewn their affection for the place of their education or abode. The more conspicuous of these will be noticed under their several dates, or in the Chapter on the Site and Buildings of the College, but it may be convenient here to give a chronological list of what may be called the principal benefactors of the College subsequent to its first foundation. They are:—

(1) John Claymond, the First President (d. 1537), who gave divers lands in Iffley, Headington, Cowley, Littlemore, Sandford and Marston, besides books to the Library and other presents.

(2) Robert Morwent, the Second President (d. 1558), who gave lands in Cowley, Horsepath, and Dunteshourne Rouse, together with the advowsons of Dunteshourne and Lower Heyford. It is doubtful whether the lands in Rewley Meads², devised by Morwent, were purchased with his own money, or that of Claymond entrusted to him for the purposes of the College. An account of the plate bequeathed by him is given under his Presidency.

(3) Richard Pate of Minsterworth in the county of Gloucester, Esq., who had been admitted Scholar in 1532, but

¹ Mr. Chisholm Batten's *Life of Bishop Foxe*, p. 116.

² In Morwent's Will (dated Aug. 20, 1552), touching Rewley Meads and his other lands devised to the College, he imposes the condition that 'they and there successours shall distribute or cause to be distributed weekly for ever XXVIII^d housold bread to poor people that have much need.' 'If it shoulde fortune the sayd Colledge to bee suppressed, which thinge God forbid,' then he leaves Rewley Meads to his cousin Thomas Morwent, on condition that he distribute XII^d weekly in like manner. See *Evidences*, vol. i p. 368.

never became Fellow. In founding his Grammar School and Hospital at Cheltenham, he, by an Indenture dated Oct. 6, 1686 (a copy of which exists in the College Lease Book, No. 3, fol. 156, &c.), covenants with the College that, in return for undertaking the charge of his property and administering the benefaction, they shall receive one-fourth part of the gross revenue, 'according to the statutes of the said Colledge in this case most providently provided.' (See C. C. C. Statutes, ch. 45.)¹ This property, which was situated in Cheltenham, 'The Leigh,' and Gloucester, brought in, at the time of making the Indenture, a gross sum of about £54 a year. It now sometimes produces a net annual income of over £2000. The pecuniary interest of the College remains the same as formerly, except that, by the last order of the Charity Commissioners, it receives one-fourth of the net instead of the gross revenues. But the appointment and removal of the Master and Usher, and the general supervision of the School and Hospital, instead of being vested in the President and Seven Senior Fellows of Corpus, are now transferred to a Governing Body on which the College has four representatives. Pate died on October 29, 1588, aged 73, and was buried in the South Transept of Gloucester Cathedral, where his monument was renewed by the College in 1688. He is dressed in the habit of a lawyer.

(4) Sir George St. Paul, Bart., who matriculated as a gentleman-commoner, under the name of George Sampole, in 1578, and died in 1613. He devised to the College part of its estate at Lissington in Lincolnshire, the rest being given by his wife

(5) Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, Kt., Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who, after Sir George St. Paul's death, was married to the Earl of Warwick, brother of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. She also gave her part of the advowson of Bassingham Rectory.

¹ Wood's account of this benefaction is inaccurate and misleading. The account in the text is taken from the Indenture itself. I may here state that, in my account of these minor benefactions, I have used the Fulman MSS., vol. ix, fol. 54 b-55 b, Wood's Colleges and Halls, p. 393, &c., and, whenever possible, original documents.

(6) Dr. Thomas Turner, President from 1687 to 1714, who munificently erected, at his own expense, the Fellows' Buildings, and, in addition to other benefactions, bequeathed his large and valuable Library to the College.

Benefactors on a smaller scale than those just enumerated have been Robert Gale, Vintner, of London, who left £20 a year to be divided amongst six poor Scholars; Richard Cobb, B.D., Fellow, d. 1597, who bequeathed £20 a year to poor Scholars and all his books to the Library; Lord Coleraine, d. 1749, a munificent benefactor of the Library (of whose gifts some account will be given under Dr. Turner's Presidency); and Mrs. Mather, the widow of Dr. Mather, President, who bequeathed a legacy of £50 a year in augmentation of the President's stipend. Amongst the benefactors to the Library, in addition to the Founder, whose collection of MSS. and early printed books is specially valuable, and those already mentioned, namely, Claymond, Dr. Turner, Richard Cobb, and Lord Coleraine, there should be commemorated Dr. Reynolds, Henry Parry, Brian Twyne, William Fulman, John Rosewell, Cuthbert Ellison, and General Oglethorpe.

Some account of contributions towards the repairs of old or the erection of new buildings, gifts to the Chapel, &c., will be given towards the close of Chapter III.

It should be remarked that considerable accessions to the College property gradually accrued through the operation of the Statute (ch. 43), which required the balance of each year to be carried to the Tower Fund, and expended, so far as it was not required for the prosecution or defence of law-suits, in the acquisition of new property. This provision, as will be seen in the Chapter on the Sources of Revenue, resulted in the purchase of several advowsons as well as of additional land and houses ('terræ emptæ').

CHAPTER II.

THE STATUTES AND THE ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE COLLEGE.

THE Statutes were given by the Founder in the year 1517, and supplemented in 1527, the revised version being signed by him, in an extremely trembling hand, on the 13th of February, 1527-8, within eight months of his death, which occurred, as we have seen, on the 5th of October, 1528. These Statutes are of peculiar interest, both on account of the vivid picture which they bring before us of the domestic life of a mediæval College, and the provision made for the instruction in the new learning introduced by the Renaissance. Indeed Corpus and the subsequent foundations of Christ Church at Oxford and Trinity at Cambridge constitute what may be distinctively called the Renaissance group of Colleges.

The preamble and preface set forth, in touching words, Bishop Foxe's twofold object, the advancement of knowledge, and the maintenance of religion :

'Ad honorem pretiosissimi corporis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ejusque Matris integerrimæ, cæterorumque Sanctorum omnium, ecclesiarum Wintonensis, Dunelmensis, Bathoniensis et Wellensis, necnon Exoniensis, cathedralium patronorum, nos Ricardus Fox, divina vocatione Wintoniensis Episcopus, Collegii Corporis Christi in Universitate Oxoniensi fundator, extractor et dotator, veneratissimo sanctissimæ et individue Trinitatis nomine invocato, nostra eidem collegio statuta condidimus, et in hoc originali libro, ad perennem et perpetuam memoriam et stabilitatem, conscripsimus et consignavimus ; ad hunc modum in ea præfati.

Præfatio de fundatione.

Non habemus hic civitatem manentem, ut ait Apostolus, sed futuram inquirimus cælestem, ad quam facilius et celerius nos per-

venire speramus, si, dum in hac vita peregrinamur misera et mortali, scalam erigamus, unde faciliorem paremus ascensum ; dextrum latus scalæ appellantes virtutem, sinistrum vero scientiam, gradibus interpositis qui utrisque serviant lateribus. Habent enim utraque latera suos gradus, a quibus aut in alta levemur, aut in ima premamur. Nos itaque, Richardus Fox, divina providentia Wintoniensis Episcopus, hac scala et ipsi cælum ascendere et ingredi cupientes, ac aliis ad ascensum et ingressum hujusmodi auxiliari et subvenire expetentes, de opibus quas nobis Deus ex sua benignitate elargitus est, unum alvearium in Universitate Oxonii, quod collegium Corporis Christi appellavimus, fundavimus, ereximus et extruximus ; in quo scholastici, veluti ingeniosæ apes, dies noctesque ceram ad Dei honorem et dulciflua mella conficiant ad suam et universorum Christianorum commoditatem : in quo alveario, Præsidentem, qui cæteris præsit, viginti scholares sive Socios, totidem discipulos, tres lectores, qui intus operentur, unusquisque suo officio et ordine, in omne ævum habitare constituimus et decernimus per præsentem. Ac, præterea, sex sacelli ministros, quorum duo sint sacerdotes, duo clerici non sacerdotes, acoliti, aut saltem prima tonsura initiati, reliqui vero duo choristæ.'

The greatest novelty of the Corpus Statutes is the institution of a public lecturer ('lector publicus') in Greek, who was to lecture to the entire University, and was evidently designed to be one of the principal officers of the College. This readership appears to have been the first permanent office created in either University for the purpose of giving instruction in the Greek language ; though, for some years before the close of the fifteenth century, Grocyn, Linacre, and others, had taught Greek at Oxford, in a private or semi-official capacity¹. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, throughout the year, the Greek reader was to give instruction in some portion of the Grammar of Theodorus or other approved Greek grammarian, together with some part of Lucian, Philostratus, or the orations of Isocrates. On Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, throughout the year, he was to lecture in Aristophanes, Theocritus, Euripides, Sophocles, Pindar, or Hesiod, or some other of the more ancient Greek poets, with some part of

¹ See Professor Burrows' interesting account of this movement in his *Memoir of Grocyn*, published in the *Oxford Historical Society's Collectanea*, Vol. II (1890).

Demosthenes, Thucydides, Aristotle, Theophrastus, or Plutarch. It will be noticed that there is no express mention in this list of Homer, Æschylus, Herodotus, or Plato. Thrice a week, moreover, in vacations, he was to give private instruction in Greek grammar or rhetoric, or some Greek author, to all members of the College below the degree of Master of Arts. Lastly, all Fellows and Scholars below the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, including even Masters of Arts, were bound, on pain of loss of commons, to attend the public lectures of both the Greek and Latin reader; and not only so, but to pass a satisfactory examination in them to be conducted three evenings in the week.

Similar regulations as to teaching are laid down with regard to the Professor of Humanity or Latin ('Lector seu Professor artium humanitatis'), whose special province it is carefully to extirpate all 'barbarism' from our 'bee-hive,' the name by which, throughout these Statutes, Foxe fondly calls his College¹. The lectures were to begin at eight in the morning, and to be given all through the year, either in the Hall of the College, or in some public place within the University. The authors specified are Cicero, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Suetonius, Pliny's Natural History, Livy, Quintilian, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Juvenal, Terence, and Plautus. It will be noticed that Horace and Tacitus are absent from the list². Moreover, in vacations, the Professor is to lecture, three times a week, to all inmates of the College below the degree of Master of Arts, on the *Elegantiz* of Laurentius Valla, the Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius, the *Miscellanea* of Politian, or something of the like kind according to the discretion of the President and Seniors.

The third reader was to be a Lecturer in Theology, 'the

¹ Thus, in speaking of the three readers of Theology, Greek, and Latin, he says 'Decernimus igitur intra nostrum alvearium tres herbarios penitissimos in omne ævum constituere, qui stirpes, herbas, tum fructu tum usu præstantissimas, in eo plantent et conserant, ut apes ingentosz e toto gymnasio Oxoniensi convolantes ex eo exugere atque excerpere poterunt.' Even in the Preface, as we have seen, he already begins to use this metaphor.

² And yet there are, in the College Library, two copies of Horace, and one each of Homer, Herodotus, and Plato (see above), all given by the Founder himself. Cp. p. 93 and note 1 on that page.

science which we have always so highly esteemed, that this our bee-hive has been constructed solely or mainly for its sake.' But, even here, the spirit of the Renaissance is predominant. The Professor is to lecture every working-day throughout the year (excepting ten weeks), year by year in turn, on some portion of the Old or New Testament. The authorities for their interpretation, however, are no longer to be such mediæval authors as Nicolas de Lyra or Hugh of Vienne (more commonly called Hugo de Sancto Charo or Hugh of St. Cher), far posterior in time and inferior in learning¹, but the holy and ancient Greek and Latin doctors, especially Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Origen, Hilary, Chrysostom, John of Damascus, and others of that kind. These theological lectures were to be attended by all Fellows of the College who had been assigned to the study of theology, except Doctors. No special provision seems to be made in the Statutes for the theological instruction of the junior members of the College, such as the Scholars, Clerks, &c.; but the services in Chapel would furnish a constant reminder of the principal events in Christian history and the essential doctrines of the Christian Church. The Doctors, though exempt from attendance at lectures, were, like all the other 'theologians,' bound to take part in the weekly theological disputations. Absence, in their case as in that of the others, was punishable by subtraction of commons, and, if persisted in, it is curious to find that the ultimate penalty was an injunction to preach a sermon, during the next Lent, at St. Peter's in the East.

In addition to attendance at the theological lectures of the public reader of their own College, 'theologians,' not being Doctors, were required to attend two other lectures daily: one, beginning at seven in the morning, in the School of Divinity; the other, at Magdalen, at nine. Bachelors of Arts, so far as was consistent with attendance at the public lectures in their own College, were to attend two lectures a day 'in philosophy' (meaning, probably, metaphysics, morals, and natural philosophy), at Magdalen, going and returning in a body; one of these courses of lectures, it may be noticed, appears from the

¹ *Ac cæteros, ut tempore, ita doctrina, longe posteriores.*

Magdalen Statutes to have been delivered at six in the morning. Undergraduates (described as 'sophistæ et logici') were to be lectured in logic, and assiduously practised in arguments and the solution of sophisms by one or two of the Fellows or probationers assigned for that purpose. These lecturers in logic were diligently to explain Porphyry and Aristotle, at first in Latin, afterwards in Greek. Moreover, all undergraduates, who had devoted at least six months and not more than thirty to the study of logic, were to frequent the argumentative contest in the schools ('illud gloriosum in Parviso certamen'), as often as it seemed good to the President. Even on festivals and during holiday times, they were not to be idle, but to compose verses and letters on literary subjects, to be shown up to the Professor of Humanity. They were, however, to be permitted occasional recreation in the afternoon hours, both on festival and work days, provided they had the consent of the Lecturer and Dean, and the President (or, in his absence, the Vice-President) raised no objection. Equal care was taken to prevent the Bachelors from falling into slothful habits during the vacations. Three times a week at least, during the Long Vacation, they were, each of them, to expound some astronomical or mathematical work to be assigned, from time to time, by the Dean of Philosophy, in the hall or chapel, and all Fellows and probationers of the College, not being graduates in theology, were bound to be present at the exercises. In the shorter vacations, one of them, selected by the Dean of Arts as often as he chose to enjoin the task, was to explain some poet, orator, or historian, to his fellow-bachelors and undergraduates.

Nor was attendance at the University and College lectures, together with the private instruction, examinations, and exercises connected with them, the only occupation of these hard-worked students. They were also bound, according to their various standings and faculties, to take part in or be present at frequent disputations in logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, morals, and theology. The theological disputations, with the penalties attached to failure to take part in them, have already been noticed. The Bachelors of Arts,

and, in certain cases, the 'necessary regents' among the Masters (that is, those Masters of Arts who had not yet completed two years from the date of that degree), were also bound to dispute in the subjects of their faculty, namely, logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, and morals, for at least two hours twice a week. Nor could any Fellow or Scholar take his Bachelor's degree, till he had read and explained some work or portion of a work of some Latin poet, orator, or historian; or his Master's degree, till he had explained some book, or at least volume, of Greek logic or philosophy. When we add to these requirements of the College the disputations also imposed by the University, and the numerous religious offices in the Chapel, we may easily perceive that, in this busy hive of literary industry, there was little leisure for the amusements which now absorb so large a portion of the student's time and thoughts. Though, when absent from the University, they were not forbidden to spend a moderate amount of time in hunting or fowling, yet, when actually in Oxford, they were restricted to games of ball in the College garden. Nor had they, like the modern student, prolonged vacations. Vacation to them was mainly a respite from University exercises; the College work, though varied in subject-matter, going on, in point of quantity, much as usual. They were allowed indeed, for a reasonable cause, to spend a portion of the vacation away from Oxford, but the whole time of absence, in the case of a Fellow, was not, in the aggregate, to exceed forty days in the year, nor, in the case of a Probationer or Scholar, twenty days; nor were more than six members of the foundation ever to be absent at a time, except at certain periods, which we might call the depths of the vacations, when the number might reach ten. The liberal ideas of the Founder are, however, shown in the provision that one Fellow or Scholar at a time might have leave of absence for three years, in order to settle in Italy, or some other country, for the purposes of study. He was to retain his full allowance during absence, and, when he returned, he was to be available for the office of a Reader, when next vacant.

This society of students would consist of between fifty and

sixty persons, all of whom, we must recollect, were normally bound to residence, and to take their part, each in his several degree, in the literary activity of the College, or, according to the language of the Founder, 'to make honey.' Besides the President, there were twenty Fellows, twenty Scholars (called 'disciples'), two Chaplains, and two Clerks, who might be called the constant elements of the College. In addition to these, there might be some or even all of the three Readers, in case they were not included among the Fellows; four, or at the most six, sons of nobles or lawyers ('*jure regni peritorum*')¹, a kind of boarder afterwards called 'gentlemen-commoners'; and some even of the servants. The last class consisted of two servants for the President (one a groom, the other a body-servant, who seems, in later times, to have acted as a sort of secretary), the manciple, the butler, two cooks, the porter (who was also barber), and the clerk of accompt. It would appear from the Statutes that these servants, who undoubtedly, at that time, were more on a level with the other members of the College than has been the case during the last century or more, might or might not² pursue the studies of the College, according to their discretion; if they chose to do so, they probably proceeded to their degrees³. Lastly,

¹ It is plain that the Founder foresaw the danger of admitting this class of students from the precautions which he attaches to his permission. There were only to be four, or at the most six, '*ad discretionem Præsidentis*,' and they were only to remain '*quamdiu sint sub tutoribus et honeste se gerant in omnibus exemplo et moribus, ut aini ex Collegio per eos fiant non deteriores*' (cap. 34).

² '*Ut intus operentur mellifici nec evocentur ad viha, decernimus ut sint quidam ab opere mellifico liberi et aliis obsequis dediti. Verumtamen, si quispiam eorum mellificos voluerit imitari, duplicem merebitur coronam*'; Statut. cap. 17. In cap. 37 the lecturers are required to admit the '*ministra Sacelli*' and '*famuli Collegii*' to their lectures, without charge.

³ There can be no doubt that, at this period and subsequently, the College servants were often matriculated and proceeded to their degrees. And, as they were entered in the College books not by their names but by their offices, this is one reason why it is often so difficult to trace a student of those times to his College. A notable instance is that of Dr. Fiddes, author of the *Life of Wolsey*, &c., which will be noticed towards the close of the seventeenth century. He may, however, possibly have been a servitor, not one of the '*famuli Collegii*'. Servitors, though not recognised in the Statutes, existed in the College in the seventeenth century, as, for instance, Samuel Ladiman, who was appointed Fellow by the Parliamentary Visitors in 1646.

there were two inmates of the College, who were too young to attend the lectures and disputations, but who were to be taught grammar and instructed in good authors, either within the College or at Magdalen School. These were the choristers, who were to dine and sup with the servants, and to minister in the Hall and Chapel ; but, as they grew older, were to have a preference in the election to scholarships.

The qualifications of the various members of the College are enumerated with some minuteness. To begin with the President (cap. 2):

‘Statuimus ut Præsidens sit probis moribus, integra vita, fama inviolata, ordine sacerdotii constitutus, neque episcopus nec religiosus, in sacra theologia doctus, et graduatus, ad minus Baccalaureus, aut saltem ita edoctus ut intra quatuor menses post ejus præfectionem realiter accipiat gradum prædictum, omniaque faciat, disputando et prædicando, quæ ex more ad dictum attinent gradum ; annos natus triginta, cultui divino, virtuti et scientiæ sacrarum literarum deditus, in re familiari providus, in his quæ ad proventus, redditus, ædificia, locationes, conductiones et cætera hujusmodi pertinent, peritus et expertus ; ut, veluti rector vigilans, quid bene quidve male actum fuerit facile discernat.’

The word ‘religiosus,’ like the phrase ‘entered religion,’ is here used in a technical sense of a monk. The Colleges which existed solely or principally for the education of the secular clergy, were so different in their aims, spirit, and organization, from the monastic bodies, that, even where this disqualification was not explicitly named in the case of the Head or Fellows of a College, it seems to have been implicitly understood. With Foxe’s provision that the Head of his College should not be a Bishop, his own practice seems, at first sight, to be grossly inconsistent. For, as we have already seen, even while occupying the large, important, and lucrative see of Winchester, he was for no less than twelve years (from 1507 to 1519), including the very year in which he drew up these Statutes, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. But this office appears, for a long time both before and after Foxe’s Mastership, to have been honorary, and to have implied rather the functions of a patron, a ‘friend

at court,' than the ordinary administrative duties of a Head¹. On an appeal to him, in the capacity of Visitor of Magdalen, in the year 1504, as to the retention of the Presidency of that College by Richard Mayew, after his consecration to the Bishopric of Hereford, Foxe, as we have already seen, decided against him², though there was no such direct prohibition as he himself subsequently inserted in the Statutes of Corpus; the decision being probably given on the ground of the constant residence and attention to his duties which seems to be exacted of the President in the Magdalen Statutes³. Eligibility to the Presidentship was confined to those who were at the time, or at least had been, Fellows of the College (ch. 3).

Proceeding to the Scholars ('discipuli'), whom it is convenient to take next in order, the qualifications demanded shew the scrupulous care of the Founder that his benefaction should not be abused, and, as we read the literary requirements, we may well doubt whether, even in our own day, they would invariably be satisfied by those who now win 'open' scholarships.

'Sint hi' (sc. discipuli) 'ex legitimo thoro nati ac prima tonsura clericali initiati, bonis moribus et bona indole perornati, in grammatica Latina approbatusque Latinae linguæ auctoribus ita eruditi, ut ex tempore epistolas Latine dictare, et carmina saltem mediocriter componere sciant. . . . Ac, insuper, dialectica initiati, aut apti saltem et idonei ac admodum parati ut ad dialecticam statim, nisi faciendis carminibus et componendis epistolis ad tempus retineantur, promoveri, et in disciplinis liberalibus studere et proficere, valeant. Sint præterea, in eorum prima ad discipulatum in nostro Collegio admissione, scholastici non graduati, in plano cantu aliquantulum eruditi,

¹ See p. 13, above.

² See p. 11, above, and Mr. Wilson's article on Magdalen, in the *Colleges of Oxford*, p. 240.

³ The chapters in the Magdalen Statutes are not numbered. Those I am referring to will be found on pp. 46, 47; 58 of the Old Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford. In the former Statute, the President is allowed to retain his office, notwithstanding his obtaining ecclesiastical benefices or other revenues, 'dum tamen in dicto Collegio resident, et officium suum inibi juxta statutorum nostrorum exigentiam gerat aut debite exequatur.'

⁴ Statutes, ch. 14.

duodecimum ad minus attigentes annum, nec nonum decimum completum excedentes.' (In a subsequent chapter, ch. 54, the age is extended to twenty-one years, in the case of an 'extern' (interpreted, in Dr. Cole's time, as including a Clerk of the College) 'in Literis Latinis aut Græcis egregie eruditus, et cæteris illius ætatis longe præstantior.'): 'Non habentes possessiones, redditus, pensiones, aut alia certa salaria, ultra annum valorem quadraginta solidorum: nec præterea aliquod impedimentum canonicum ad ordinem sacerdotii, præter defectum ætatis, patientes.'

Of the twenty Scholars, ten were to be natives of the dioceses of which Foxe had been Bishop: namely, five of the diocese of Winchester, of which two were appropriated to the county of Surrey, and three to the county of Southampton, in which latter number was, however, to be included the Frost's kin Scholar, in whatever county he might have been born; one of the diocese of Durham; two of the diocese of Bath and Wells; and two of the diocese of Exeter. Two of the remainder were to be natives of the county of Lincoln, as the Founder's own birth-county¹; one of the county of Lancaster, as the birth-county of Hugh Oldham, 'frater noster clarissimus, hujus nostri Collegii præcipuus benefactor'; two of the county of Gloucester, or, in failure of fit candidates, of the diocese of Worcester; one of the county of Wilts, or, in failure of fit candidates, of the diocese of Sarum; one of the county of Bedford; two of the county of Kent; one of the county of Oxford. The last seven seem to have been appropriated to those counties or, failing the counties, dioceses in which the College had property. But the local restriction was not to be absolute. If a favoured county or diocese failed, on any occasion, to supply a fit candidate, the College might elect from one of the other counties or dioceses, provided that no one county or diocese should ever be thus represented by more than one additional Scholar at the same time.

The Probationary Fellows (Scholares²) were to be 'boni personæ, casti, modesti, bonæ famæ, doctiores tam in bonis literis quam in logicis et philosophia, et in eisdem ad profici-

¹ Cp. with ch. 14 the chapter (ch. 9) relating to the Scholares, or Probationary Fellows.

² Ch. 9.

endum magis idonei.' Though 'externs' were not absolutely excluded, the provisions of this Statute gave, in each contingency, so marked a preference to the Scholars ('discipuli') that the case of an extern becoming a Probationary Fellow was likely to be very rare, and, in the long experience of the College, it seldom happened. The distribution of dioceses and counties amongst the Fellows, including, for this purpose, both actual Fellows and Probationers, corresponded with that amongst the Scholars; but any Scholars who had taken the M.A. degree, of whatever county or diocese they might be, had the right of succession, according to their seniority, in preference to all who were not thus qualified, though there might be no vacancy in their own particular diocese or county.

After a probation of two years (a length of probation which seems to have been peculiar to Corpus), a 'scholaris' became a 'perpetuus socius' or 'verus socius' (what we now call a 'full Fellow'), unless, either at the end of his first or second year of probation, he had been declared to be 'non habilis,' in which case he was to be ruthlessly removed from the Society. '*Æquum namque est extra alvearium voracem et inutilem abigi fucum, ne mellificæ et operatricis cibum devoret apis*'¹.

The Chaplains and Clerks were grouped under the common appellation of 'ministri sacelli.' 'Hi erunt,' says the Statute (cap. 16), 'numero quatuor, ut prædiximus, conductitii' (<i.e. 'hired' or 'engaged,' without acquiring any permanent rights, whence the term 'conduct' at Eton as an equivalent for 'chaplain'), 'omnes bona fama, probis moribus, studiis in logica, philosophia, aut theologia dediti, et ut in eisdem proficiant apti et assidui.' They were to be appointed by the President or, in his absence, by the Vice-President and one of the Bursars, and were removeable by the same authority, with three months' notice, except in the case of contumacy or bad conduct, in which case they might be summarily dismissed. Though they were bound never to reveal College secrets, and were to give information about any matter which

¹ Cap. 12.

concerned the interests of the College, they were never to intervene in its affairs or to encourage dissensions or disobedience. The two chaplains were to be priests, 'unus chori præcentor alter autem ædituus sive sacrista.' The 'use of Sarum' was to be followed by both. The two other 'ministri sacelli,' who are elsewhere called 'clerks,' the name by which, in subsequent times, they were usually known, were to be 'accoliti aut saltem prima tonsura initiati, et in cantu satis ut deserviant choro laudabiliter edocti; quorum alter erit organorum pulsator, alter vero erit subsacrista.' The latter, besides assisting the 'sacrista,' was to ring the bells for all the offices. The two choristers, who are to be appointed by the President, 'erunt in omni genere cantus, ad minus plano et intorto (*pricked* appellant), edocti antequam assumantur, ut ita statim aut in Collegio, impensis amicorum, aut ludo Magdalensi, grammaticam discant et bonos auctores.' They may remain in the College 'usque ad primam vocis permutationem,' if so it seem good to the President. They are to have their food and clothing, but no 'stipendium' ('pocket-money'), a wise limitation probably in their own interests. The other provisions with regard to them I have already mentioned.

The names of the eight College-servants (who, it may be noticed, are called 'famuli,' not 'servi' or 'servientes') sufficiently convey their own meaning. Their duties are described in Ch. 17 of the Statutes. The only points requiring further mention (I have already spoken of them) are that the manciple ('mancipium') was also called 'obsonator'; that the butler, subsequently called 'promus,' is designated in the Statutes as 'panarius aut pincerna,' is to be unmarried, and is, at certain times in the day, to minister 'ad inhabitantium necessitates et studii minorem diminutionem,' the only indication, in the original Statutes, of any attendance, on the part of servants, to the private wants of the students, whether senior or junior; that the porter, who was also to act as barber and to make the College candles, was to be, like the butler, unmarried, 'si hujusmodi commode haberi et conduci possit'; lastly, that the Clerk of Accompts ('clericus

computi') was only to be appointed 'quando et quoties videtur commodum et expediens Præsidenti, Vice-præsidenti, et majori parti septem seniorum,' and that his qualifications and duties were rather like those of a solicitor and accountant combined than those of what we should now call a servant, for he is to be 'providus et in curiis tenendis' (*i.e.* holding manorial courts) 'et computis audiendis' (*i.e.* auditing accounts), 'et scribendis expertus et exercitatus.' That the Clerk of Accompt was of more importance, and occupied a higher position, than the other 'famuli Collegii' is plain from Chapters 31 and 33 of the Statutes, in the former of which his allocation is fixed at the same amount as that of the President, Fellows, Chaplains, and Readers, and in the latter of which he is assigned a place at the same table in Hall as the Bursars and the Fellow who acted as Steward of the Hall. Though the Statutes seem to assume that he would live inside the College, it is probable that, as he was not required to be unmarried, the practice may soon have been dispensed with; for we find so early as 1566, the date of Bishop Horne's visitation, that Richard Joyner, Clerk of Accompts, had a house in the town in which he had concealed some of the vestments then in question. In and about the parliamentary times he appears to have occupied much the same sort of position as a modern Chapter Clerk. More recently, his functions appear to have been divided between the College Solicitor and the Bailiff, which latter officer is now, to some extent, represented by the Bursar's Clerk.

The Statute De Famulis Collegii concludes with some regulations about the laundresses ('lotrices'). It is curious, nowadays, to read the regulation that no Fellow or Scholar is 'to take his own clothes or those of others to the wash,' but the laundresses are to fetch them on Monday or Tuesday from the Porter's Lodge, going no further into the College, and to return them at the same place on the Saturday.

Passing to the domestic arrangements, the Fellows and Scholars—there are curiously no directions with regard to the other members of the College—were to sleep two and two in a room, a Fellow and Scholar together, the Fellow in

a high bed, and the Scholar in a truckle-bed. The Fellow was to have the supervision of the Scholar who shared his room, to set him a good example, to instruct him, to admonish or punish him if he did wrong, and (if need were) to report him to the disciplinal officers of the College. The limitation of two to a room was a distinct advance on the existing practice. At the most recently founded Colleges, Magdalen and Brasenose, the number prescribed in the Statutes was three or four. As no provision is made in the Statutes for bed-makers, or attendants on the rooms, there can be little doubt that the beds were made and the rooms kept in order by the junior occupant, an office which, in those days when the sons of men of quality served as pages in great houses, implied no degradation. At a later period¹ servitors were introduced, that is, poor students, duly matriculated, who performed much the same offices for the richer students as are now performed by the scouts. After the Restoration, as we shall see in Bishop Morley's remarks on Curtois's case, there were female bed-makers². Occasionally, too, at Corpus as at other Colleges, noblemen or other gentlemen-commoners, doubtless, brought their private servants with them from home. This practice, in the University generally, probably dated from a very early period, as also the analogous practice of bringing a private tutor.

In the hall there were two meals in the day, dinner and supper, the former at eleven a.m., the latter about five or six p.m.³ At what we should now call the High Table, there were to sit the President, the Vice-President, and Reader in

¹ In the Buttery Book for 1648-9, there are some names which probably represent servitors; and in the University Matriculation Books, throughout the seventeenth century, there are several matriculations from Corpus, to which are attached the designation serv. or p. p. (*i.e.* pauper puer or pauper simply). I have not found any of these latter names in the Buttery Books. Most of them probably were servitors, others, perhaps, private servants, others 'famuli Collegii.'

² 'Mrs. Moore,' who appears in the Buttery Book for 1648-9, is probably an early instance of a female bedmaker.

³ In Thomas Lever's Sermon at St. Paul's Cross in 1550, the dinner hour at Cambridge is given as 10, the supper hour as 5. I have placed the dinner hour at C. C. C. at 11, because (see Statutes, ch. 21) the Greek Lecture was to be given at 10, 'or a little before,' which last words were probably added so as to leave a short interval between the end of the lecture and the beginning of dinner.

Theology, together with the Doctors and Bachelors in that faculty; but even amongst them there was a distinction, as there was an extra allowance for the dish of which the three persons highest in dignity partook, providing one of the above three officers were present. The Vice-President and Reader in Theology, one or both of them, might be displaced, at the President's discretion, by distinguished strangers. At the upper side-table, on the right, were to sit the Masters of Arts and Readers in Greek and Latin, in no prescribed order; at that on the left, the remaining Fellows, the Probationers, and the Chaplains. The Scholars and the two Clerks were to occupy the remaining tables, except the table nearest the buttery, which was to be occupied by the two Bursars, the Steward of the Hall, and the Clerk of Accompts, for the purpose, probably, of superintending the service. The Steward of the Hall was one of the graduate-Fellows appointed, from week to week, to assist the Bursars in the commissariat and internal expenditure of the College. It was also his duty to superintend the waiting at the upper tables, and, indeed, it would seem as if he himself took part in it. The ordinary waiters at these tables were the President's and other College servants, the choristers, and, if necessary, the clerks; but the Steward had also the power of supplementing their service from amongst the Scholars. At the Scholars' tables the waiters were to be taken from amongst the Scholars and Clerks themselves, two a week in turn. What has been said above with regard to the absence, at that time, of any idea of degradation in rendering services in the chambers would equally apply here. Such services would then be no more regarded as degrading than is fagging in a public school now¹. During dinner, a portion of the Bible was to be read by one of the Fellows or Scholars under the degree of Master of Arts; and, when dinner was finished, it was to be expounded by the President or by one of the Fellows (being a theologian) who was to be selected for the purpose by the President or Vice-

¹ In the years 1649-52, there are several entries in the Register of Punishments to the effect that Scholars or Clerks are 'put out of commons' for refusing to wait in hall. At that time, therefore, there must have been a feeling that the practice was irksome or degrading.

President, under pain of a month's deprivation of commons, if he refused. While the Bible was not being read, the students were to be allowed to converse at dinner, but only in Greek or Latin, which languages were also to be employed exclusively, except to those ignorant of them or for the purposes of the College accounts, not only in the Chapel and hall but in the chambers and all other places of the College. As soon as dinner or supper was over, at least after grace and the loving-cup, all the students, senior and junior, were to leave the hall. The same rule was to apply to the *bibesia*, or *biberia*, then customary in the University; which were slight refectations of bread and beer¹, in addition to the two regular meals. Exception, however, was made in favour of those festivals of Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, on which it was customary to keep up the hall fire. For, on the latter occasions, after refectation and potation, the Fellows and Probationers might remain in the hall to sing or employ themselves in any other innocent recreations such as became clerics, or to recite and discuss poems, histories, the marvels of the world, and like subjects.

The services in the Chapel, especially on Sundays and festivals, it need hardly be said, were numerous, and the penalties for absence severe. On non-festival days the first mass was at five in the morning, and all Scholars of the College and bachelor Fellows were bound to be present from the beginning to the end, under pain of heavy punishments for absence, lateness, or inattention. There were other masses which were not equally obligatory, but the inmates of the College were, of course, obliged to keep the canonical hours. They were also charged, in conscience, to say certain prayers on getting up in the morning and going to bed at night; as well as, once during the day, to pray for the Founder and other his or their benefactors.

I have already spoken of the lectures, disputations, examinations, and private instruction, as well as of the scanty

¹ See the Statutes of Jesus College, Cambridge, chap. xx, where they are limited to two in a day, and, on each occasion, to a pint of beer and a piece of bread.

amusements, as compared with those of our own day, which were then permitted. Something, however, still remains to be said of the mode of life prescribed by the Founder, and of the punishments inflicted for breach of rules. We have seen that, when the Bachelors of Arts attended the lectures at Magdalen, they were obliged to go and return in a body. Even on ordinary occasions, the Fellows, Scholars, Chaplains and Clerks were forbidden to go outside the College, unless it were to the Schools, the library, or some other College or Hall, unaccompanied by some other member of the College as a 'witness of their honest conversation.' Those of them who were undergraduates required, moreover, special leave from the Dean or Reader of Logic, the only exemption in their case being the Schools. If they went into the country, for a walk or other relaxation, they must go in a company of not less than three, keep together all the time, and return together. The only weapons they were allowed to carry, except when away for their short vacations, were the bow and arrow. Whether within the University or away from it, they were strictly prohibited from wearing any but the clerical dress. Once a year, they were all to be provided, at the expense of the College, with gowns (to be worn outside their other habits) of the same colour, though of different sizes and prices according to their position in College. It may be noticed that these gowns were to be provided for the *famuli* or servants no less than for the other members of the foundation; and that, for this purpose, the servants are divided into two classes, one corresponding with the Chaplains and probationary Fellows, the other with the Scholars, Clerks, and choristers.

Besides being subjected to the supervision of the various officers of the College, each Scholar was to be assigned by the President to a tutor, namely, the same Fellow whose chamber he shared. The tutor was to have the general charge of him; expend, on his behalf, the pension which he received from the College, or any sums which came to him from other sources; watch his progress, and correct his defects. If he were neither a graduate nor above twenty years of age, he was to be

punished with stripes; otherwise, in some other manner. Corporal punishment might also be inflicted, in the case of the juniors, for various other offences, such as absence from Chapel, inattention at lectures, speaking English instead of Latin or Greek; and it was probably, for the ordinary faults of undergraduates, the most common form of punishment. The very absence of any mention of it from the Register of Punishments seems to shew that it was too common to be specially recorded; and a preponderating number of the entries in the Register seems to refer to Bachelors, who were exempt from this punishment. Other punishments—short of expulsion, which was the last resort—were confinement to the library with the task of writing out or composing something in the way of an imposition, to be shewn up whenever called for; sitting alone in the middle of the hall, while the rest were dining, at a meal of dry bread and beer, or even bread and water; and lastly, the punishment, so frequently mentioned in the Statutes, deprivation of commons. This punishment operated practically as a pecuniary fine, the offender having to pay for his own commons instead of receiving them free from the College. The payment had to be made to the Bursars immediately, or, at latest, at the end of term. All members of the College, except the President and probably the Vice-President, were subject to this penalty, though, in case of the seniors, it was simply a fine, whereas undergraduates and Bachelors of Arts were obliged to take their commons either alone or with others similarly punished. The offenders, moreover, were compelled to write their names in a register, partly as an additional punishment, partly for information to the Bursars, stating their offence and the number of days for which they were ‘put out of commons.’ Such registers still exist; but, as the names are almost exclusively those of Bachelors and undergraduates, it is probable that the seniors, by immediate payment or otherwise, escaped this more ignominious part of the punishment. It will be noticed that rustication and gating, words so familiar to the undergraduates of the present generation, do not occur in this enumeration. Rustication, in those days when many of the students came

from such distant homes, and the exercises in College were so severe, would generally have been either too heavy or too light a penalty. Gating, in our sense, could hardly exist, as the undergraduates, at least, were not free to go outside the walls, except for scholastic purposes, without special leave, and that would, doubtless, have been refused in case of any recent misconduct. Here it may be noticed that the College gates were closed in the winter months at eight, and in the summer months at nine, the keys being taken to the President to prevent further ingress or egress.

Such were the studies, and such was the discipline, of an Oxford College at the beginning of the sixteenth century; nor is there any reason to suppose that, till the troubled times of the Reformation, these stringent rules were not rigorously enforced. They admirably served the purpose to which they were adapted, the education of a learned clergy, trained to habits of study, regularity, and piety, apt at dialectical fence, and competent to press all the secular learning of the time into the service of the Church. Never since that time probably have the Universities or the Colleges so completely secured the objects at which they aimed. But first, the Reformation; then, the Civil Wars; then, the Restoration of Charles II; then, the Revolution of 1688; and lastly, the silent changes gradually brought about by the increasing age of the students, the increasing proportion of those destined for secular pursuits, and the growth of luxurious habits in the country at large, have left little surviving of this cunningly devised system. The aims of modern times, and the materials with which we have to deal, have necessarily become different; but we may well envy the zeal for religion and learning which animated the ancient founders, the skill with which they adapted their means to their end, and the system of instruction and discipline which converted a body of raw youths, gathered probably, to a large extent, from the College estates, into studious and accomplished ecclesiastics, combining the new learning with the ancient traditions of the ecclesiastical life.

Hitherto, I have spoken only of the internal organization of the College, and the relations of its various members to

one another. But, like other founders, Bishop Foxe recognised the desirability of providing some means, without involving the members of his foundation in the expense, trouble, and delay of appealing to the ordinary law-courts, of settling dissensions which could not be composed within the College itself as well as of securing the continued observation of his Statutes. For the purpose of composing any implacable strife between the President and one or more of the Fellows, after all arbitration within the College had proved in vain, a curious provision exists¹, which furnished a ready and probably effective remedy. The contending parties were each to nominate one Fellow, and these two Fellows were to approach, with a statement of the case in writing, the Chancellor of the University, if resident in the University, the Warden of New College and the President of Magdalen, the place of any one of these officers who was absent to be supplied by his deputy ; and whatever decision might be given by any two out of the three was to be implicitly accepted. But for decisions affecting the more material interests of members of the College and for ensuring the observation of the Statutes, the Founder adopted the usual course of nominating a Visitor. This was to be his successor, from time to time, in the see of Winchester,—‘*nostri Collegii Patronus et Visitator*.’ He was to be the sole interpreter of the Statutes, and his decisions were to be final. Moreover, every five years², either personally or by his Commissary specially appointed for the purpose, he might, of his own mere motion, or at the request of certain officers of the College, or of a certain majority (two-thirds) of the Fellows hold a special visitation within the Chapel of the College, which all members of it were bound to attend. The Visitor had full power himself to enquire, reform, and punish, but the Commissary (from executing which office a long string of persons, amongst them ‘*religiosi qualescunque*,’ is excluded) could not proceed to the amotion of the President, a Fellow, or Probationer, without the consent of three out of the seven most senior Fellows then in the University, nor to the amotion of the President, even with this consent, if he

¹ Statutes, ch. 26.

² Statutes, ch. 53.

chose to appeal to the Visitor himself. These quinquennial Visitations do not appear to have been very frequent, nor do we hear of any subsequently to Bishop Morley's second visitation in 1674. Neither the College, the Visitor, nor any other person or persons, 'cujuscunque dignitatis, auctoritatis, status, gradus aut conditionis existant,' were allowed to make new Statutes, nor any member of the College, under pain of perjury, to obey them. But, if any question arose with regard to the meaning of a statute, which could not be settled by the society itself within eight days, it was to be referred to the Visitor, by whose interpretation every one was to be bound, without further questioning. Nor was the prohibition of new Statutes to prevent the President and Fellows, or President, Seniors, and Officers, from issuing ordinances, from time to time, provided they were not contrary to the Statutes, and these ordinances were to be in full vigour till repealed by themselves or their successors¹.

The letters patent of Henry VIII² having been issued on Nov. 26, 1516, and the Charta Foundationis having been signed by the Founder on March 1, the first President and Fellows were settled in their buildings, and put in possession of the College and its appurtenances, by the Warden of New College and the President of Magdalen, acting on behalf of

¹ These provisions are contained in ch. 54 of the Statutes, headed 'Conclusio omnium statutorum,' which, as the Founder himself says, contains his after-thoughts. But this chapter must be distinguished from the Post-Statuta, beginning at p. 112 of the printed copy issued by the Royal Commissioners in 1853, which were not enacted by the Founder till within eight months of his death (see above, p. 37).

² By these letters patent the College was constituted a Corporation under the style and title of the President and Scholars of Corpus Christi College in the University of Oxford, and allowed to hold in mortmain lands to the clear value of £350 a year. From the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 27 H. VIII. (1535), it appears that the net annual revenue of the College at that time was £382 8s. 9½d. Ten years later it was four pounds less.

the Founder, on the 5th of March, 1516-17¹. There were as many witnesses as filled two tables in the hall²; among them being Reginald Pole (afterwards Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury), then a B.A. of Magdalen, and subsequently (February 14th, 1523-4) admitted, by special appointment of the Founder, Fellow of Corpus. The first President, John Claymond, an old friend of the Founder, and, like himself, a Lincolnshire man, the first Vice-President, Robert Morwent, and several of the early Fellows and Scholars were also originally members of Magdalen, so that Corpus was, in a certain sense, a colony from what has usually been supposed, and on strong grounds of probability, to have been Foxe's own College. The first Professor of Humanity was Ludovicus Vivès, the celebrated Spanish humanist, who had previously been lecturing in the South of Italy; the first Professor of Greek, expressly mentioned in the Register (not definitely appointed, however, till Jan. 2nd, 1520-21), was Edward Wotton, then a young Magdalen man, subsequently Physician to Henry VIII, and author of a once well-known book, *De Differentiis Animalium*³. The Professorship of Theology does not seem to have been filled up either on the original constitution of the College or at any subsequent time. It is possible that the functions of the Professor may have been performed by the Vice-President, who was *ex officio* Dean of Theology. In the very first list of admissions, however, to the new society, we find the name of Nicholas Crutcher (*i. e.* Kratzer) a Bavarian, a native of Munich, who was prob-

¹ The Founder's care for his infant foundation is strikingly exemplified in a letter written to Claymond a few days previously, Feb. 25. Amongst many minute directions to the President, he says: 'The Barge departed from Westminster upon Fryday last with the Kechyn stuffe and other things, and with it com-meth to you Robert Bayliff of Savoy, which shall deliver you one part of the Indenture conteyninge the particulars of the said stuffe; and at my commyng to Winchester, which shall be about the later end of the next weke, I shall send you more stuffe.' Fulman MSS., vol. X, fol. 130.

² These particulars are given in a contemporary Memorandum at the end of the 'Charta Foundationis.'

³ In a list of Greek Readers given by Fulman (Fulman MSS., vol. X), David Edwards is mentioned as preceding Wotton, but, probably, he held the appointment only as *locum tenens*, while Wotton was availing himself of the Founder's license to travel abroad. See more on this matter under the list of Greek Readers.

ably introduced into the College for the purpose of teaching Mathematics¹. The sagacity of Foxe is singularly exemplified by his free admission of foreigners to his Readerships. While the Fellowships and Scholarships were confined to certain dioceses and counties, and, with almost insignificant exceptions, the only regular access to a Fellowship was through a Scholarship, the Readers might be natives of any part of England, or of Greece or Italy beyond the Po. It would seem, however, as if even this specification of countries was rather by way of exemplification than restriction, as the two first appointments, made by the Founder himself, were of a Spaniard and a Bavarian.

Erasmus, writing, shortly after the settlement of the society, to John Claymond, the first President, in 1519, speaks (Epist. lib. 4)² of the great interest which had been taken in Foxe's foundation by Wolsey, Campeggio, and Henry VIII himself, and predicts that the College will be ranked '*inter præcipua decora Britanniae*,' and that its '*trilinguis bibliotheca*'³ will attract more scholars to Oxford than were formerly attracted to Rome. This language, though doubtless exaggerated, shows the great expectations formed by the promoters of the new learning of this new departure in academical institutions.

¹ On Kratzer, see further under the list of eminent men during Claymond's Presidency.

² No. 438 in Le Clerc's edition.

³ The three tongues were Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

CHAPTER III.

SITE AND BUILDINGS OF THE COLLEGE (INCLUDING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE FOUNDER'S EARLIER DESIGN FOR A MONASTIC COLLEGE).

BISHOP FOXE'S original design, as we have already seen, was to found a College, after the pattern of Durham, Gloucester, St. Mary's, and Canterbury Colleges, for the reception of young monks from St. Swythun's Priory at Winchester, while pursuing their studies in Oxford. A long indenture (dated June 30, 5 Hen. VIII, *i.e.* 1513) still exists in the archives of the College, made between Bishop Foxe, on the one part, and the Prior (Thomas Silkstede) and Convent of St. Swythun's, on the other part, covenanting that, in consideration of many costly articles of plate and jewellery, besides vestments, books, &c., granted to them by the Bishop, as well as of divers other great benefits conferred on them, the Prior and Convent will purchase 'to them and their successors for ever of the Master and Fellowes of Merton College in Oxon certaine places and parcells of grounde lying in Oxford aforesayd and of the Abbas and Convent of Godstow certaine places and parcells of ground lyinge in Oxford aforesayd and of the Prior and Convent of St. Fridswith in Oxford aforesayd another parcell of ground in Oxford aforesayd, upon which parcells of ground the sayd Bishop by the assent of the sayd Master and Prior of St. Frideswith hath begunne to build and levie one house for a College.' From the remainder of this lengthy document¹, it appears: (1) that the College was to be established for

¹ It is copied in full in the *Evidences*, vol. I, p. 7, &c., and partially in Fulman, vol. v

a Warden and a 'certaine number of Monks and secular Schollers' (the combination should be noted); (2) that it was to be erected 'after the manner of a double platt made for the over and the nether lodginge of the same buildings and houses'; (3) that 'William Vertue free Mason and Humfry Cooke Carpenter' were 'Masters of the workes'; (4) that the Bishop was 'in full purpose and minde' to purchase lands, tenements, &c., to the yearly value of £160, to be appropriated to the Prior and Convent for the use of the College; (5) that he had already bought and given to the Convent lands of the yearly value of £28, in virtue of a licence of mortmain obtained from the King, to the amount of £100 yearly in temporal and £100 yearly in spiritual possessions above all charges and reprises; (6) that, in case the Bishop's intentions were not wholly carried out at the time of his death, the plate, jewellery, and other costly articles enumerated at the beginning of the document, or so much of them as was necessary, were to be sold, within twelve months after that event, and the proceeds forthwith devoted to the accomplishment of his objects; (7) that the foundation was to consist of:

(a) four monks, to be called the Bishop's Scholars, all of them 'professed within the monastery of St. Swithun's,' and all of them 'being of convenient age to learne and study in the sciences and faculties ensuing¹, that is to say of the age of eightene years at the least.' Of these one was to be Warden, and was to receive £10 yearly, the other three 10 marks each, the payment, in either case, to be in lieu of all other allowances, excepting those of the barber, lavender (laundress), lecturers in Sophistry, Logic, and Philosophy, and (of course) their rooms. [Here follow certain provisions with regard to two Chantry Monks, who were to be paid 3*d.* a day each for saying two masses (of course, one each) 'in the Chappell where the sayd Bysshop hath ordained his sepulture to be made within the Cathedrall Church of St. Swithin.']

(b) four other monks, brothers of the same monastery, one to be called the Prior's Scholar, and the other three the Convent's

¹ These are Sophistry, Logicke, Philosophy, and Divinity.

Scholars, to be paid respectively, out of the revenues of the Priory and the Convent, 10 marks each ; the other allowances to be the same as in the case of the Bishop's Scholars.

(c) The following officers and servants, with the annexed payments :

The reader of Sophistry and Logic, 40s.

The reader of Philosophy, 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.).

The Bible Clarke, which, after his lecture (reading) be finished, shall serve at the table, 26s. 8d.

The Clarke of the Chappell, which shall be also sacristine and likewise serve at the table, 26s. 8d.

The Manciple of the College, 40s.

The cheife Cooke, 26s. 8d.

The under Cook, 20s.

The Buttler, 20s.

The Panter (Panterer, the person, probably, who both baked and dispensed the bread), 20s.

The Lavender (laundress), 26s. 8d.

The Barber, 26s. 8d.

A servant to serve them at the table, 13s. 4d.

The Warden's servant of the College, which shall also serve at the table, 13s. 4d.

There was also to be a Steward of the College (but whether one of the young monks or not we are not told¹), to whom was to be paid weekly 8d. for the commons of each of the following officers or servants : the Manciple, Chief Cook, Butler, Panter, servant at the table, Warden's servant, Bible Clerk and Sacristan. Each of the above-named was also to receive, at the feast of Easter, 'one gowne cloth, all of one coulour, for every gowne 4 broade yards, price every yard 3s. 4d.' 'Provided allways that the sayd buttler, panter, servant at the table, Warden's servant, Bible Clarke and Sacristine (the Manciple and chief cook, it will be noticed, are omitted) and every of them be,' before their admission, 'substantially learned in Grammar, and, after their admission, keepe thear study and

¹ The expression 'the steward for the time being' seems to imply that it was an office taken in turn, just as subsequently one of the Junior Fellows took in turn the office of *Senescallus aule*. See C. C. C. Statutes, ch. 32.

learnings in Sophistry and Logick and Philosophy, and be at the Lectures, rehearsals, and disputations in the same, after the manner, and in the same wise, as any of the said monks shall doe.' This provision is most interesting as showing not only that servants, but also what servants, at this time were not uncommonly students, and that they attended lectures, and, generally, were on much the same footing as the other students¹. These servants and officers are possibly the 'secular scholars' spoken of above, though the Founder may have intended to found places for certain secular 'scholars,' in the stricter sense of the term 'scholars,' to live side by side with his young monks². And this design seems not improbable, on account of the very much larger proportion of servants to scholars than that which obtained in the College, as subsequently founded.

The remainder of the document is not specially interesting to the student of academical history, as it is mainly occupied with provisions regarding the plate, vestments, &c., which seem to have been a sort of bond or pledge for the performance of the Bishop's intentions, and recoverable when the intentions were fulfilled.

It may be remarked that this College, if the foundation had actually taken place, would have been simply the property of St. Swithin's, in fact a cell of that monastery, and not an independent corporation. And this was, doubtless, the case with the other monastic offshoots in Oxford.

It is notable that, in this Indenture, it is stated that the Founder had already (*i.e.* June 30, 1513) begun to 'build and levie one house for a College.' This statement is confirmed by a curious circumstance, recorded in the University Archives,

¹ Cp. chs. 17, 37 of the College Statutes.

² The account of the 'secular' students at Durham College, given by Mr. Blakiston (*Colleges of Oxford*, pp. 325, 326) would seem to favour the former alternative. Bishop Hatfield, on re-endowing the Durham Hall, established therein a warden and seven other student monks, 'and also, which is a new departure' eight secular students in Grammar and Philosophy at five marks each, from Durham and North Yorkshire, on the nomination of the prior, who are to dine and sleep apart from the monks, and perform any *honesta ministeria* that do not interfere with their studies. These students are under no obligation to take orders or vows; but must take an oath to further the interests of the Church of Durham.'

which I will give in the words¹ of Mr. Ralph Churton, the biographer of the Founders of Brasenose: 'And it is certain that there were students at this time (1512) belonging to Brasen Nose Hall; though the evidence of the fact happens to be no proof of their good behaviour. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, had begun to build Corpus Christi College; and, whether it were owing to any invidious comparison between the two rising fabrics², or to what has already been noted, the ferocious manners of the times; so it was that there was more than one affray between certain members of Brasen-Nose Hall and the workmen employed about the other College. An undergraduate of the Hall, named Hastings, was committed to prison, at the suit of a servant of the Bishop of Winchester, in August, 1512³; and Formby him-

¹ Lives of William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Sir Richard Sutton, Knight, Founders of B. N. C., by Ralph Churton, 1800.

² Though the foundation stone of B. N. C. was laid June 1, 1509, the progress of the building had been delayed.

³ University Archives, Register of the Chancellor's Court from 1506 to 1514, 7 (reversed F) fol. 165 a. Mr. Churton has here given a somewhat false impression of the facts. It is literally true that Hastings was committed to prison in the first instance, but the Principal and one of the Fellows of his Hall intervened, and gave their recognisances that he should come up for judgment, when called on. The original document runs as follows: (1512) '23 die augusti comparuit coram nobis quidam scholaris aulæ æneæ nomine Hastynge ad instanciam servientis domini episcopi Wynton, quem propter sua demerita mandavimus carceribus, sed intercesserunt pro eo principalis aulæ suæ magister matthæus smyth et magister rowlandus messenger ejus aulæ ac fidejusserunt nobis pro eo in XL lib. sterling, quod inducent prædictum Hastynge ad mandatum nostrum et hoc quocunque tempore per nos limitando ad standum judicio nostro et ad recipiendum quicquid justitia suadebit in hac parte.'

The record of the proceedings against Formby goes on to state that he and his friend John Legh, also a Fellow of Brasenose, bind themselves, each in £20, that Formby shall pay the surgeon's bill for Est's wounds; and, furthermore, that Formby shall abide by the arbitration of the Commissary (Laurence Stubbes) and Mr. Claymond, President of Magdalen, as to the amount of damages to be paid to Est in consideration of his wounds, and the losses thereby occasioned to him. It would appear from a subsequent paragraph that the wounds were not inflicted by Formby himself, but by two men, named Henry Wright and William Barnes (for whose conduct he was, doubtless, to some extent responsible). They had been cast into Bokardo, and were detained there some time, till, Est's wounds proving not to be mortal, they were, with his consent, released, on paying a fine to the University and entering into their own recognisances to keep the peace. Cooke took an oath not to prosecute Formby, outside the University, for his threatening language towards himself or Vertue, and Est similarly engaged not to

self, the late Principal, was bound in a recognisance, some time after (Aug. 20, 1514), to keep the peace towards William Vertu and William Est, freemasons, and Humfry Coke, carpenter, masters of the works of the Bishop of Winchester's new College near Merton¹.

Where it is stated in the Indenture that the building had been already begun, it is added that this was done with the assent of the Master (of Merton) and the Prior of St. Frideswide, thus implying that Bishop Foxe had not yet legally become possessed of the site. Nor was this the case till two or three years afterwards. But possibly, before the permission was granted, some money had already been paid in advance. Any way, about six months before the date of the Indenture, though subsequently to the affair of Hastings the Brasenose student, we have, in the Corpus archives, a record of the payment of the first instalment of what was then the considerable sum of £120 to Walter Morwent, a Fellow of Merton. Probably this payment was made to him on behalf of his College, but, as he was or had been also Principal of Corner Hall (see Brodrick's Memorials of Merton, p. 246), it is just possible that it was an indemnification of his interests in that capacity, or it may have been paid to him on both accounts. The document runs as follows:

'This bill indented made the 16th day of January, the 4th year of the raigne of kinge Henry the VIIIth (*i.e.* 1514), berith witnes that I Mr. Walter Morwent of Marton College have received the daie and yere above said of Maister John Claymond, president of saincte Mary Magdalen College in the universite of Oxford, twentie pound of parte of sixe score pound lefte with the said Maistre John Claimond as depositum for the performation of my Lord of Winchester his worke.

Item vicesimo die Februarii Recepi de eodem per manus Ricardi Wynsmor XX^{li}.

Item recepi ab eodem 22^o die Martii per manus Ricardi Wynsmor XX^{li}.

take any external action in the matter of his wounds, provided that Stubbes and Claymond gave their award by All Saints Day. So the affair ended.

¹ Register of Chancellor's Court, fol. 232 (mistake for 231), Aug. 20, 1514.

Item recepi ab eodem 13^o die Aprilis per manus Ricardi Wynsmor XXXI^{li}.

Item recepi ultimo Aprilis per manus Magistri Ricardi Wynsmor IX^{li}.

Item recepi ab eodem 14^o die Maii per manus proprias XX^{li}.

If this was really a payment to Merton College (and the largeness of the sum as well as the absence of any mention of Corner Hall in Morwent's designation make me feel tolerably certain that it was), it may be taken as an explanation of the apparently small annual payment (£4 6s. 8d.) accepted by Merton for the considerable plot of ground ceded to the Founder of Corpus. Supposing the above payments, and possibly others, to have been made to the Warden and Fellows of Merton in advance of the annuity secured by the Indenture of Oct. 20, 1515, the transaction would be *prima facie* analogous to the practice of taking fines on leases, familiar to all Colleges at this time, and hence the explanation appears to me a highly probable one. But it differed in two respects: (1) that the land was alienated for ever; (2) that it, or at least a portion of it, the Bachelors' Garden, was part of the homestead of the College. And, if a corporation were at liberty to sell their estates, partly for a lump sum to be divided amongst the existing corporators, partly for a perpetual rent charge, it is plain that there would be a growing tendency to increase the former and diminish the latter portion of the price, till the revenues gradually dwindled away. Hence it is, probably, that the consent of Warden Rawlyns to this alienation was subsequently viewed so severely by Archbishop Warham, who is said to have regarded it as one of the grounds of his deposition¹ from the Wardenship. Thus my supposition, which is supported by the important documentary evidence of the Indenture of 1515, would, if accepted, help to explain two difficulties connected with the transfer of this site, namely (1) the smallness of the annual payment, and (2) the severity with which the Warden's share in it was subsequently viewed by the Visitor.

¹ See Brodrick's *Memorials of Merton*, p. 312.

The Indenture of Oct. 20, 1515, already referred to, between Bishop Foxe, on the one part, and the Warden and 'felyship' of Merton College, on the other part, covenants that they shall grant to the said Bishop 'a tenement nowe decayed wyth a Garden thereto belongyng called Cornerhall and another tenement now decayed wyth a Garden thereto belongyng called Nevyls Inne, and another Garden called Bachelers Garden,' while the Bishop, on his part, grants to the Warden and 'felyship' an annuity of £4 6s. 8d., secured for ever 'out of the Church of Witney,' of which he is Patron.

It may here be noticed that on Sept. 23, 1517, when the Society was already established, a Composition was made between Merton and Corpus, whereby, on an undertaking to pay to Merton an annual sum of 6s. 8d., the President and Fellows of Corpus were released from all parochial charges, in respect of their being locally situated within the Merton parish of St. John the Baptist.

The College had already been spiritually dissevered from the parish and diocese in which it was locally situated. In a document entitled '*Resignatio Jurisdictionis*,' and dated June 7, 1517, the Bishop of Lincoln discharged the President, Fellows, and other inhabitants of the College from the obligation of canonical obedience to the see of Lincoln, and transferred his jurisdiction from himself and his successors to the Bishop of Winchester and his successors. The Bishop's renunciation and translation of his jurisdiction was confirmed by the Dean and Chapter on June 13, and, on June 20, Bishop Foxe granted a licence to the President and Scholars (the legal title of the Foundation) to celebrate Mass and other divine offices, or cause them to be celebrated by their Chaplains, at any canonical hour, in the Chapel or oratories of the College¹.

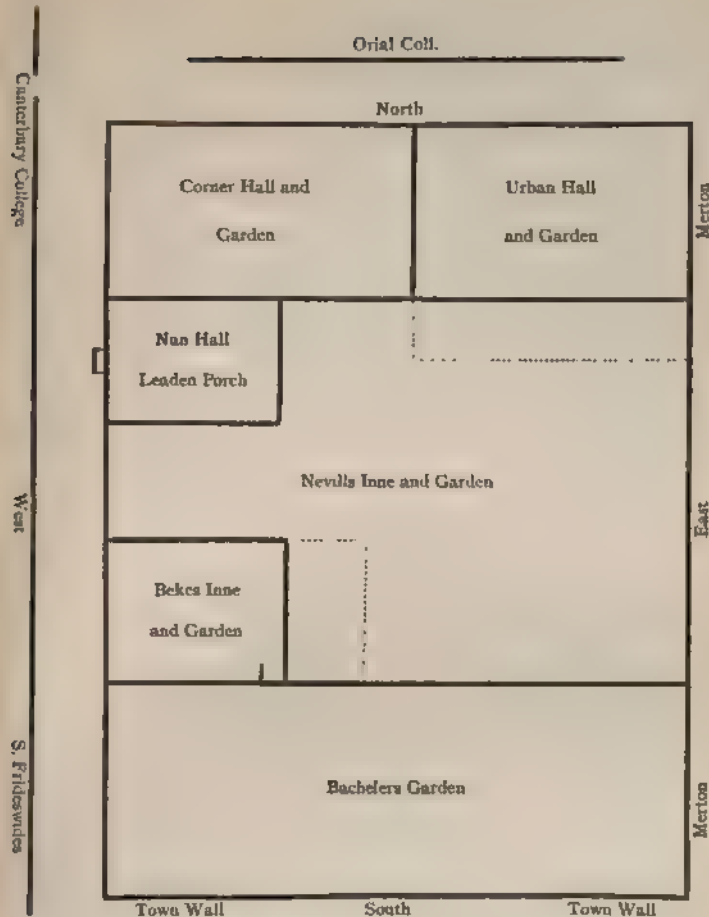
A concession of Nun Hall was formally made to the Founder by Isabella Brainton, the Abbess, and the convent of

¹ These documents are copied at length in the first volume of the Evidences, pp. 287-93, and abridged in the Fulman MSS., vol. x. fol. 132, 133. The Chapel seems to have been dedicated on Oct. 19 following. See MS. 280 in the College Library, fol. 216 a.

Godstow on January 15, 1517. The deed recites that the concession is made 'ob singularem ejus benevolentiam et plurima in hoc nostrum Monasterium beneficia collata,' and no other consideration is named in the deed. The benefits may have been of long standing, or, as in the case of Merton, if my conjecture be right in that instance, there may have been a large lump sum paid down. But the Abbey of Godstow appears to have had some dispute with the Priory of St. Frideswide in respect of a quit-rent, and, in an acquittance given by the Founder, subsequently to the concession, he undertakes that, if the Prior and Convent of St. Frideswide can make out their claim, he will be responsible for the payment, amounting to four shillings a year.

Lastly, two other old halls, Urban Hall and Beke's Inn, with their gardens and appurtenances, were purchased of the Prior (John Burton) and Convent of St. Frideswide on Feb. 9, 1517, the consideration named being an annual rent-charge of 26s. 8d., secured on the Rectory of Wroughton in Wiltshire, of which the Bishop was Patron. As the buildings had been already commenced, with the consent of the Prior, more than three and a half years before (see p. 60), there can be little doubt, as in the case of Merton, that a previous consideration had passed, to which the annual rent-charge was only supplementary.

The relative position of these three purchases, and of the old halls which they include, will best be made out from the annexed plan and explanation, which I have taken from the Fulman MSS., vol. x. fol. 106, 107 a, b. The plan also occurs, in a rougher and earlier form, in the Collectanea of Miles Windsor and Brian Twine, MS. 280, fol. 196 a, and there is no reason for doubting its accuracy. It may be noted that the site of the Bachelors' Garden of Merton seems exactly, or almost exactly, to have corresponded with that of the present College Garden. The present President's Garden is plainly a portion of the Garden of Nevill's Inn. The present Kitchen, though now much altered, was probably the Refectory of Urban Hall. It is interesting as being, probably, the only building, at least above ground, older than the foundation of the College.



The Site of the College, how narrow soever the Compass may seem to be, did heretofore containe no lesse than Five several Halls, and as many Gardens:

- | | |
|----------------------------|----|
| 1. Corner Hall and Garden | 1 |
| 2. Nunne Hall | |
| 3. Nevills Inne and Garden | 2 |
| 4. Bekes Inne and Garden | 3 |
| 5. Urban Hall and Garden | 4. |
| Bachelers Garden | 5. |

Corner Hall stood in the Northwest Corner neer Canterbury College, where is now the Butlers Chamber and adjoining Lodgings

Nunne Hall, called also Leaden Porch, stood on the South of that; and belonged to the Nunnas of Goldstow, of whom the Founder bought it.

Nevills Inne stood on the South of Nunne Hall and the North of Bekes Inne, having a Garden lying on the East of all three.

Bekes Inne stood on the South of Nevills Inne and the North of Bachelers Garden.

Bachelers Garden, belonging to Merton College, lay on the South of these, extending by the Towne Wall from Merton on the East to the Street against Saint Frideswides Church on the West, where now is the Masters and the Bachelers Garden of Corpus Christ and perhaps part of the Cloysters.

Urban Hall stood in the Northeast between Merton and Corner Hall, joyning to the street against Oriol.

I cannot say with certainty what is meant by the dotted lines on the Plan. Probably they express Fulman's conjectures as to the possible extent of the sites of Urban Hall and Beke's Inn respectively. Nor am I certain as to the interpretation of the words 'where is now the Butler's Chamber and adjoining Lodgings.' By the Butler's Chamber may only be meant a room in which the Butler lived ¹ (if this were so, it would shew that, in Fulman's time, some of the servants still lived inside the College²). The 'adjoining Lodgings' may mean either the old Lodgings of the President (still, in Fulman's time, occupied concurrently with the President's house), which were probably, in part, on the site of Corner Hall, or simply College rooms.

Wood ³ speaks as if about a quarter of the College, as the Founder originally designed it, had been completed before he altered his mind with regard to the character of the Foundation. What portion of the present College this was I am not aware that we have any means of ascertaining. After the design was changed, Wood continues, 'he proceeded in his buildings which he had begun; the which, had the foundation intended at first been equal to his second thoughts, it had been larger, but, being begun, it could not well be altered, which in all probability was the reason why he enlarged it afterward by building the Cloister Chambers.' Some of the building accounts, relating to the later period of the construction of the fabric, are still extant in MS. 435 of the College Library. They begin on March 2, 8 Hen. VIII, *i.e.* 1517, two days before the Society was inducted into the College, and end on Nov. 21, 10 Hen. VIII, *i.e.* 1518, but some leaves at the end seem to be lost. The Cloister appears to have been begun in May, 1517, as, in the account (often in this MS. called 'boke') for May 24-31, there

¹ On the site of the Buttery, see further on, pp. 75, 6.

² A College inventory, taken in 1610, shews that it then certainly was so. In 'the manciple and butler's chamber,' there are two beds, one in the outer room and the other in the study. In 1633 the bed has disappeared from the study, but remains in the outer room.

³ Wood's History of the Colleges and Halls, p. 359.

is a charge of 10s. 6d. for 'digging of the foundation of the cloister.'

We do not know, with any precision, when the College buildings were completed. But, as there were large admissions of members of the foundation in July, August, and October of the year 1517, we may conjecture, with some probability, that new rooms were then ready for their reception, and, perhaps, that the principal part of the College, the front quadrangle, then became wholly or mainly occupied. In 1518 and 1519 there were only four admissions of Scholars and Fellows, whereas in 1520 there were no less than ten. From these facts it seems a natural inference that new rooms were available in that year, and these would probably be the 'Cloister Chambers'¹ of which Wood speaks.

When the buildings and appurtenances of the College were completed according to the Founder's design, they must have consisted of the Chapel, the Hall, the Library, the gateway and the chambers in the front quadrangle, the cloisters and cloister chambers, the kitchen and other offices,

¹ There was a tradition in the College that Ludovicus Vivès had lived in one of these cloister chambers; and over this chamber the story ran that, from the first foundation of the College to the Parliamentary Visitation in 1648, there had, with a short interval of three years, always been a swarm of bees settled between the ceiling and the leads.

I transcribe the following curious note from Wood's *Colleges and Halls*, p. 393: 'Master Twyne, the Antiquary, hath affirmed, that he had often heard Dr. Benefield, sometime Fellow of this House, (who then had the Chamber and Study of Jo. Lud. Vives, at the west end of the Cloister) as also Dr. Cole, sometime President of the College, affirm, that those bees were called Vives his bees.

'In the year 1630, the leads over Vives his study being pluckt up, their stall was taken. (Carol. Butler, in his *Hist. of Bees*, num. 59 and with it an incredible mass of honey: But the bees, as presaging their intended and imminent destruction, (whereas they were never known to have swarmed before) did that spring (to preserve their famous kind) send down a fair swarm into the President's garden. the which in the year 1633 yielded two swarms; one whereof pitched in the garden for the President, the other they sent up as a new colony into their old habitation, there to continue the memory of this mellifluous Doctor (Vives) as the University stiled him in a letter to Card. Wolsey.

'They continued there (as 'tis said) till an. 1648, at what time the generality of the members of this Coll. were expelled by the Parliament Visitors, and then they removed themselves; but no further than the east end of the Cloister, where continuing for sometime, came shortly after to nothing.

'This is in Fuller's *Worthies in com. Ox.* 326, and Dr. Plot follows him without acknowledgment.'

the garden or gardens, and the wood-yard, which, from the reference to it on the first page of the building accounts mentioned above, must have been conterminous, or nearly so, with the present yard, which lies between the College buildings and Merton, and is entered now as then by a separate gate.

The President's House was, of course, a subsequent addition, for the President's Lodgings at Corpus, as at most of the older Colleges, were originally in rooms over and about the gateway. Wood¹, in a passage which I have elsewhere quoted at length, speaks of the discontent produced amongst the Fellows of Corpus by the introduction into the College of the wife and children of Cole, the first married President. But the arrangement which brought a married President, with a wife and young family, into College rooms, without a garden or yard or offices, must have been more disagreeable to them, even if it were less vexatious, than to the Fellows. In Agas' map of the date 1578, ten years after Cole was imposed on the College, there is still no indication of a President's house. In the *Libri Magni*, as well as the *Tower Book*, down to the financial year 1598-9, there is no charge which we can connect with a President's house, but in the *Liber Magnus* for that year, there is a sum of £134 9s. 10½*d.* charged under the head 'Charges of timber and building of Mr. President's studie gallarie and other romes and repairing the thecke (thatch, or possibly roof. Cp. German *Decke* or *Dach*), Anno Domini 1599.' In the following year (1599-1600), there is a further sum of £144 1s. 6½*d.* set down to 'Charges of Building from Oct. 26 to Sept. 19,' in obvious continuation of the former work, and in the next year (1600-1), there is a charge, extending over the four terms, of £41 2s. 11*d.*, under the head of 'Deposita pro nova structura.' This last charge includes various items of matting, &c., for the President's chamber, gallery, study, and kitchen. The occurrence of the last word seems to leave little doubt that the charges were for a separate house, not for College rooms. Indeed the sums total, the time taken over the work, and the indi-

¹ *Annals*, sub 1568.

vidual items alike make it difficult to suppose that these charges refer to the lodgings in the front quadrangle, and hence I conclude that we have here the first indication of a President's house distinct from the College¹. If this supposition be true, 'repairing the thecke' must refer to other buildings. In a College inventory taken in 1613, there is mention of a chamber 'next to Mr. President's garden,' which seems to imply a President's house. And in an inventory of the President's furniture, plate, books, &c., or rather so much of them as belonged to the College, which may probably be dated between 1660 and 1677², 'the house behind the President's Garden' is specified in addition to the rooms which constituted the old Lodgings,—namely, 'the low room or parlour' (adjoining and at that time communicating with the Hall), 'the bed-room,' 'the chamber over the College gate,' and 'the chambers over the Steward and Porter' (that is, the two rooms on the other side of the gateway, communicating with that last named). It would thus appear, from the evidence of this document, if it be an inventory taken by Fulman, or when Fulman was Fellow, that, even after the Restoration, the President retained the old lodgings, but also occupied in addition the new house, which I suppose to have

¹ In the *Liber Magnus* for 1601-2, there are no special charges for building or furniture, shewing that the work begun in 1599 had come to an end. In the years 1602 3, 1603 4, there are charges of £94 12s. 5d. and £128 16s. 4d. respectively, 'pro nova structura,' but as they include work done to the Chapel, they are evidently for new building, not for a new building, and cover repairs. Of course, part of these sums, as well as of the large disbursement of over £295 in 1607-8, may have been employed for enlarging or improving the President's house.

I have searched carefully through the *Libri Magni* and the *Tower Book* from 1599 to 1675 (the date of Loggan's map, in which, it may be noticed, the house appears), and can find no charges which can be connected with the building of a President's house, so that I take it there is no doubt that a separate President's house was first built in 1599.

² The original inventory seems to be in the hand-writing of Fulman, and, therefore, unless it be merely a copy of some pre-existing inventory (which I do not think is the case), it cannot be earlier than the date of his restoration to his Fellowship (1660). And it cannot be later than 1677, as there are some additional entries, headed 'New, 1677'. Even if the older part be only a copy, the original inventory cannot have been earlier than 1640, as it includes 'the little box' for the rings, bequeathed by Dr. Jackson who died in that year.

been built in 1599. But an inspection of the *Libri Magni* leaves no doubt on the subject. From the *Liber Magnus* for 1660-1 to that for 1681-2 inclusive, the allowances for candles, furniture, repairs, &c., made to the President, are entered under the heading 'In Camera et Domo Præsidentis,' and there are distinct charges for the 'house' and the 'lodgings.' Thus, there is an entry in the Book for 1661-2, which alone proves that both were occupied simultaneously: 'Paid to John Carter the Mason for work done at the President's Lodgings and House¹.' In 1682-3, the heading is 'Impens: Dom: Præs:'. The next year it reverts to 'Dom: et Cam:.' and then, in 1684-5, becomes again 'in Dom: Præs:.' so continuing ever after, while these payments were made. We may then infer that it was not till some time between 1682 and 1685 that the President ceased to retain his rooms in the large quadrangle. 'The house behind the garden' would naturally be used for his family, if he were married, and for guests; the rooms in the quadrangle probably for official purposes. In Loggan's Plan (1675) the house seems to occupy much its present site, excepting the wing resting on columns, and, of course, the College rooms which have been added comparatively recently. It has mullioned windows throughout, a porch abutting on the Christ Church wall, and what is apparently an entrance hall with high pitched roof. This hall is succeeded by four gables, and these by offices.

On Dec. 30, 1689, there is an entry in the Tower Book, shewing that £300 was at that time spent 'towards the building and repairing of the President's house.' The word 'towards' implies that the President (Dr. Turner) also contributed himself, and, as he was a rich and liberal man, he probably contributed handsomely. I take it as almost certain that these sums were partly expended on the wing which is carried out, at right angles to the President's house, into the garden. Apparently

¹ In November, 1671, a fine of £12 was paid to the City of Oxford for a lease 'of the President's house,' i.e. a portion of the site on which it was built. Ultimately, these fines on renewal became so exorbitant, that the College enfranchised some of some pastures in Rewley Meads.

it was originally a sort of summer-house or 'temple,' surrounded with Doric columns supporting a room at the top, and was afterwards filled in so as to give an additional room at the bottom. It is not in Loggan's engraving (1675), but is in the engraving of Skelton reproduced from the Oxford almanac of 1726, and evidently belongs to the architecture of the close of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. Moreover, there is no other entry in the accounts, except this of 1689, which could fitly be connected with it.

When Dr. Cooke succeeded to the Presidency in 1783, the portion of the President's Lodgings facing Oriel Street was in a ruinous condition, and the College, though then involved in much other expenditure, resolved to spend about £450 on repairs and improvements. The present dining-room, drawing-room, and front staircase are the main result, and unfortunately supply a typical example of the slight and unsubstantial building of the period. The addition to the Lodgings of the two sets of Chaplains' rooms, occupying almost the whole of the ground floor of the south side of the great quadrangle, was probably made in the years 1804, 5, when about £180 was paid for 'the improvement of the President's house' (Tower Book). At this time the Chaplains had become usually married men, or were attached also to other foundations, and thus they probably did not care to occupy rooms in College. The long conservatory, which runs along the east side of the house, and forms so pleasant a feature of it, was erected at the private expense of Dr. Norris. The older portion of the house has, doubtless, undergone many alterations, and possibly no part of the original structure now remains.

In the *Liber Magnus* for 1595-6, there is a charge of £97 12s. 7d. for what is variously described as making a new • cellar or a new buttery. The work was begun on the 1st of March, 159 $\frac{1}{2}$, and lasted twenty-one weeks. There can be little doubt that the cellar is that under the present buttery, but in the buttery itself, which is thoroughly of the eighteenth century type, there is nothing, in either the stone-work or the wood-

work, to remind us of the year 1596, though it may, of course, be the same room, or, at least, on the same site¹.

Battlements seem to have been first erected in or about the year 1624. Under Dec. 14 of that year there is the following entry in the Tower Book: 'Taken out of the great chest for the battlements of the College, untill it shall be repayed by Mr. Edmund Rainolde, whose promises caused the worke to be begun, the sume of £195 17s. 1½d.'

In or about the year 1667, the present Common Room seems to have been built², together with some chambers which were afterwards taken down and replaced by the 'Gentlemen Commoners' Buildings.' Sums of money were voted, for this purpose, out of the Tower Fund from Jan. 14, 1667 to Feb. 9, 1668, and were supplemented by subscriptions, but, in the *Liber Benefactorum*, these are mixed up, without any distinction, with the subscriptions for the alterations in the Chapel ten years later.

In or about the years 1675-76, the interior of the Chapel was much altered, probably for the worse, and the old vestry probably taken down. An account of these alterations, or, as they would now be called, 'restorations,' will be found under Dr. Newlyn's second Presidency. It was at this time, probably, that the curious brass of Claymond, the first President, representing him as a skeleton, enveloped in a shroud, was moved, together with other monuments, from the inner to the outer Chapel. The epitaph at the foot of Claymond's brass was broken in the removal, and a copy substituted. It is only within the last few years that, through the kindness of the Rev. Charles Collier, Vicar of Andover, who picked it up in an old curiosity shop, the original epitaph has been restored to the Chapel. It is now in a frame on the south wall of the ante-Chapel.

Loggan's Plan, the date of which is 1675, shews the front of the College with double dormer windows, and without battlements, though the tower and the rest of the large quadrangle has them; a President's house, with mullioned

¹ It appears from the Tower Book that the panelling, &c., of the present Buttery dates from 1759.

² Wood's *College and Halls*, p. 399.

windows, and without the wing resting on columns, as described above; a vestry joining the Chapel on the north-east side, and leaving only one of the Chapel windows visible on the north side; the Cloister Chambers, with mullioned windows, where Dr. Turner's buildings now are; several small buildings to the east of the large quadrangle; a summer or music-house¹, approached by a flight of steps, at the west end of the garden terrace, on which there is already a row of trees planted²; and, lastly, a fox chained in the wood-yard.

The alterations in the Hall, including the re-panelling, in or about the year 1700, and the erection of the present cloister and the Fellows' buildings on the site of the old Cloister Chambers, through the munificence of Dr. Turner, between 1706 and 1712, are described under the Presidency of Dr. Turner. Probably several coats of arms, in the windows of the Hall, were at this time removed or destroyed.

The erection of the building for the Gentlemen Commoners, containing six handsome sets of rooms, and the addition of a story to the north and west sides of the great quadrangle, were carried out about 1737, and the work probably lasted some years. There is a notice of it under Dr. Mather's Presidency. In 1890 the 'Gentlemen Commoners' Building' was refaced.

On Dec. 18, 1741, there is an entry in the Tower Book, which shews that hitherto there had been no chimney in the Hall, the building of a chimney being one of the objects to which a sum of money was to be devoted. Before this time, the Hall accounts in the *Libri Magni* shew large payments for charcoal, which must have been burnt in a brasier.

The Garden-gate was given by the Hon. Edward Bouverie (a cousin, once removed, of the late Dr. Pusey), in 1782.

For the gift of the Rubens, which forms the altar-piece of the Chapel, see the account of Sir Richard Worsley under

¹ This summer house still appears in the *Oxford Almanac* for 1758, reproduced by Skelton.

² In Agas' map of 1578, there are also indications of a row of trees on a terrace, but the delineation is much less exact than in Loggan's engraving.

Dr. Randolph's Presidency. The fine pair of altar candlesticks had been presented at an earlier period, 1726, by Sir William Morice, Bart., of Werrington. The beautiful brass eagle, which was probably the gift of Claymond (if not a gift, it must have been a 'memorial'), is mentioned under Claymond's Presidency.

The Rubens replaced a copy of Guido's Annunciation by Battoni, presented by Sir Christopher Willoughby of Baldon, in the year 1796, and it is said by Ingram¹ (who lived so near the time that he can hardly have been mistaken) that the east window of the Chapel was actually blocked up in order that it might receive this copy.

In 1801, it was resolved, at a College Meeting, 'to substitute a facing of stone to the Walls, instead of following the late practice of Rough Cast,' and to start a Building Fund for that purpose. In 1804, it was resolved 'to new face the inner walls of the College, which are much decayed, with Windrush or Barrington Stone,' and, for that purpose, to start a subscription, in aid of the Tower Fund. This appeal was liberally responded to by the present and past members of the College, and a sum of over £2000 (including the subvention from the Tower Fund) was collected. As the sum was in excess of the expenditure, the balance was carried to a Building Fund. The statue of the Founder seems to have been put up about 1817, when an order was made at a College Meeting that the arms of the See of Winchester should be placed on the right hand of the statue, and, on the left hand, the arms of the See of Winchester impaling those of the Founder. In Loggan's engraving (1675), there is a statue of the Founder occupying the same position as the present one, having no arms on either side, but surmounted by the figure of a pelican.

For the new building erected, opposite to the College in Merton Street, by Mr. T. G. Jackson in 1884-5, see under the Annals of those years.

¹ Memorials of Oxford, C. C. C., p. 12.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST THREE PRESIDENCIES.

THE first President of the new Society was John Claymond or Claymund¹, a native of Frampton, a small village in Lincolnshire, not far from Boston. His parents are described by Antony Wood as 'sufficient inhabitants of Frampton,' and, after apparently receiving the first rudiments of education in or near his native village, he was moved to Oxford, where, according to Wood, he completed his 'grammar learning' at Magdalen College School², thence proceeding to Magdalen College, of which he was successively Demy (1483?), Fellow (1488), and President (1504). Born about 1457, he would be some nine years junior to Foxe, but, notwithstanding

¹ The principal authority for Claymond's life is a long Latin poem, in elegiac verse, by John Shepreve, who was admitted Probationary Fellow of C. C. C. in 1528, was Greek Reader in the College, and subsequently became Professor of Hebrew in the University. A. Wood (Ath. Ox.) says of him: 'He was one of the skilfullest linguists his age being considered) that ever was in Oxon before his time, and was thought to surpass Origen in memory. So excellent a poet also he was, that his equal scarce could be found, it having been an ordinary matter with him to compose too very good verses every day at vacant hours, some of which are extant.' He died prematurely, aged about 33. The poem on Claymond is entitled 'Vita et Epitaphion Joh. Claymondi Præstidis C. C. C.' Two MS. copies exist in the Bodleian, and one in the Corpus Library. It is very diffuse, and written, after the manner of the time, in a strain of extravagant eulogy, but, making the necessary deductions on this account, it seems to be veracious, and certainly expresses genuine feeling on the part of the writer.

² In the 'Compositio Claymundi' (1532) printed at the end of the Magdalen Statutes (Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford, vol. II. p. 123), Claymond speaks of himself as 'in Coll. Magd. a teneris unguiculis educatus,' but whether this allusion is to the School or the College it is impossible to say. In Dr. Blount's Register, the list of Choristers does not begin till 1485, nor that of Demies till 1482. Claymond's name occurs as a Demy in 1483 (no day or month given), but this is almost undoubtedly the date of his re-election on attaining the age of 25, when the Demies were superannuated, but might be re-elected.

the disparity of age, their acquaintance may have gone back to their Lincolnshire days, or, if Foxe was really a Magdalen man, the young student may have known something of the school-boy. Any way, in the 'Charta Foundationis' (dated March 1, 1517) Foxe speaks of Claymond as having been on terms of intimacy with him for over thirty years (*nobiscum supra triginta annos familiarissimam consuetudinem habentem, virumque a nobis apprime probatum*), and, while still Fellow of Magdalen, he was already so much trusted and esteemed by Foxe as to be invited by him to take charge of a school in his then diocese of Durham¹. Like Foxe himself, Claymond was deeply interested in the revival of classical learning, and was acquainted with many of the leaders of the movement, but, from a literary point of view, he had the advantage over his patron, the statesman-bishop, of being himself a diligent student and a laborious annotator of the Classics. Schepreve, who affords a measure at once of his admiration and his accuracy by telling us that Claymond was, in prose, another Cicero, and, in verse, another Naso, says, with evident exaggeration, that he had read all authors, meaning, of course, classical authors. But, notwithstanding this extravagant praise, there can be no doubt that Claymond was recognised as one of the band of the illustrious scholars of that time², that he

¹ Jamque Dunelmensis felici sydere Præsul
Hunc ad se Foxus nobilis ille vocat,
Promissaque statim magna mercede Magistrum
Præfecit pueris quos ea terra tenet;
Scilicet ut teneras Romano flumine linguas

Tingeret, et Scythicos pelleret inde sonos.—Schepreve's Poem.

The present Grammar School at Durham is coeval with the foundation of the Cathedral by Henry VIII in 1541. But there was probably some provision for education within the city before that time. Claymond may, however, have been appointed to some school elsewhere in the Bishopric. He was made by Bishop Foxe Master of Staindrop College in 1500, but this was a hospital not an educational institution.

² See Erasmus, Ep. 438, the same letter in which he speaks with such enthusiasm of the foundation of the College. Erasmus' edition of Chrysostom's 'Sex concinunculæ de fato et providentia Dei,' Basle, 1526, is dedicated to Claymond, who is described as 'Theologo, Collegii apum Præsidi.' The dedication begins, 'Flores apibus congruunt,' and the metaphor is maintained throughout. (This dedication is noticed in Hearne's diary, ed. Doble, vol. i. p. 256). Leland celebrates Claymond's skill in versification in an Ode entitled 'Ad Calliopem de Jo. Claimundo.

was a diligent student, and a generous patron of the new learning. His liberality, his piety, and his moral qualities are celebrated by Schepreve in terms no less enthusiastic, and probably more nearly in accordance with facts, than his style and learning. Holding, in addition to his academical preferment, a large number of ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, of which the Mastership of St. Cross, near Winchester, was one, he could afford to be free with his money, and certainly, according to Schepreve's account, dispensed it with a rare generosity. Thus, he constructed a covered market at Carfax for the sellers of barley, repaired the West gate, made or repaired roads through the South and East gates, and, what, at that time, must have been one of the greatest boons he could have bestowed on the inhabitants of Oxford and the neighbourhood, constructed or re-constructed three bridges over the Botley meadows (what we now call the Seven-bridge road)¹. He was unstinting, during his life-time, in his liberality to individual men of letters, and in his gifts, for various purposes, to Corpus and Balliol, while, after death, he devised considerable benefactions in land to Magdalen, Corpus, and Brasenose. Nor was he less generous to the poor. The poor friars of various orders, as well as the felons and debtors in Oxford gaol, were the constant recipients of his charity², no

See *Encomia, Trophæa, &c.*, London, 1589, p. 43. Schepreve gives us to understand that he specially devoted his attention to maintaining the purity of the Latin language, presumably both in composition and conversation, within the College :

'Barbara de nostris adeo procul agmina castris
Expulit, ut nunquam posse redire putem.'

This, according to the original Statutes, was to be the special duty of the Reader in Humanity.

¹ 'Quis nescit longo constructos ordine pontes
In prati medio (Botlia parva) tui :
Quas prius hic populo quam sic reparasset agenti
Invia terrigradis hæc via prorsus erat !

² O quoties inopes de quolibet ordine Fratres
Non parvo javit munere larga manus ;
O quoties erga positos in carcere fures
Anxia fervebat sollicitudo viri ;
O quoties illos æquos, postquam Judicis horror
Desierat misero disruciare metu,
Custos detinuit, reddi sibi jura reposcens)
Ipse dato pretio jussit abire statim '

less than the needy inhabitants of Oxford and of the parishes in which he held livings. In these various ways, he is said to have disbursed, during his life-time, no less than what was then the large sum of thirty or forty pounds a year. In all the duties and virtues of the priestly office, he appears to have set a faultless example at a time when they were by no means universally observed. Schepreve celebrates his industry, austerity, vigils, fasts, and temperance. During his frugal meals, he was accustomed to read, pray, or attend to the various duties of his office. Except when he was incapacitated by illness, not a single day elapsed, after he became a priest, in which he did not celebrate the sacred mysteries; a statement which accords with the designation by which he was wont to subscribe himself, 'Eucharistiæ servus'.¹

Such was the man, no ordinary combination of piety, virtue, learning and prudence², whom Foxe was fortunate enough to secure as the head of his new College. He resigned the Presidentship of Magdalen on December 2, 1516, and was, in common with the newly-appointed Fellows, placed in possession of the College and its appurtenances on the 5th of March, 1517. The difference in value of the two Headships was made up to him by his institution to the rich Rectory of Cleeve or Bishop's Cleeve in Gloucestershire. He was President for over 20 years, dying at the good old age of 80, on Nov. 19, 1537, having offered Mass that very morning³.

¹ See a document thus signed by him, in Turner's Selections from the Records of the City of Oxford, p. 115. Antony Wood also says that Claymond 'used to write himself "Eucharistice servus," because he frequently received the blessed sacrament.'

² 'Quanta viri fuerit prudentia, scire licebit,
Si spectes quanta rexerit arte suos.'

A higher testimony to Claymond's reputation for prudence and integrity could hardly be given than the fact that Wolsey, in his instructions to Robert Cartar and others, touching his College, orders that 'the money devoted to the College shall, during the residence of the Canons at Pokley, be delivered to Master Claymont, president of Corpus Christi.' *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, vol. iv. pt. 1. (17 Henry VIII), pp. 672, 3.

³ The following couplet affords a good instance of the curious mixture of Christian and Pagan phraseology, which was not uncommon at the time of the Renaissance. Speaking of Claymond's soul as soaring up to heaven, and there joining the angelic choirs, Schepreve adds:

He was buried in the middle of the choir in the College Chapel, 'under the very place,' says Wood, 'where the rectors of the choir sing the *Venite Exultemus*,' and on the marble slab which covered the grave, now transferred to the antechapel, was placed a curious brass effigy displaying a skeleton in a shroud. There were two inscriptions, one under the effigy (the original of which has lately been recovered¹) in Latin verse, the other giving the ordinary particulars, '*Hic jacet*,' &c., but leaving the date of the death to be filled up, a light duty which curiously his executors never performed.

There is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of Schepreve's lines already quoted in a foot-note:—

'Quanta viri fuerit prudentia, scire licebit,
Si spectes quanta rexit arte suos.'

And the very extravagance of Schepreve's eulogy, in other parts of his poem, is itself at least a testimony to the respect and affection entertained for Claymond by the members of his own College. But the most conclusive proof of the excellence and success of Claymond's administration is to be found in the high reputation and satisfactory condition of the College at the time of Jewel's election to his scholarship, exactly a year and three-quarters after Claymond's death².

At some time during this Presidency, but we do not know when, there seem to have been some serious dissensions in the College, as appears from the following interesting letter from the Founder to the President, given in the *Collectanea of Windsor and Twine* (MS. 280), fol. 202a :

'Broder Mr. President, I commend me hartily to you, and to exhort you to take patiently y^e great Tempest that hath

* Hunc tamen ipse dolet Phœbus, Phœbique sorores,
Hunc Marique satus, Diq̃ue Dæque dolent'

(Cp. some lines further on in the poem, in which the extravagance of Schepreve's eulogy seems to reach its climax :

'Qui raro veterum juvisset munere vitam,
Irotenus hoc ipso nomine numen erat:
Quorum si nobis imitari gesta licebit,
Te quoque fecissent jam tua facta Deum'

¹ See p. 76, above.

² See p. 92, below.

lately been amongst your company. I can no better say than to desire you to take it as I have ever used to take such thinges myselfe, viz. speravi semper me felicem habiturum exitum, ubi durum et grave erat principium. And also I would you should thinke that in this case God provyth you, et tunc Beatus vir qui suffert temptationem &c.'

The twenty years of Claymond's presidency were remarkable rather for political and ecclesiastical than for academical changes. In the Fulman MSS.¹, there are the significant entries: 1534-5. Mar. The College visited by Archbishop Cranmer, which the President and Scholars submitted to, but with protestation. Mar. 9. They swear and make submission to the King. 1635. Sept. 6. They submit to the King's visitation. Sept. 9. Another submission. These notices seem to imply that, though the President and Fellows were not ready to risk the chances of martyrdom, their submission was not peculiarly spontaneous or cordial.

Claymond gave to the College lands in Iffley, Headington, Cowley, Littlemore, Sandford, and Marston, near Oxford, besides probably a sum of money with which Morwent afterwards bought the land in Rewley Meads. In his Will, he bequeathed, for the use of successive Presidents, the fine sapphire ring, which still remains in the President's custody. He thus describes it: 'Excepto quodam annulo cui impactus est Lapis Saphyrus quem dono Magistro Morwent, qui mihi successurus est, et successoribus ejusdem in officium Præsidentis istius Collegii, in monumentum sui officii, quippe quem mihi donavit Fundator nostri Collegii Episcopus Foxe, ut sui perpetuo memor essem.' The beautiful brass eagle, from which the lessons are now read in the College Chapel, seems also to have been Claymond's gift. It bears no date, but simply the words, 'Joannes Claymond Primus Præses.'

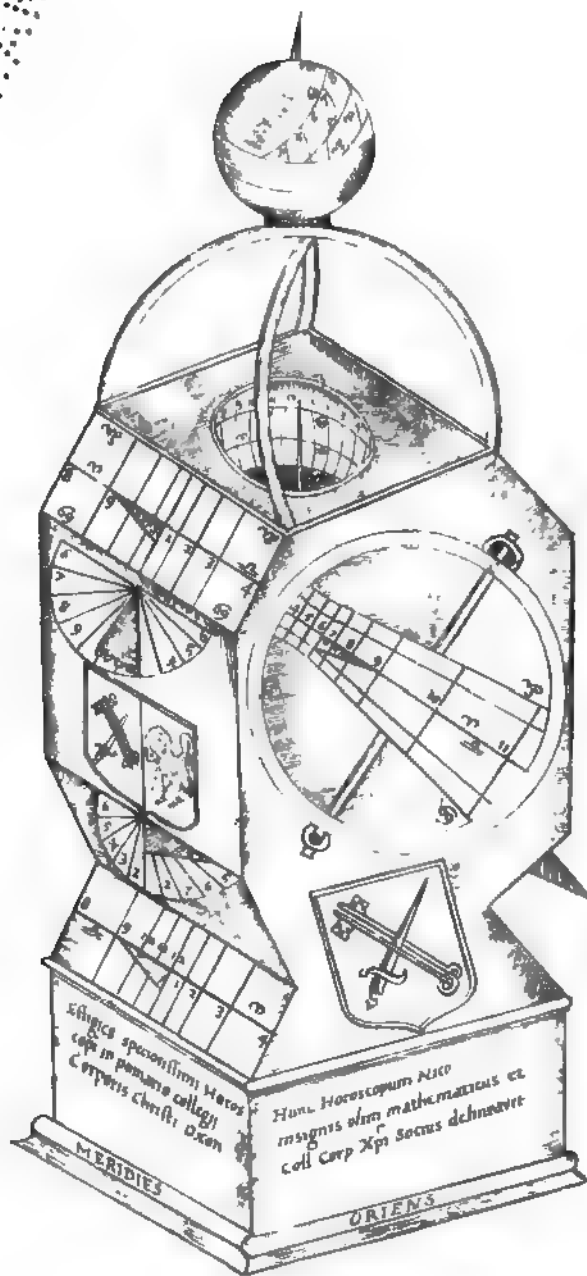
During Claymond's tenure of the Presidency, Reginald Pole, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal, and John Foxe, then or subsequently Archdeacon of Surrey², were

¹ Vol. ix. fol. 61 b.

² There was a John Fox, Archdeacon of Surrey in the first third of the sixteenth

A black and white photograph of a large, dark, textured object, possibly a piece of wood or a large rock, lying horizontally. The object has a rough, uneven surface with many small, light-colored spots or holes. It is set against a plain, light background.

MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY



Kratzer's Dial in the Garden

From Hegge's MS. on Dials, C. C. C. Library, MS. 430

Hannibal Baskerville, writing about 1668, speaks of this dial as still 'at this day in C. C. C. garden'
Rawlinson Musell, MSS. D B10

admitted on the same day (Feb. 14, 1524) as actual Fellows ('socii veri') by direct appointment of the Founder. Foxe indeed exercised his right of appointment to both Fellowships and Scholarships down to and including that of Thomas Goyge on July 2, 1524, besides a solitary instance in the following year. Besides Pole, the admissions to Fellowships, Scholarships, and Readerships, during Claymond's presidency, include many men remarkable for their learning or other eminent qualities—Ludovicus Vivès¹, the celebrated Spanish humanist, who was brought over by Foxe from the South of Italy to be his first Reader of Latin, Nicholas Crutcher² (*i.e.* Kratzer), a native of Munich, who was probably introduced into the College for the purpose of teaching Mathematics, David Edwards³, who appears to have been the first person who gave lectures on Greek within the College, though whether his appointment was a temporary or permanent one seems to be doubtful, and Robert Morwent, 'sociis compar'⁴

century, though the exact date is undetermined, and a John Fox, Archdeacon of Winchester (nearly related to Bishop Foxe, according to Wood's Fasti) in 1519. It seems not unlikely that they were the same person. If so, both Pole and Fox held high ecclesiastical preferment at the time of their admission to their Fellowships, which were probably very much of an honorary character.

¹ Though the names of both Vivès and Kratzer occur in Hegge's Catalogue, there is no contemporary documentary evidence that either of them was ever either socius or sociis compar, but there is a high degree of probability that both of them lodged and lectured in Corpus. See my note at the beginning of the transcript of Hegge's Catalogue.

² Kratzer was astronomer to Henry VIII. He left memorials of himself in Oxford, in the shape of dials, in St. Mary's Churchyard and in Corpus Garden, both of which have now disappeared, but he still survives in the fine portraits of him by Holbein. The large and very curious dial now in Corpus quadrangle was constructed by Charles Turnbull, a native of Lincolnshire, in 1581, the later date 1605 being probably that of some tables painted subsequently on the cylinder. On both Kratzer's dial and Turnbull's, see a subsequent note appended to my account of Robert Hegge, under Anyan's Presidency.

³ In a Catalogue in Fulman's hand-writing, inserted in vol. x of his MSS., D. Edwards is given as Greek Reader, the name occurring before that of Edward Wotton (see below), who is the first designated by that title in Hegge's Catalogue. There is probably some confusion in the matter, and Edwards, who must have been very young for the office, even if he did not enter on it till he became Probationary Fellow, may have acted temporarily for Wotton, while on his leave of absence abroad. Harpsfield Hist. Keel. Angl. p. 644 confirms the order given in Fulman, naming Edwards before Wotton.

⁴ By the Statutes of Magdalen, a Fellow had to make oath, on admission, that

and perpetual Vice-President, who was Claymond's immediate successor in the Presidency, all nominated in the year 1517; Nicholas Udall or Owdall, Head Master of Eton, and a celebrated writer of verses and plays, and Edward Wotton, at least the second, if not the first Greek Reader, celebrated both as a classical scholar and as a physician, the author of a work entitled *De differentiis animalium*, both admitted in 1520¹; Richard Pates, a diplomatist in the time of Henry VIII, and Bishop of Worcester in the reign of Queen Mary, admitted in 1522; John Schepreve, the eulogist of Claymond (see p. 79, n. 1), admitted in 1528, as were also James Brookes, Master of Balliol, a zealous Roman Catholic, consecrated Bishop of Gloucester in the beginning of Mary's reign, one of the judges of the Protestant martyrs, and a commissioner, under Pole, for the visitation of the University, and, lastly, William Chedsey or Cheadsey, another zealous Romanist, who became third President; Richard Martial, Dean of Christ Church, James Curthopp, Canon of Christ Church and Dean of Peterborough, and Richard Pate, Founder of the Cheltenham Grammar School, all admitted in 1532; Richard Bartew or Bertie, who married Katherine, Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby in her own right, the widow of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, and who was father of Peregrine Bertie, and ancestor, through him, of the Earls of Lindsey, Dukes of Ancaster, and Barons Willoughby d'Eresby and Rockingham, as well as the Earls of Abingdon, admitted in 1533; William Butcher, Bocher, or Boucher, fourth President, George Ederich, Regius Professor of Greek, and John Morwen (Morenus), a celebrated theologian and classic, all admitted in 1534²; and, lastly, Thomas Greenway or Greneway, fifth President, our oldest

he would not accept a Fellowship in any other College. Bishop Foxe surmounted a similar difficulty in the case of E. Wotton, in the same manner.

¹ In the first volume of the College Register, there is a copy of a very interesting letter from the Founder to E. Wotton, constituting him 'socio compar,' and permitting him to travel in Italy for three years, mainly for the purpose of studying Greek, after which time he was to return to the College and lecture in Greek, Latin, or both, as might seem most convenient to the President and Seniors. There are some interesting details about Wotton in Wood's *Athenæ*.

² In these dates, I follow the ecclesiastical or civil year, which, up to Jan. 1, 1752, began on the 25th of March.

authority on the life of Bishop Foxe. To this list of eminent men on the foundation we may add the name of Robert Pursglove, last Prior of Guisborough, and afterwards Archdeacon of Nottingham and Suffragan Bishop of Hull, the inscription on whose tomb at Tideswell bears witness to his connection with Corpus, and, perhaps, also that of Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor to Queen Mary, whose connection with Corpus, however, is very doubtful¹.

Connected with Corpus, though whether living within its walls we do not know, were Thomas Lupset, the celebrated humanist, and Thomas Moscroff or Musgrave, Wolsey's Reader in Physic and afterwards Commissary of the University (for whom see Wood's *Fasti*, Pt. I. cols. 56, 7). Their names do not occur in any contemporary record of the College (as neither indeed do those of Vivès or Kratzer, though these are included in Hegge's Catalogue (circa 1628 or earlier)), but we have the early evidence of Brian Twyne that they were both of them lecturers of Corpus or that they lectured within its walls. In the *Collectanea* of Miles Windsor and Brian Twyne (MS. 280 in the College Library, fol. 215a), there is the following entry:—

'Quatuor publici lectores Cardinalitii	} Ludovicus Vivès Tho. Lupsett Nich. Cratcherus Tho. Moscroffe ² .'
Simul in Collegio Corp. Christi	

As Wolsey's College was not yet built, or even founded, the Lectures must have been given in Corpus, an inference which agrees with the tradition, and may be the direct meaning of Twyne's words. Fulman, in the Bodleian MS. Wood D, 9, criticising Wood's account of C. C. C., says 'for my part, I think they' (i. e. the C. C. C. lectures) 'were the same' as the Wolsey lectures; 'for Wolsey's readers were there lodged, till he had built his Coll., and Lud. Vivès was one of them.'

¹ See Bliss' ed. of Wood's *Athenae*, vol. ii. col. 817, Baker's note.

² There are several entries with reference to these four lecturers, relating to supplications for Degrees, &c., in the Twyne MSS. in the University Archives, vol. xxiv. pp. 405-413. Moscroffe is said (p. 412) to have given public lectures in Medicine 'infra Coll. Corp. Christi.'

The connection of Lupset with the College is attested by a still earlier authority than Twyne, namely by Harpsfield (Hist. Eccl. Angl. p. 644), who, in 1528, being then a school-boy at Winchester College, attended the Founder's funeral. He enumerates amongst the persons 'in hanc societatem allecti,' Thomas Lupset, Richard Pates, subsequently Bishop of Worcester, and Cardinal Pole, and, though Lupset was certainly not a Fellow, like the last two, Harpsfield's testimony to his connexion with the College, in some capacity or other, may be regarded as almost decisive¹. He also mentions, among the Greek readers at Corpus, Clemens, or John Clement, 'Clemens meus' of Sir Thomas More, and tutor to his daughter Margaret, celebrated alike as a humanist and a physician. Lupset succeeded Clement in 1520, and seems to have lectured in both tongues², as Clement may have done also. Of the four lecturers mentioned by Twyne, Kratzer no doubt lectured in Mathematics, and Moscroffe or Musgrave in Medicine, while Vivès probably lectured in Rhetoric or Humanity (*i. e.* Latin), and Lupset in Greek or in both tongues. The subject of these early Lecturers has always been obscure, but much of the difficulty is disposed of, if we regard them as lecturing both for Foxe and Wolsey. Possibly the supply of a lecture-room (doubtless the Hall), and, perhaps also, of board and lodging, may have been regarded as Foxe's contribution to their support; for in the Libri Magni (the earliest extant of

¹ The passage in Harpsfield is so important in respect to the history of the early lectures and lecturers, that I give it in full: 'Et ne deessent, qui in hoc quasi optimo quodam et secundo bonarum artium agro optima semina sererent, celebrem illum Ludovicum Vivem Hispanum huc advocavit, qui Theologiam' (probably Harpsfield is here mistaken, Vivès having probably lectured in Humanity, and Morwent, as Vice-President, in default of any special Professor, in Theology) 'magna cum laude magnosque totius Academice fructu professor est; ob res vero mathematicas insignem illum Nicolaum Cruchernum' (*i. e.* Kratzer); 'prima vero lingue Græcæ semina jacta sunt per Clementem, Davidem Edwardes, et Nicolaum (really Edwardum) Utton (*i. e.* Wotton) medicos. Cujus ibi laetenter egit professorem, cum ego primum ad Academiam adventabam, Nicolaus (really Johannes) Scheprevus. In hanc societatem, præter alios, allecti sunt Thomas Lupsetus egregie eruditus, Richardus Paceus,' &c. Harpsfield himself became Regius Professor of Greek in 1546.

² See a passage quoted from Sir Thomas More, in Wood's Annals, vol. ii. pt. 2. p. 838.

which is that for 1521-2) we find no mention of these names, though they contain lists of payments made to other teachers, such as Wotton, Edwards, Udall, &c., who may have undertaken the more elementary part of the instruction.

Lupset is brought into an interesting relation with the College and the President in respect of the purchase from Linacre of some of Grocyn's books. In Professor Burrows' edition of Linacre's Catalogue of the books belonging to William Grocyn (Oxf. Hist. Soc. 1890, Collectanea, pp. 328, 9), there is this entry: 'Libri' (including works of Plotinus, Proclus, Simplicius, Ptolemy, &c.) 'traditi Magistro Thomæ Lupset pro Collegio Corporis Christi in Oxonia, pro quibus solvet Præsicens pretium quod Magister W. Latimer prescribet.' These books were bought by Claymond for the College, and the entry, if it does not show that Lupset was a member of Corpus, at least proves that he was on friendly terms with Claymond and a *persona grata* to the other members of the society.

Claymond was succeeded by Robert Morwent, also a Magdalen man, who had, soon after the foundation of the College, been constituted 'sociis compar' (being, by his oath, incapable of becoming a Fellow of any other College than Magdalen) and perpetual Vice-President by the Founder himself. In the Supplementary Statutes of 1527, Bishop Foxe nominated Morwent 'cujus industriam, fidem, diligentiam et summum in Collegium studium et amorem jam multos annos experti sumus' to be Claymond's successor, taking the precaution to provide that this act should not be drawn into a precedent. Morwent was born at Harperry near Gloucester, in what year we do not know, became a Fellow of Magdalen in 1510, there filled various offices, such as Bursar, Junior Dean, &c., and was sworn President of Corpus, Nov. 26, 1537. His practical capacity seems to be placed beyond doubt, but he appears to have been rather a patron of learned men than a learned man himself. Laurence Humfrey, in his *Life of Jewel* (p. 22), says of him: 'Propter fidem et prudentiam in rebus gerendis ad hujus domus gubernacula ascitus est:

Homo non tam ipse doctrinæ laudibus abundans, quam doctorum fautor et mæcenæ.' It was in this character, doubtless, that, in a sermon preached before the University, according to A. Wood¹, he was styled 'pater patriæ literatæ Oxoniensis.' Morwent must have possessed the gift of pliancy as well as prudence, for he retained the Presidency all through the troubled times that intervened between 1537 and 1558, covering the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, and the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, so that, besides minor compliances, he must, twice at least, have avowedly changed his religion. What he would have done, when Elizabeth ascended the throne, we do not know, for he died opportunely on August 16, 1558, three months before the death of Queen Mary. I have not been able to recover many personal notices of him. One there is, recorded in Mr. Macray's most interesting Annals of the Bodleian Library (2nd ed. p. 13), which, though at first sight not creditable to the 'pater patriæ literatæ Oxoniensis,' is not really to his discredit but to that of Edward VI's Commissioners in 1550, of whose acts the work of Morwent and his colleagues was almost the necessary sequel.

'One solitary entry there is,' says Mr. Macray, 'in the University Register (i. fol. 157^a), which, while it records the completion of the catastrophe (i.e. the destruction of the University Library), sufficiently thereby corroborates the story of all that preceded, namely, the entry which tells that in Convocation on Jan. 25, 1558, "electi sunt hii venerabiles viri Vice-Cancellarius et Procuratores, Magister Morwent, Præses Corporis Christi, et Magister Wright, ad vendenda subsellia librorum in publica Academiæ bibliotheca, ipsius Universitatis nomine." The books of the public library had all disappeared; what need then to retain the shelves and stalls, when no one thought of replacing their contents, and when the University could turn an honest penny by their sale? And so the *venerabiles viri* made a timber-yard of Duke Humphrey's treasure-house.'

Morwent, we know, was, like Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester, also a Corpus man, nominated on Pole's Commission for visiting the University in 1556. One of the matters which

¹ Colleges and Halls, p. 395.

occupied this Commission was the disinterment of Catherine, the wife of Peter Martyr, who had been buried in the Cathedral, near the reliques of St. Frideswide. Fulman quotes, from the 'Hist. Exhumationis et Restitutionis Catharinæ Uxor. Pet. Mart.' fol. 197 b, printed at the end of Conrad Hubert's Life of Bucer and Fagius, the following graphic character of Morwent: 'Fuit Morwennus satis annosus pater, et parvus senex, ad rem tuendam paterfamilias bonus: ad doctrinæ et religionis controversias vindicandas iudex parum aptus, acerrimus tamen vetustatis suæ defensor¹.' Of Morwent's committal to the Fleet I shall speak hereafter².

There is a pleasant story told by Laurence Humfrey of Jewel (p. 22), which may be taken as illustrating the friendly feelings subsisting between the President and his Under-graduates in Jewel's earlier days at Corpus: 'Hic' (Morwentus) 'cum insignem canem haberet, quo valde se oblectabat senex, Juellus in laudem ejus scripsit versus novo anno ineunte, ita ut omnes et carminis venustatem, et ordinis concinnitatem, et in re tantilla ingenii ubertatem, rerum et verborum gratiam et copiam admirarentur.'

We are peculiarly fortunate in obtaining a glimpse of the interior life of the College soon after the commencement of Morwent's Presidency. Laurence Humfrey, President of Magdalen and Regius Professor of Divinity, in his Life of Jewel, has given us a graphic and tolerably full account of Jewel's academical life, and especially of that portion of it which was spent within the walls of Corpus. John Jewel, subsequently Bishop of Salisbury, the most illustrious theologian, next to Richard Hooker, ever connected with Corpus, and one of the most distinguished divines of the Church of England since the Reformation, came up, when 13 years of age, to Merton, where he held a Postmastership. The endowment of a Postmastership was, at that time, apparently slender, nor did it, like a Scholarship at Corpus, lead to a Fellowship. Hence,

¹ Wood (Annals, sub 1556) tells the whole story of the exhumation and two re-burials of Peter Martyr's wife, and reproduces, though in a much feebler form, the character of Morwent given in the text.

² See p. 97.

for his pecuniary, as well as his educational advancement, his Merton Tutors were anxious to place him at Corpus. But it is best to tell the story in the quaint words of Humfrey himself (*Life*, p. 21, &c.):

'Quadriennio pene integro hic confecto, aliam diætam sortitus est : ab hac enim tenui portiuncula Mertonensium ad aliam mensam paulo lautiores vocatur. Siquidem anno Domini 1539, Augusti 19, ipse jam annum agens decimum septimum, hinc, velut optimæ spei novella et generosa plantula, desumptus Collegio quod a Corpore Christi nomen habet inseritur, Slatero, Burræo et Parkhursto id enixe petentibus, quo adhuc indolis et naturæ præstantiam magis ornaret, et ampliorem ingenii cultum capesseret. Quippe

'Debile principium melior fortuna sequuta est.'

The lectures, disputations, exercises, and examinations prescribed by the Founder seem still to have been retained in their full vigour¹, though it is curious to find that the author with whom young Jewel was most familiar was Horace,

¹ And yet there is extant a copy of a curious document of 1540, being a Decree signed by the President, Officers, and Seven Seniors, from which it might be inferred that there were already signs that the pristine discipline was beginning to decay, and specially that the Bachelors were beginning to 'shirk' the Greek repetitions, and the Praelectors to leave this part of their work to their deputies. The Decree partly embodies the provisions of the old Statutes, partly adds new provisions, such as the 'expositions' and 'narrations' at meals. First, the Bachelors were bound to be present at the Greek 'repetitions' (which appear to have been examinations in the work gone through in Lectures), and the Readers, both in Latin and Greek, were bound to conduct these repetitions themselves, each, in turn, three times a week, beginning at eight in the evening and going on for at least half an hour. A student who was absent, or showed contempt for the examination, if a graduate, was to be deprived of commons, if an undergraduate, to be punished with stripes. Moreover, lest the undergraduates should follow the bad example of the bachelors, it is enjoined that the 'laudabiles ac diu observatæ consuetudines Clai mundi (qui primus eas instituit, idemque lectores publicos suis impensis et aluit hactenus, et hodie alit)' shall henceforth be strictly observed at meals by all undergraduate members of the College, whether 'discipuli' (scholars), 'scholares' (probationary fellows, if undergraduates, or 'convictores' (commoners)). These are to be prepared in turn, or as they are called on, to expound (exponere, i.e. translate and explain) some Latin passage at dinner, and some Greek passage at supper, out of the books lectured on during the past year. 'Et at eodem fisdem temporibus historiam aliquam, fabulam, apologiam, aut aliud simile, quod lector humanitatis . . . assignaverit, narrent. . . . In prædictis vero si quis deliquerit, idem subeat supplicium quod delinquentes in repetitionibus prædictis.' These provisions, which were headed 'De Græcis et Latinis repetitionibus et de narrationibus decreta,' were to apply both in Oxford and the country (Witney).

whose works, as we have seen, were strangely omitted from the list of Latin books recommended in the original statutes¹. Jewel, on entering the College, was at once placed in the first Logic class, where he made rapid progress, soon outstripping his class-mates, though they were senior to him in age. At dinner, he attracted attention by his recitations and declamations, and his exercises, generally, were such as to earn the warm approbation of the President and other authorities of the College. His industry was unintermitting. He rose at four in the morning (one hour before the first Mass), went to bed 'late' (at ten o'clock), and often spent whole days in the Library. Under these incessant labours his health broke down, for his body was feeble and his food was too simple and 'scholastic'. Plain living, I may remark in passing, hard work and early rising, were the order of the day in the English Universities during the first half of the sixteenth century, before they became a common resort of rich men's sons, and while strict discipline was still maintained in the Colleges. During an attack of the plague, when the 'Somatochristiani' (as the members of Corpus were then commonly called) had retired to their sanatorium at Witney, he suffered so much from the cold, probably from want of a bedroom, as to contract a

¹ And yet, as already mentioned, there are in the College Library, presented by the Founder, two copies of Horace, as well as copies of Homer, Herodotus and Plato, which are also not in the list of prescribed books. The Homer is the Florentine edition of 1488, the Herodotus the Aldine of 1502, the Plato the Aldine of 1513, and one of the Horaces a Pannartz published at Rome in 1476.

² Cp. Sir Thomas More's address to his children after the resignation of his Chancellorship: 'By my counsel it shall be best for us not to falle to the lowest fare at first. So we will not descend to Oxford fare, nor to the fare of New inn, but we will begin with Lincoln's inn diet, where manie right worshipful of good years doo live full well. Which, if we the first year find not ourselves able to maintaine, then will we the next yeare stepp one foote lower to New inn fare, with which manie an honest man is contented. If that also exceed our abilitie, then we will the next yeare after fall to Oxford fare, where manie grave and ancient fathers be continuellie conversante; which if our power stretch not to maintaine, then may we, like poore schollers of Oxforde, goe a begging with our bags and wallets, and sing *Salve Regina* at rich men's doors.'

I have quoted this passage from the old Life given in Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. ii, where it occurs on p. 82. Wordsworth adduces, in illustration of the Oxford fare, an often-quoted passage from a sermon preached by Thomas Lever at St. Paul's Cross in 1550, describing the fare and the mode of life of the students, at that time, in Cambridge.

lameness in one foot which caused him to limp for the rest of his life. Truly, we may exclaim, in those days, the approach to learning was by no easy or luxurious path !

Jewel, at a due interval after proceeding to his B.A. Degree, began to take pupils both in his chambers and in the public rooms of the College, a position not quite the same as that of a modern College Tutor, but analogous to it. The ardent student was no less assiduous in the discharge of his duties towards his pupils than towards himself. They not only attended lectures or received private lessons, but they were examined at night in what they had been taught in the morning, and every week they wrote a declamation, while they were constantly writing or reciting something in prose or in poetry. The discipline was stern, and doubtless effective. ‘*Ad pœnam iratus raro aut nunquam accedebat, sed cum Philosopho minitans, Cæderem te si non essem commotior : Vacuus ira et liber affectibus, lenius aut asperius, levius aut durius, pro delicti ratione quos dilexit castigabat.*’ His ideas of ‘recreation’ were very different from ours, and, perhaps, erred as much in defect as ours in excess : ‘*Nunquam vero se magnopere recreabat, nisi ambulando, set et tum vel secum meditans, vel pueros docens, vel cum aliis Aristotelice disputans.*’

At length (1548) he was made Reader in Latin or Humanity¹ (or, as it is styled by Humfrey, Humanity and Rhetoric), an office which he held during the remainder of his residence at Corpus, and Humfrey’s account is interesting as showing that the office was still, as the Founder intended it to be, of the nature of a University Professorship rather than a College Lectureship. For members of other Colleges attended his lectures, which were partly on the Orators, partly on the Poets. Amongst the auditors were Humfrey himself, and even his old Merton Tutor, John Parkhurst, who came up from his country rectory purposely to hear him. When Jewel’s lecture was over, Parkhurst, after a hearty greeting, broke out into the distich :

‘*Olim discipulus mihi, care Juelle, fuisti,
Nunc ero discipulus, te renuente, tuus.*’

¹ Fulman MSS., vol. xi, in alphabetical list of names.

Parkhurst was now Rector of Cleeve, the living formerly held by Claymond, and, as its revenues were considerable, he was in a position to show generosity to his friends. Jewel and several others used to visit him once or twice a year, and never came back empty-handed. The following anecdote gives us at once a vivid idea of Parkhurst's liberality and of the narrow circumstances of the recipients: '*Jam illis discessionem parantibus, Parkhurstus in cubiculum eorum ingressus, inspectis crumenis, Ecquid nummorum, inquit, habent isti miselli et mendicissimi Oxonienses? quas cum inanes et pene vacuas invenisset, pecunia largiter ingesta et injecta, cas paulo turgidiores reddidit.*'

That the College shared in the general decay of learning¹, which accompanied the religious troubles of Edward VI's reign, is apparent from two orations delivered by Jewel: one on Dec. 23, 1552, in commemoration of the Founder²; the other³ probably a little earlier, being a sort of declamation against rhetoric, in his capacity of Reader of Latin. In the latter oration, he contrasts unfavourably the present with the former state of the University, referring its degeneracy, its diminished influence, and its waning numbers, to the excessive cultivation of rhetoric, and especially of the works of Cicero, 'who has extinguished the light and glory of the whole University.' In the former, and probably later, oration, he deals more specifically with the College, and admonishes its members to wash out, by their industry and application to study, the stain on their once fair name, to throw off their lethargy, to recover their ancient dignity, and to take for their watchword '*Studeamus.*'

On the death of Edward VI (July 6, 1553), and the undisputed succession, some days afterwards, of Queen Mary, it was plain that the position of Protestants and Catholics was likely to be reversed. Nor was this expectation long in being fulfilled. In the autumn of 1553, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, issued a commission to visit New

¹ For which see Wood's *Annals* from 1547 to 1552, both years inclusive.

² The substance of this oration is given in Humfrey's *Life of Jewel*, pp. 45-49, and also in the Parker Society's edition of Jewel's Works, 4th Portion, p. 1304.

³ This oration is printed in the Parker Society's edition of Jewel's Works, 4th Portion, p. 1283, &c.

College, Magdalen, and Corpus, the Colleges which were under his visitation, and, of course, the Mass, and the old order of things, generally, were re-established. Jewel bent to the storm, according to Wood¹, but Humfrey speaks as if he waited to be expelled (*'Collegio et victu suo deturbatus,'* *'quod Magdalenenses domi suæ perpassi sunt, id ei per suos inflictum est'*). Any way, he was permitted to make a valedictory address to his class, by which, according to Humfrey, he extorted tears even from his adversaries. The concluding words of this oration are given both in Humfrey's Life (pp. 74-5), and in the Parker Society's Edition of Jewel's Works, 4th Portion, p. 1292. It must have been an affecting scene, when Jewel pronounced the last words of all: *'Hei mihi, quando, ut cum dolore meo dicturus sim, ut dicendum est, valeant studia, valeant hæc tecta, valeat sedes cultissima literarum, valeat jucundissimus conspectus vestri, valete juvenes, valete pueri, valete socii, valete fratres, valete oculi mei, valete omnes, valete.'* Jewel took refuge in Broadgates Hall, now Pembroke College, the head of which was a friend of his, and there continued to lecture many of his former pupils, though now in a private, no longer in a public, capacity. He did not, however, long remain there, but had to take refuge on the Continent, at which point in his history the story of his life ceases to be pertinent to our present object. It may be mentioned, to Morwent's credit, that he is said to have regretted Jewel's departure and the share which he had himself been instigated to take in his expulsion.

Several members of the College besides Jewel seem to have been expelled, or to have anticipated expulsion by resignation. To the junior members of the College who refused to conform to the Catholic ritual, or shewed, in any way, their adhesion to Protestantism, minor punishments were also dealt out. Thus Edward Anne, a Scholar (in his nineteenth year), had written a copy of verses against the Mass, of which twenty-four lines are given, as a specimen, by Humfrey. The act was undoubtedly a bold one, for they were written after the Mass had been already re-established.

¹ Wood's Annals, sub 1553.

But the youthful poet and zealot was made to smart for having the courage of his opinions. Mr. Walshe, the Dean of the College, inflicted a public flogging on him in the College Hall, laying on a stripe for every line, and as the lines were probably numerous, and Mr. Walshe was a zealous Catholic, the youth's fortitude must have been sorely tried¹. He afterwards left the College without becoming a Fellow, but whether voluntarily or by compulsion we do not know.

One of the most interesting circumstances connected with Morwent's Presidency is the fact that he and a large number, probably a majority, of the Fellows were, all through Edward's reign, secret adherents of the Roman Catholic religion. Notwithstanding that he had been even forward to embrace the profession of the Reformed Faith on the accession of Edward², he was summoned before the Council, together with two of the Fellows, Walshe and Allen, on May 31, 1552, 'for using upon Corpus Christi day other service than was appointed by the "Book of Service."' On June 15, they were committed to the Fleet. 'And a letter was sent to the College, to appoint Jewel to govern the College during the imprisonment of the President.' 'July 17, the Warden of the Fleet was ordered to release the President of Corpus Christi, upon his being bound in a bond of £200 to appear next term before the Council. Allen, upon his conforming to the King's orders, was restored to his Fellowship³.'

Shortly after the accession of Mary, when Bp. Gardiner's commission visited the College, the President and Walshe boasted that, throughout the time of King Edward, they had carefully secreted and preserved all the Ornaments, Vessels, Copes, Cushions, Plate, Candlesticks, &c., which, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, had been used for the Catholic service. 'In what condition,' says Wood⁴, 'they found that College was such as if no Reformation at all had been there. So

¹ It is somewhat ridiculous, however, to find this boy's whipping, for an act which was undoubtedly a wilful and gratuitous provocation to the College authorities, included in Foxe's Acts of Martyrs.

² See Wood's Annals, sub 1547.

³ Strype's Memorials, Bk. ii. ch. 18.

⁴ Annals, sub 1553.

zealous were many of the Catholics (of whom Mr. Robert Harrison was one) to promote and re-establish their religion, that they omitted nothing that might seem favourable to the Visitors' eyes. Those yesterday that had visibly nothing, the next wanted nothing for the celebration of the Mass, all utensils required for it being ready at hand. 'Tis said that when Pet. Martyr, who was now leaving Oxford, heard the little bell ring to Mass¹, he sighed and said that 'that bell would destroy all the doctrine in that College, which he before had through his and Jewel's labours planted therein' (or, as it is put more tersely by Humfrey, 'Hæc una Noluta omnem meam doctrinam evertit'). It was on the occasion of the visitation of this commission, as Wood says, or on some more private occasion when Walshe was boasting of the vessels and vestments which had been so cunningly concealed, as Humfrey seems to imply, that Wright, Archdeacon of Oxford, one of the Commissioners, referring to Jewel, who had been recently expelled, said that, though they had succeeded in preserving all this treasure, they had thrown away a jewel more precious than it all.

There is perhaps some exaggeration in the account given by Wood (after Humfrey) of the amount of sacred furniture, vessels, and vestments preserved in Corpus during Edward's reign, but that the stock of them was very large there can be no doubt. And there is good evidence that much of it was in the possession of the College, not only, as we shall see presently, in the eighth year of Elizabeth, but at a much later period.

In a work entitled *Desiderata Curiosa*² by Francis Peck, London, 1735 (Vol. II. p. 33), a document, dated Jan. 19, 1646, is reproduced in which Capt. James Wadsworth, formerly a Roman Catholic, gives information to the House of Lords: '1. that there are divers Reliques of Superstition and Popery of a very considerable value in the power and custody of the Presidents and Fellows (sic) of Christ Church

¹ To 'evening prayers' (vespers), Humfrey.

² I am indebted to Mr. C. H. Firth, of Balliol College, for directing my attention to Peck's work.

and Corpus Christi Colleges in Oxford. And in many other places in the Kingdom. 2. Therefore it is humbly desired that a Warrant may be signed for the seizing upon and securing all Popish Priests and Jesuits, and all such Popish Reliques and Massinge Stuffle to bee disposed of as to this Honourable House shall seeme meete.' What the result of this 'information' may have been I do not know, but the large stock of vestments, at least, if not some of the vessels and other furniture, must have been sold or made away with during the Parliamentary period or the Protectorate; for, soon after the Restoration (but I will reserve the account of this matter till we come to that time), we hear of an almost incredible amount of vestments as having then belonged to the College. At present, a few fragments, representing pelicans, pieced together in the cover for a Puritan Communion Table, are the only representatives of this large collection. The only articles of sacred plate that still exist are the exquisite crosier of Bishop Foxe, and his matchless chalice and paten of pure gold. For there is good reason to suppose that all the remaining plate of the pre-Reformation period (besides the beautiful Renaissance salt of Queen Mary's time) was designed for secular uses.

The leaven of secret Romanism continued to work in the College long after the Reformation was definitely settled,—certainly throughout the reign of Elizabeth and not improbably throughout the whole or the greater part of the two earlier Stuart reigns.

Returning to the general history of the College, it would seem that the visitation of Edward VI's Commissioners in 1549 and following years passed more lightly over Corpus than many of its neighbours. At least they did not make the same havoc with the library as at New College, Merton, and several other Colleges, and the plate and vestments escaped them, though, as we shall see presently, by skilful, if not fraudulent, concealment. Nor does there seem to have been much change in the *personnel* of the College, though, owing to the influence, according to Wood, of Dr. Cox, who was the leading Commissioner, one Cartwright, a Nottinghamshire

man, and, therefore, not eligible, was intruded into a Scholarship.

In or about the year 1551, an important interpretation of the Statutes was given by John Poynt, Bishop of Winchester and Visitor, which was afterwards (1562) repeated by Bishop Horne, and remained in full vigour till the abolition of the old Statutes in 1855. As the Mass had been abolished, a question was raised whether it was any longer necessary for the Fellows to assume Holy Orders. Bishop Poynt regarded the matter as 'most plain,' and decided that the words of the Statute 'evidently shew that it is your Founder's mind to have all the Fellows of your House, saving the student in physic, after certain years, to prepare themselves *ad ministerium Dominicum*, which is, as you know, *predicatio verbi et ministratio sacramentorum Domini*; which ministry remain, though massing be gone; so that, though ye be discharged of massing, yet ye be not discharged *a ministerio Dominico*.'

Morwent, as we have seen, died on August 16, 1558. He devised to the College lands in Cowley and Horsepath (Oxon), and Dunteshourne Rouse in Gloucestershire, besides the advowsons of Dunteshourne Rouse and of Lower Heyford, or Heyford ad Pontem, in Oxfordshire. He also devised certain lands in Rewley Meads, on condition of a perpetual weekly dole, but it was said that these lands had been purchased with money entrusted to him by Claymond for the purposes of the College. From Morwent are derived the beautiful silver-gilt ale-cup with cover (1533) and Renaissance salt (1555). He also bequeathed a 'dozen spoons with slypps.' Are these the spoons usually included in the Founder's plate, six of which, with owls, bear the hall-mark of 1506, and six, with balls, that of 1516? Even if these are identical with those bequeathed by Morwent, they may still have belonged to the Founder and either have been given to Morwent or bought by him.

With the notable exception of Jewel, the roll of eminent men admitted into Corpus during Morwent's Presidency is not a distinguished one. The following, given in chronological order, may be enumerated: Giles Lawrence, Regius

Professor of Greek (1539), admitted on the same day as Jewel; Richard Edwards, a poet, musician, and comedian (1540)¹; William Cole, afterwards President and subsequently Dean of Lincoln, of whom we shall presently have much to say (1545); and Miles Windsor, one of the earliest of the Oxford antiquaries (1556-7).

Nicholas Wadham, the founder of Wadham, is said by Antony Wood, in his account of that College given in the History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls, to have been sometime a Commoner of C. C. C. or Ch. Ch., and Fulman, Vol. X. fol. 45 b, puts the query, 'An nostri Collegii Commensalis aliquando fuerit?' The prominence given to the Pelican on the College buildings, and the similarity of the Wadham Statutes to those of Corpus would seem to favour the alternative that he belonged to Corpus. And it might appear as if the question were definitely settled by the circumstance that in a copy of the Wadham Statutes, for the use of the Subwarden, but now in the custody of the Warden, there is a short life of Nicholas Wadham, composed or copied, but any way signed, by one Nathaniel Whally (Subwarden in 1668-9), in which the following sentence occurs: 'Nicholaus Wadham . . . in literis educatus Oxonii Coll. C. C. ad tempus Commensalis; unde discessit et vitam aulicam (*i.e.* court-life) aliquantisper ingressus est.' Whally matriculated in 1654, and Dorothy Wadham died in 1618, so that he must have had good opportunity of learning the facts of Nicholas Wadham's life from contemporaries of him and his wife. But, in Wood's Life and Times, recently edited by Mr. Andrew Clark, Vol. II. p. 256, there is the following counter-evidence: 'Dr. (William) Boswell (scholar of Wadham at its foundation) told me that Nicholas Wadham was of Ch. Ch., and lodged in those lodgings that are now Dr. (Edward) Pocock's (but then I believe Dr. (John)

¹ A play by Edwards, Palæmon and Arcyte, was acted before Queen Elizabeth in Christ Church Hall, on her visit to Oxford in 1566. She gave the author great thanks for his pains, as also on another evening, when the remainder of the play was acted. Edwards' name occurs frequently in Wood's account of Queen Elizabeth's visit (Annals, sub 1566).

Kennall's), but, the said Dr. Kennall refusing to take any rent, Wadham gave him a parsonage, as 'tis said, in Somersetshire.' As regards negative evidence, Wadham's name does not occur on the books of either Ch. Ch. or Corpus, but the record of gentlemen-commoners at Corpus in the middle of the sixteenth century has perished, whereas Mr. Vere Bayne informs me that a complete list of the names of the gentlemen-commoners and commoners at Ch. Ch. at this period, is still to be found in the College books. I incline, therefore, to the opinion that young Wadham simply lodged in Dr. Kennall's house, with possibly his tutor and servant, a practice not uncommon in those days, but did not become a member of the College, and that he afterwards entered Corpus as a gentleman-commoner. If this supposition be right, he was probably an Undergraduate during Morwent's Presidency. For, though there seems to be no record of the date of his birth, we know that his widow, Dorothy, died in 1618, æt. 84, so that, if he was about the same age as his wife, he would probably commence his University life about 1550.

Morwent was succeeded by William Cheadsey, Chedsey, or Chadsey, who was born in 1510, and was elected Somersetshire Scholar of Corpus, March 16, 1528, and Probationary Fellow, Oct. 13, 1531. About 1542, he was appointed Chaplain to Bonner, Bishop of London, who seems, henceforth, to have become his constant friend and patron. In 1549, he took part, together with Tresham and Morgan, in the famous disputation with Peter Martyr, on the doctrine of the Eucharist, held, in the presence of certain Royal Commissioners, in the Oxford Divinity Schools. After Somerset's disgrace, the Romanists, according to Strype (*Memorials of Abp. Cranmer*, Bk. II. Ch. 21), grew very bold:

'To stay these men, the Council, as they had proceeded before against some Popish Bishops, so they thought fit to use some rigours towards others noted to be the forwardest men. One of these was Dr. Chedsey, who was one of the Disputants against P. Martyr, the King's Professor. He took now upon him to preach openly at

Oxford against the steps of the Reformation that were made and making. Whereupon, March 16 (1551), he was committed to the Marshalsea for seditious preaching. Where he lay till November the 11th, 1551. And then he was ordered to be brought to the Bishop of Ely's, where he enjoyed his table, and an easier restraint.'

In the beginning of Mary's reign, he was made Canon of Windsor, and, at various periods, through the patronage, apparently, direct or indirect, of Bonner, he was preferred to the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, a Prebend of St. Paul's, a Canonry at Christ Church, the Rectory of All Hallows, Bread St., and the Vicarage of Shottesbrooke in the Diocese of Salisbury. He also at one time held the College Living of West Hendred.

Cheadsey had a great reputation as a disputant in the Schools. Leland (Cygnea Cantio) speaks of 'Cheadsegus resonæ scholæ columna.' Besides, as we have seen, being pitted against Peter Martyr, he also occupied the position of first opponent in the disputations with Cranmer at Oxford in 1554, disputed, in 1553 and 1555, against Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, and was amongst the representatives selected to do battle for the old faith at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. He was also a preacher. Wood mentions a sermon on Matthew xxii. 15, preached by him at Paul's Cross, and printed in 1545. But probably the most notable sermon which Cheadsey ever preached was that of which we read in Stow's Annals, sub 1554¹:

'The 28 of November, the Lord Mayor of London, with the aldermen in scarlet, and the commons in their liveries, assembled in Paule's church, at nine of the clocke in the forenoon, where Doctoure Chadsey, one of the Prebendes, preached in the quire, in presence of the Bishoppe of London, and nine other Bishoppes, and read a letter sent from the Queene's Counsell, the tenour whereof was, that the Byshoppe of London should cause *Te Deum* to be sung in all the Churches of hys Diocesse, wyth continuall prayers for the Queene's Majestie, whiche was conceived and quicke with chylde: the letter being read, he beganne his Sermon with this Antheme: *Ne timeas, Maria, invenisti enim gratiam apud Deum.*

¹ I am indebted for my knowledge of this reference to the article in the Dictionary of National Biography. The rest of my account of Cheadsey was written before that article appeared.

His sermon being ended, *Te Deum* was sung, and solemn procession was made of *Salve festa dies*, all the circuit of the church.

On Sept. 8, 1558, Cheadsey was elected, and on Sept. 15 admitted, to the Presidency of Corpus. But, as had been the case with Edward VI and Queen Mary, Elizabeth had not been long on the throne, before she issued a Royal Commission to enquire into and reform the state of the University. The Commission was issued about the end of June 1559, and Cheadsey's successor was admitted on Dec. 15, so that it was probably in the latter part of the autumn that he was ejected from the Headship. George Etheridge, Regius Professor of Greek, and then or formerly Fellow of C. C. C., was ejected the same year, and, apparently in the next year, two other Fellows of the College of less note, William Shepreve and James Fenn. As the proceedings of this Commission are described as very moderate, the ground of ejection must have been the refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy.

Cheadsey was stripped of his Canonry at Ch. Ch. as well as of his Headship, and indeed of all his many preferments. He was thrown into the Fleet, where, according to Fulman as well as Wood (in the *Annals and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls*), he died soon afterwards. But, according to Wood's account given in his *Life of Cheadsey in the Athenæ Oxonienses*, he was still alive in 1574. 'In my searches into obscure writings', I find that one John Jones, a priest, living at, or near, Thame in Oxfordshire, did by his last will dated 27 of Aug. and proved the 16th of Oct. following, an. 1574, bequeath to Dr. Cheadsey twenty shillings. By which it appears that he was then living, but where I find not, nor when he died.'

In a decree of the Visitor (John White, Bishop of Winchester), dated Feb. 23, 155 $\frac{3}{4}$, three doubtful points in the Statutes were resolved by enacting (1) that, wherever the words 'Prior and Convent' occur in the Statutes, they shall be taken as applying to the new Dean and Chapter of Winchester; (2) that the 'Medicinæ deputatus' shall be elected, like the College officers, by the President and seven seniors;

¹ In this instance, a book of Wills in the Oxford registry.

(3) that the President, when preaching at St. Paul's, St. Mary Spital, or Westminster, shall have the same privilege of ten days' absence which is, under like circumstances, conceded to a Fellow.

The only person, in any way noteworthy, admitted on the Foundation during Cheadsey's Presidentship, was Simon Tripp, of whose letters I shall have to speak presently, when I come to the time of Dr. Cole.

CHAPTER V.

THE ELIZABETHAN ERA.

ON Dec. 15, 1559, William Butcher, Bocher, or Boucher was nominally elected to the Presidentship, but really appointed by the Commissioners. His admission is formally recorded in the Register, and sets forth that he was admitted by Dr. Wright, Archdeacon of Oxford, one of the Royal Commissioners (who, it may be noticed, had, only six years before, visited the College in the capacity of one of Queen Mary's Commissioners), after he had been duly elected by the Fellows in virtue of letters sent by Richard Cox, Bishop elect of Ely, and Sir John Mason, Knight.

Boucher was, like Cheadsey, a Somersetshire man, was born about Christmas Day, 1516, was admitted Scholar on Nov. 11, 1534, and Probationary Fellow on March 26, 1539. The choice of the Commissioners was not a happy one. He seems to have been an entirely undistinguished man, and, in that respect, was a great contrast to the first three Presidents, especially the first and third. And he seems to have yielded to the natural temptation of inferior men, who have no higher interest or ambition than self-aggrandizement, by attempting to enrich himself at the expense of the College. According to Fulman, a Visitation of the College was held by Robert Horne, Bp. of Winchester, in 1561, and Boucher was then impeached for not delivering the Fines of Copyholds, which he sought to appropriate to himself, there being no statutable justification for such a course. A few months after this Visitation, Dec. 13, 1561, he resigned, for reasons doubtless connected with it, though of the special circumstances which

moved him to retire we are ignorant¹. Soon after his appointment to the Presidency, he was promised (Jan. 3, 1588²) the next presentation to the Rectory of Heyford, which, however, he relinquished on accepting the Rectory of Dunteshourne Rouse, May 20, 1560. To this living he retired on his cession of the Presidentship, and there lived in great obscurity till his death in 1585. 'Recessit autem,' says Fulman, 'ad pauperulam Rectoriam de Dunsburn Militis juxta Corinium in agro Glocestrensi, ubi et obscurus consenuit. Mortuus tandem Octobri exeunte, Anno MDLXXXV. Ibidem sepultus, Novembris primo.'

We happen to obtain a curious insight into Boucher's life at Dunteshourne through an amusing, though over-elaborated, dialogue written by a young Fellow of Corpus, named Nicholas Morice, some time between 1577 and 1585². The dialogue is entitled 'Dialogus de lustratione Geitonica, qui inscribitur Nuttus,' Nutt being the name of one of his friends among the Fellows, for whose amusement the account of the journey professes to be written. The writer is animated with a strong antipathy to Cole, the existing President, with whom he and others were travelling, for the purpose of holding manorial courts. Moreover, the description of Boucher is doubtless tainted with a certain amount of scornfulness and youthful insolence, but it affords so vivid a picture of the manners of the times and of Collegiate relations, though hardly of the pleasantest side of them, that I have not hesitated to incorporate it in full³:

¹ There is an almost illegible paper, written in faded ink, inserted in Windsor and Twyne's Collectanea, fol. 214 b (MS. 280 in Coll. Library), in which Miles Windsor says that Boucher was impeached for not delivering over such fines as might come unto his hands, and that afterwards 'hee did voluntarie yield upp his office and departed from the house.'

² The Dialogue must have been written some time between March 15, 1577, when Morice became an Actual Fellow (for he could hardly have gone on 'Progress' before), and the end of October, 1585, the date of Boucher's death. When I come to speak of it more at length, under Cole's Presidency, I shall give reasons for confining its composition within still narrower limits, namely, 1582 and 1585.

³ It occupies four pages of the Dialogue, 25 b-27 b. The passage about the 'Copies' (Copy-holds), and the burning interest taken in the question, may be illustrated by some sentences which occur a little before the passage extracted, on 25 a: 'Docebant enim' (namely, some letters which Cole had placed in his hands

'Boucherum enim paululum progressi tripodem ex ædibus proreptantem, seque a nobis amolientem observamus : magna voce Sherbonus Boucherum inclamat, et Boucherus ingeminat usque eo, quoad pene irraucesceret : retorquet tandem oculos. Oculos dico : imo caput universum, quo nihil unquam humano corpori dedit ipsa natura ponderosius. Appropinquamus. Consalutavimus. Ingredimur. Imponitur mensæ ingens butyri globus, et panis niger colliculus. Ille voce magna sudastram aniculam surdus compellat : vicinitas personuit ; imperat ut scyathum nobis promat, nobilis, pugnacissimæ cervisiæ, diluculæ suæ potionis : illa respondet voce intensissima et splendida. Suspiciabatur Sherbonus inter illos parietes mures non quievisse, quippe qui, mutui illius sermonis vicissitudine semper perterriti, extorres ex illis laribus profugissent. Mensam relinquimus. Inchoamus sermonem de sententia Præsidis literarum quibus Boucherus sententiam suam ascripsisset. Respondit teterrime. Æstuabam equidem non solum turpitudine sed etiam contumacia responsi. Habita est a me ratio non illius improbitatis, quæ senis digitos impulerat ut nomen subscriberet, sed adolescentiæ meæ et illius senectutia. Senem igitur ex alterius ore omnia loquentem per testamentum Fundatoris sum vehementer obtestatus ut desineret in sua occidente ætate matrem suam magno scelere laceratam ipsa jam Copiarum spe extrema pendentem pati corruiere. Ingemuit igitur : immo omnia de novæ juventutis fervore et animorum impotentium effrænatione *Colo* plenissimus eructavit. Tantum enim apud illum valuit ætatis conjunctio et dignitatis pristinæ æqualitas, ut Præsidis causa, a quo illo odio capitali dissidet, adversus nos flecteret judicium suum, non quin in nostram sententiam discedendum putaret, sed quoniam a juvenibus senem, Præsidem a sociis nollet superari.

on the journey) ' me Boucherum semel concessu Hyeronimi Raynoldi aliorumque seniorum fructum omnium Copiarum percepisse : iterum, cum illi unanimi consensu renuissent, eodem caruisse. Ex quo cognoscere potestis esse divinitus datum huic gymnasio Raynoldorum nomen quorum virtus nunc iterum expectata statum hujus Collegii semel in Barfotiana dictatura, iterum in Coli hianti avaritia conantur redimere, et in libertatem statutus sancitam vindicare.' I am indebted to the Rev. W. D. Macray for kindly directing my attention to this interesting and illustrative *jeu d'esprit*, which is indexed as Rawl. D. 463 amongst the MSS. in the Bodleian Library

Jam tum vidi, quod semper antea habui persuasum, in humana societate nullum esse genus hominum detestabilius, conscientia inquinatius, quam eorum, qui vitæ suæ cursum non ex amore religionis simplici sed ex temporum inclinationibus solent moderari. Nam qui semel fidei suæ arcana fronte falsissima texerit, is, ut tantarum rerum simulationem perpetuo tueatur, facile ad omne facinus stimuletur. Papistam equidem ingenuum diligo; pro honesto Protestante emori possum. *Neutrum* seniculum, ita villam, abhominor. Ego discessi. Boucherus iste, cujus truncum tredecem tuniculi et unum amiculum gau-supinum; tibias triginta caligæ et crassum par ocrearum contexerat; cum voces indignas Præsidi, indignas sene, indignas homine emisisset, in domicilium suum remigravit. Dunsbornam, quam uno jentaculo exinaniuimus, deserimus. Geitoniam porreximus.'

The only name among the admissions during Boucher's Presidentship which need be mentioned is that of Thomas Twine, a famous writer, in his day, of books on medicine, astrology, and other subjects. He was father of the still more celebrated Brian Twyne, the Oxford antiquary.

Thomas Greenway or Greneway, the fifth President, seems to have been freely elected by the Society, and was sworn on Jan. 3, 156½. He was a native of Hampshire, was born in 1520, admitted Scholar on Jan. 26, 153¾, and Probationary Fellow, Aug. 19, 1541. Like his predecessor, he was a man of little, if any, distinction, and, like him, he soon found himself in trouble by the attempt to appropriate to himself, in whole or in part, the Copyhold Fines. 'He, standing upon his Predecessor's terms,' says Fulman, 'was complained of to the Visitor for not making a true accompt of Copyhold Fines.' Like his Predecessor, too, he retired from the Presidency, though whether his resignation was specially connected with the question of the Copyhold Fines, or due to the unpleasant relations generally which subsisted between him and the Fellows, to be described presently, or whether it was purely spontaneous, we have no means of knowing. His resignation

probably took effect in the summer of 1568, when he retired to his Living of Lower Heyford, where, having built a Parsonage House, he was buried Aug. 14, 1571.

In the Fulman MSS., there is no mention of any personal Visitation of the College during Greenway's Presidency, but in Bp. Horne's Register, preserved in the episcopal archives at Winchester, there is a long and very curious account, extending over 17 closely and crabbedly written folio pages, of a Visitation held in the College Chapel, in the year 1566, by Dr. George Acworth, the Bishop's Chancellor and Commissary. The document is headed, '*Acta habita gesta et expedita in Capella infra Coll. C. C. in Univ. Oxon. 17 Oct., 1566, coram ven. viro M^{ro} Georgio Acworth Legum doctore.... ad dictum Coll. visitandum Commissario specialiter deputato.*' It deals mainly with the mutual recriminations of the President and the Fellows, beginning with the charges brought by the President, supported, doubtless, by some of the Fellows, against Hieronymus Reynolds (Fellow), George Atkinson (Chaplain), and Richard Joyner, Clerk of Accompts. The transactions referred to in the charges are not altogether clear, but there seems to be no doubt that these three persons had conspired to conceal Church plate, vestments, and other furniture of the Chapel, in the first year of Elizabeth, withdrawing them from the place where they had usually been kept, the object, of course, being to preserve them from confiscation; moreover, they or some of them are charged with having conspired, about the same time, to forge an Indenture, to which the College seal was surreptitiously affixed, purporting to have been made on the 31st of March in the first year of Edward the VIth (1548) between the then President and the Fellows, on the one part, and Thomas Windesor, Esq. of Bewic Coombe in the County of Surrey, on the other part, with regard to certain 'goods, chattals, and jewells' said to be entrusted to the care of the College by the said Windsor, as well as an obligation (or bond) in £300 (elsewhere stated as £200) to deliver up the same to him when called on. If the fraudulent transaction here charged really occurred, it was

evidently a device enabling Windsor to claim the property, should any attempt be made to confiscate it, and, meanwhile, to retain it in the College for future use, should there be a turn in affairs and a favourable opportunity present itself. The Indenture is given among the pièces justificatives towards the end of the document, but the charge against the persons incriminated, the evidence, and, generally, the judicial proceedings against them, in the earlier portion. The most interesting parts to extract are the accusations against Hierome Reynolds, the evidence of Richard Joyner, and the Schedule of the Church goods in question, which I proceed to give in the order here specified.

'Detecta contra mag. Hieron. Raynolds'.

Imprimis, that Mr Hierome Rainolds hath taken the Church Jewells and other ornaments oute of the Vestrye againste all order of Statute. And kept theme there VIII yeres together (*i.e.* from the commencement of Elizabeth's reign) in his owne privye custodie, part under grounde, part above grounde, And hathe denied the having of it, being asked by Mr President in the last scrutiny. Item, he consented to an unlawfull alienation of the Colledge church goodes, and eyther forged or privily conveyed the Colledge common seale to be set to the said alienation and for recovery of the same again (*i.e.* to enable Windsor, who was the nominal owner, to claim them should circumstances render such a course desirable) bound the Colledge under there common seale to the paymente of ii^{li} (£200) to be paid by a day. Item, he hath lost his right of the Colledge for refusinge to name (*i.e.* vote) diffinitively in Mr Belly's matter beinge requested to give his meaning of the statute. Item he committed perjury (*i.e.* broke the statutes, which he had sworn to observe) for taking his commons in his chamber without leave. Item, he hath a

¹ Wood (Ath. Ox. sub William Rainolds) says of this Hierome Reynolds that 'continuing in the Roman Catholic religion, he practised physic in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; but soon after left the University (probably in consequence of his expulsion, subsequent on these proceedings), and whether he went beyond the seas, and was doctorated there, I cannot tell.' Hierome Reynolds was of the same family and a native of the same place (Pinhoe near Exeter) as the famous John Reynolds, President 1598-1607.

secular fee, whereby at the least he ought to have taken no wages (*i.e.* stipend) but to be content with meat and drinke onely. Item he ys a devine; and was before he was appointed to Phisike, Whereupon he ought to have bin Bachelor of divinity for ii yeares past, or ells to avoyde the Colledge (*i.e.* resign his Fellowship). Item, he punisheth none but certaine of the schollers. Item, he harde (*i.e.* heard) no sophisme (*i.e.* did not attend the disputations of the Bachelors, as all Fellows were bound to do, according to Ch. 23 of the Statutes), as he ys bounde twise or thrice a weke, thes iii yeres. Item, he withstode the President against punishing of a Bachelor for making a noyse at dinner. Item, where one Browne had a copy given to him in the Colledge oute of Courte in the Lordship of Suthbrent (South Brent), he bought the same copy by and by for x^{li} taken oute of the Colledge coffers, beinge then bowser (bursar), And sold yt at the next corte for xxx^{li}, withoute anye fine or heriot allowed for the Colledge. Item, he gave voyce to him selfe in the graunte of lease to him selfe, for the which lease he gave no fine at all.' Reynolds appears to have propounded no answers to these 'detecta,' and, on fol. 22 b of the Register, we find that he was expelled. These allegations against Reynolds were, doubtless, made by the President, as appears plainly in the document itself.

The next extract is the evidence of Richard Joyner, Clerk of Accompts, with reference to the Chapel vessels and vestments: 'Respondit, That where he was charged with the forging of a paiere of Indentures in parchment written by his owne hand whereof the one parte with an obligation for the performance thereof, in three hundred poundes, was sealed with the said Colledge seale with the knowledge and consent of the President (probably Cheadsey) and fellowes of the Colledge then benige (sic), The treuthe ys that, abowte the beginning of this Queenes Raigne, he this Respondent and Mr Hierome Rainoldes rid together, but the yere certainly he remembrethe not ut dicit, unto Brickhill unto an assise where they met with Mr Thomas Windsor with whom the said Mr Hierome had much secret confidence, but what they talked and whereof the Respondent knewe not, for that he

wayted then as a servaunte upon the said Mr Hierome. Et ulterius respondit, that, after that time but when this respondent remembrethe not, the said Mr Hierome delivered unto this Respondent a cotype of ane Indenture in papire concerning the alienation of the said goods whereby, by commandement of the said Mr Hierome and others of the seven seniors then beinge, This Respondent wrote ii of the like sorte Indentures in parchement the yeare after this Queenes Raigne as far as he remembrethe with a scedule specifying certaine goodes of the said Colledge, sed quoad sigillationem alicujus partis Indenturarum prædictarum aut obligationis prædictæ, in vim Juramenti sui alias per eum præstiti, nihil omnino novit et respondere nescit aliter quam prius respondebat. Tunc dictus Joyner exhibuit quandam papiri scedulam manu sua propria scriptam coppos et vestimenta pretiosa dicti Collegii in manibus suis extra Collegium prædictum (implying, probably, that the Clerk of Accompts lived outside the College) adtunc existentia continentem, quam penes Registrarium dimisit. Qua examinatione peracta, dictus Dominus Commissarius commisit custodiam dicti Richardi Joyner Domino Præsidenti, ne forte aliquid secreti rationem amotionis et spoliationis prædictæ concernens divulgaretur, usque in horas prædictas diei crastini.'

Joyner's evidence clearly involved a confession of the forgery. Reynolds and Atkinson were expelled from the College by the Commissary, and I think Joyner as well, but I am here only trusting to my recollection of the document. Several other members of the College were included in the sentence.

The inventory of Church goods is likely to be interesting to the ecclesiologist, if not to others, and, hence, I subjoin it at length.

'Schedulæ indentatæ Jocalium subtractorum copia sequitur et est talis :

Imprimis, iii chalices, one of gold¹, with the Patesies ; Item,

¹ This is probably the beautiful gold chalice date 1507-8, supposed to have belonged to the Founder, which is still in use in the College Chapel. The corresponding paten, of exquisite workmanship, has now (1892) become so thin that it

ii crewets of gold, one lacking a Cover ; Item, ii crewets of silver with kivirs <covers> the one in the box ; Item, one whole sencer of silver ; Item, a bell of silver ; Item, ii paxes set with perles silver and guilt ; Item, a holly water sticke of silver ; Item, vii olde sensors of silver guilte, one lacking the fote ; Item, ii great clapses silver and guilte with ii other payer <pair> of smaler clapses silver and guilte, with other smale peces of silver to the value of half an ounce, all in a little box ; Item, one challice of silver and guilt with a patent also silver and guilt ; Item, one other challice of silver and guilt with one Mr Wotton had with a patent silver and guilt and a corporis case and ii corporis clothes. The Colledge goodes brought in by Joyner. One payer of hangings of the best blewe and vestements with Decon and Subdecon of the same, And a canapye for the sacrament of the same and two hangings of cloth of tissue for the highe Aulter ; Item, the best red of purple velvet for Prest, Decon and Subdecon, And all other necessaries savinge one told lackinge ; Item, one payer <i.e. set> of vestements more being the second best red velvet spanged with golde and perle, decon and subdecon, lackinge a stole ; Item, one payer of vestements of cloth of golde wrought with grene velvet with decon and subdecon of the same ; Item, ii best white hangings for the high aulter called bodkin ; Item, one payer of vestements of blew silke with crownes and miters, decon and subdecon for the same, lackinge a stole ; Item, one canapye for the sepulchre of red silke braunched with golde ; Item, a sepulchre clothe of red and blew braunched with golde ; Item, ii payer of grene copes, one with spanges of gold ; Item, ii other copes of blew silke with miters and crownes ; Item, ii other copes of purple velvet with braunches having the pellicanes¹ of golde ; Three corporas cases, viz, ii of clothe of golde and one of blewe velvet with a percullis

is used only on Trinity Sunday, as being the Sunday nearest to Corpus Christi day. It is said that these are the only chalice and paten of pure gold, dating from pre-Reformation times, still existing in England.

¹ The College is still, as already noticed, in possession of a cloth for a small communion table, composed of fragments of copes ornamented with pelicans wrought in gold tissue. The pelicans are mediæval, but the cloth might be of Elizabeth's time, or, perhaps, later.

<i.e. ornamented with the figure of the portcullis> and iii clothes.'

In the statement of charge against Reynolds, Atkinson, and Joyner, given on fol. 20 a. of the MS., it is said that, besides the articles specified in the schedule, there were '*præterea alia multa et diversimoda bona et catalla*,' a statement which we shall find amply confirmed by the extraordinary revelations, found in a document of the early part of Charles the Second's reign, touching certain copes and vestments formerly in the possession of the College.

Reynolds, supported doubtless by his friends, brought counter charges against the President. Both the charges and the answers give us a curious insight into the manners and sentiments of the time, and certainly do not present the interior of an Elizabethan College in a favourable light. While reading them, however, we must recollect the excessive freedom of language, the bitter feeling of partisanship, and the tendency to impute to an enemy every kind of enormity of which there might be the very slightest grounds of suspicion, that characterise almost the whole controversial literature of the Renaissance and Reformation periods, and which would naturally be imported into the pleadings of an informal law-court, such as was that of a College Visitor. It is also most important to bear in mind that charges, of which no proof is forthcoming, ought, not only in charity but in equity, to count nothing against the accused. Their only value historically is to shew what offences were regarded at the time as capable of credence.

The use of the first person singular in the charges against the President shews that they were the work of one person, and that one person must have been Hieronymus Reynolds. Thus, the proceedings partake much of the nature of a single combat between him and the President. I shall now extract at length both the accusation and the defence.

'*Detecta contra Presidentem*. Imprimis, he toke thirty poundes to by advowson of Dr Warner oute of the Colledge mony and neyther brought the vowson to the Colledge nor

anye acquittance for the same, so that we suppose he hath utterly defrauded the Colledge of the same mony. Item, he toke ii sheets and a half of lede <lead> from the Colledge without consent. He, havinge ii or iii perch of seasoned timber graunted, toke seasoned and unseasoned, all that was in the Colledge. Item, he received of Mr Laurence x^s to pay expenses in progress. He toke that mony to himself. And so deceived the Colledge of x^s. Item, he received of Hurst xiii^s iiiii^d and brought into the coffer but x^s. Item, in lettinge of leases he taketh the greatest parte of the monye vnto himselfe, as y^t appereth by taking vi^{li} xiii^s iiiii^d of James Bell to his owne use, the Colledge having but iiiii^{li}. Allso he received of Mr Butler of Suthton <Southampton> for a fine iiiii^{li} x^s, whereof the Colledge had but xx^s. Allso he had of Lancaster's widow dwellinge in Overton iiiii^{li}. And the Colledge had but iii^{li} xvi^s viii^d. Item, he spoyleth the Colledge wodes ¹ < > as the common report is, and maketh in every sale a part of mony unto himself. Item, allso he giveth the Colledge tres to himself and his servaunts. Item, he is noted of many men to have had (connexion)² with viii Infamous women, ii at Heyford <of which parish he was Rector>, whereof one he brought from Warminster, another from London, one at Exeter called < > host, one in St Allbones an olde acquaintance of his when he dwelte there, and fower at London, as Barbara his Ostes at the Cock³, Margaret Burton, Johane Townsende and Alice of the Cock, of which the last are such women that no honest man may be assumed to be acquainted withall. Item, it was certainly reported by his <? men> Joyner and Butcher that he lay with Sheres wife in London and allso it is commonly reported that he had (connexion)⁴ with her at Mother Bedells. Item, he resorted to her house in

¹ When I have been unable to decipher any word or words in the MS., I have left a blank space within two angular brackets, thus: < >.

² The word within round brackets, as also in a similar place below, is a softened equivalent for the phrase which occurs in the original document.

³ This was probably the Cock Tavern situated at 72 Tothill St., Westminster, now demolished. The history of the Cock Tavern in Fleet St. does not seem to go back beyond the early part of the seventeenth century. See Wheatley and Cunningham's London.

⁴ See note 2 above.

Oxford usque ad obloquium populi et scandalum Ecclesiæ, sometimes untill x or xi of the clock at night. Item, he was sene to kyss the said Sheres wife in her garden as it had been a wanton boy, in so muche that he who did see them said, fye upon all such spirituall men. Item, he forsoke our farme at Heyford at x o'clock in the night, and went to lye at Sheres house. Item, he was taken behind his parlour dore in the darke night with his Ede of Warminster, with other manifest signes of adultery which I am ashamed to write. Item, he rode downe from London in the company of Johanne Townesend and Sheres wiffe, women notoriously suspected of whoredome. Item, at St Albones he layed his purse before his acquainted¹, and bad her take what she wolde to obey his carnall desire. Item, at Exeter he left his Inne and lay at the house of Mrs how a woman infamous, and was, as may be proved, notoriously drunk there. Item, he is accompted a Whoremonger, a common drunkard, a mutable papist and an unpreching prelate and one of an Italian faith. Item, he bad in the Colledge to dinner Alice of the Cock, Ede of Warminster and Sheres Wife, infamous women. Item, that going in progress, as I have hard², <

> minstrels and women to the infamy of the Colledge and diminution of our goodes. Item, he resorteth to bull-beytinge and bearebeyting in London and commandeth his man to put yt on another score. Item, in Christmas last past he, comming drunk from the Towne, sat in the Hall amonge the Schollers until i of the clock, totering with his legge, tipling with his mouth, and hering bawdy songes with his eares as, My Lady hath a prety thinge, and such like. In the ende, drabbinge to bed, cold not be persworded that yt was yet ix of the clock (the College gates were by Statute finally closed at 8 in winter and 9 in summer, so that 9 was presumably 'bed-time'), when indeede yt was past ii. And in like sorte, at Candlemas last, he was noto-

¹ The reader should notice this peculiar use of the word 'acquainted,' for paramour. It does not occur in Dr. Murray's Dictionary.

² This expression shews that the accusations came from a single person, who must have been Hierome Reynolds.

riously drunk. Item, yt ys reported that he prayed for the dede in his Sermon at Paules cross, whereupon yt was written to one of the fellows of his house, that Exultamus coram papistrie, and my L. Wenford called him purgatory snake. Item, he hath willfully incurred perjury (i. e. broken the Colledge Statutes which he had sworn to observe) in those ii statutes, where the number of commoners are appointed. Item, for taking mony and bribes for the admitting of schollers, as, namely, of Lane vi tres worth iiii marks, for Tye half a kersy, for Pottell a gowne clothe, for Sir Napper (i. e. Napier B.A.) iiii nobles, for Mathewe x^{li}, for Kere (i. e. Kyre) x^{li}. Item, he entereth matters in Lawe without consent of the fellowes. Item, he kepeth vi horse continually in the stable, whereas the Colledge nedeth and alloweth but five. Item, the expenses of the stable riseth to x^{li} more yearly then ever before his time. Item, he hath given away to his kindred and his familiar acquainted frowes the Colledge Landes for small fines or none, suplanting a number of old tenauntes, as, namely, amonge all other he hath given to a woman that he is muche suspected to have liked incontinently withall a copy for xiii^s iiii^d, whereas for the same there wilbe (i. e. will be) given xx^{li}. And here note, good Mr Chauncellor, that he hath suplanted by this wicked deede iii or iiii pore children, whose father builde the tenement oute of the ground. Item, he ys a faithfull frende to all the papistes and a mortall enemy to all the protestants in this house, a very *aθεος*, a right (? mache villion¹). And therefore ys reported to study Jacke (? maicher², or maither, or mouther, or moucher) a wicked boke written in the italian tonge. Item, he calleth prestes sonnes prestes Brattes. Item,

¹ 'Machiavellian' has been suggested by Mr. Parker of the Bodleian. There can be little doubt, I think, that this suggestion is right, though probably the scribe, not understanding the reference, took down the word or words from the sound, or miscopied the Articles of Charge.

² Jacke might stand for either Jacopo or Giovanni, James or John. Part of the second word is very difficult to decipher. There is no doubt about the first letter or the three last. The intermediate letters might be *aic* or *ait* or *out* or *ouc*. A learned correspondent (Mr. F. Adams, Reader for the Press at Messrs. Spottiswoode's) has adduced strong reasons for reading *mouther* or *moucher* and identifying the reference with Boccaccio (Giovanni Boccacci). See Appendix E.

he admitted Mr Belly without ane othe. Item, he hath lefte in our fine Box but ii^a vid. In which, at his cumming, he found cccc^{li}. Item, where he mought have gotten c^{li} to the Colledge by gadged plate (i. e. plate left in pawn) of Mr Dr Lougher, he restored it againe without consent of the seven, contrarye to his othe and order of the statute.'

The answer of the President to the detections. 'First, I say that all the articles are criminall and therefore suche as I am not bounde to answer, and all in manner generall, withoute noting of fact time or place, so that there canne be made no direct answer unto them. And suche as be onely made to slaunder me, the slaunders never mening to prove one of them.' He then proceeds to deny them seriatim, in some cases giving specific explanations. There is an elaborate explanation of the xxx^{li} connected with the purchase of the advowson of Heyford, shewing how very complicated the whole business was. . . . 'Touchinge taking the Colledge fines to my owne use ys most untrewe. But yt ys trewe that I have given me for my good will sometimes mony of the tenants, and so have everye one of the fellowes to. But let yt be proved that ever I toke penny of the Colledge fine. And let me be punished accordingly therefore' (ignoring the fact that these presents or 'douceurs' for good-will all acted, just like 'commissions' to servants nowadays, in the way of diminishing the sum that came to the College). As to the charge with regard to the woods, he says, among other things, 'It ys trewe that in progress I do now and then give a tre to every of the servants towards the byinge of there botes and weringe there apparrell, as my predecessors were used to do.' 'Touching the women whereof I am most slaunderously defamed withall,' he denies the facts alleged, speaks of 'this conspiracye that ys nowe made against me,' and enters on explanations, which do not appear altogether satisfactory. Sheres seems to have been a book-binder who dwelt in Pater-noster Row near Doctors' Commons. 'While I dwelled with the Busshop of Elye, I lay sick in Ely place in Holborne a quarter of a yere, at what time the said Sheres beinge a younge man and unmarried did watche with

me and kepe me in my sickness, for acquaintance I had with him, in that he had before used to binde my bokes. After I was president, I did give him a reversion of a copyhold in Heyford, whereof was there a life of a maide to ronne, which mayde died shortly after. And the coppye fell to the same Sheres, who dwelleth there now. And, where yt ys sayde that I lefte the farmer's house and lay there one night, yt ys trewe I did so. And the occasion was this, as my accuser cannot deny, yt was upon the Wake day at night, at what time the farmers house was full of strangers that came from places abowte thither and lay there. And, because there was no chamber but where divers other shuld have lien and disquieted me, I wente that night to the other house. And I never lay but that one night out of the farmers house (where he seems to have lodged, when he went over to Heyford for parish or college purposes). Yet I have been there forty times sithens that and before. Other ii women that they name were wives to ii pore men that were my servauntes to whom I have given two small thinges.' And so on. . . . 'Where yt ys objected that I am a common drunkard, yf yt may appeare by the testimony of anye honest man that I was ever sene drunk, then I yeld to this accusation. I besече your worship let the worshipfull of this universitie report of this point how impudent a slander yt ys.' Touching the Sermon at St. Paul's, he refers to my Lord of London (Grindal), who examined the matter, and found that he was 'mistaken' (i. e. misunderstood). As to the number of commoners, the extension was in favour of Lord Sondes, and the Founder gives the President some discretion in this matter. (It is noticeable that he was 'taken in with his Scholemaster and brethren¹'). . . . 'I never condicioned for penny nor reward for the admitting of anye Scholler. I never entered matter in lawe without consent.' . . . 'Touching papistry, yf any facte

¹ 'And that I might do well to take him in and his Scholemaster and Brethren, because he was a nobleman and might pleasure the Colledge. And allso wolde pay for all he toke.' This is an instance of a practice which appears not to have been uncommon about this time, namely, for two or more young members of a family to lodge in a College under the superintendence of a private tutor. For the practice, generally, of bringing up private tutors, cp. pp. 50, 102.

canne be proved or objected against me, let me have the haine (i.e. odium) of it to the uttermost. They that object papistry to me nowe did object¹ at my comminge into the Colledge that I coulde not be President because I was expelled in Queen Maries dayes for religion.... As to the sermon in which he spoke of the marriage of priests, at St Peter's, let them testify who heard him. The accuser speaks only by hearsay. . . . And suche (sc. accusations) as I cannot frame any direct answers, my request ys that, yf yt may appere to you that there is a conspiracye to undoe me and defame me, that my enemies that so conspire may be no witnesses against me, but that I may be reported by the worshipfull and best sorte of the Towne and University what my conversacion ys and whate fame I have bin of and am of in the Towne.'

Then follows the evidence of witnesses. *Hieronymus Reynolds* says, inter alia, that 'Lancaster's widow of Overton paid unto Mr President iiii^{li} for his good-will and for a fine to the Colledge iii^{li} xvi^s viii^d.' He adds similar cases, and then proceeds to give evidence on the charge of corruptly receiving gifts. 'Mr President had of John Lane, to admit him a scholler, vi tres which were worthe fower markes, of Tye half a kersy worth xxx^s, which he knoweth by reason the boye's father came into the house and toulde him of yt.' *Simon Tripp* B.A. confirms Reynolds' testimony as to the gifts of the scholars Lane and Tye (both on hearsay evidence). *Johannes Lans* dicit 'that he gave the mony to bye the trees to Mr Hopkins of Broadgates, viz iiii marks, which Mr President received of Mr Hopkins to admit this deponent to be a Scholler.' Similar testimony is given by other Scholars. One testifies that 'Mr President wolde not admit him under x^{li} or xx^{li} markes.' The Vice-President Mr Laurens (*Laurence*) gives evidence as to taking inordinately small fines on the renewal of copies, especially to Shears.

On a general review of this evidence, it seems as if the case

¹ Shewing that Greenway's was a contested election. The objection on the ground of 'papistry' was exceedingly uncandid on the part of Hierome Reynolds, who, according to Wood, himself 'continued in the Roman Catholic religion.' See above, p. 111, n. 1.

against Greenway was made out with regard to accepting bribes (or ? presents) on the admission of Scholars, and also with regard to receiving inordinately large sums for 'good-will' on the renewal of copies and leases, to the undoubted detriment of the general College revenues. But no evidence is even tendered with regard to the charges of drunkenness and incontinency, so that the presumption seems to be that they were either false or incapable of proof¹.

After the evidence follows the Copy of a testimonial to Greenway's character, signed by John Kennell D.C.L., Vice-Chancellor, and other principal residents in the University, denouncing the graver charges made against him, and stating unambiguously their own entire disbelief in them. Next come certain 'exceptions' of Greenway to the witnesses against him.

The document contains no evidence of any judicial action taken against Greenway, though several of the Fellows and other members of the College were summarily expelled, some possibly for not accepting the Articles of Religion, which, in an abbreviated form, were tendered to the whole College. Possibly Greenway may have claimed that his case should be referred to the Visitor himself (as permitted in the Statutes, Ch. 53), or, as there was no definite evidence of the graver charges, and corruption in the bestowal of offices and extortionate or colourable practices in the management of

¹ And yet the charge of incontinency derives a certain amount of independent support from a bitter attack on Greenway by Simon Tripp, a Fellow of the College, of whom we shall twice hear again in the course of this history. This attack is contained in a very rhetorical effusion (preserved in the *Collectanea* of Miles Windsor and Brian Twine, MS. 280 in the Corpus Library, fol. 239, 240), entitled '*Fatalis oratio Simonis Trippi*,' which professes (though I think this must be a figment) to have been delivered in the presence of Greenway. The charges of incontinence (including adultery, impiety, hypocrisy, vindictiveness and tyranny are made or insinuated repeatedly throughout the Oration. But there is no imputation of drunkenness,—negative testimony from a declared enemy, which affords some presumption that the charges under this head at the Visitation were false or grossly exaggerated. Some slight confirmation of the charges against Greenway with regard to women, or it may possibly be an explanation of them, is afforded by a passage in Morice's Dialogue, in which, speaking of the characteristics of former Presidents, with reference to Cole's card-playing, in order to while away his time on 'Progress,' he says of Greenway. '*Morwenus cum villico, Grenwains fortasse cum villica sermones contulisset.*'

corporate estates were so common in those days as to elicit but slight censure, Dr. Acworth may have thought that there was no sufficient ground for proceeding to extremities with the President. Moreover, notwithstanding the charges of Papistry, brought against him by his adversaries, his religious convictions were probably in sympathy with the winning side, and party zeal at this time ran too high not to take some account of this fact. Any way, he seems to have remained in office at least a year and a half longer, when, as already recorded, he retired to his Living of Heyford.

There is one debt which the College owes to Greenway. He wrote a short life of the Founder, of which there are several manuscript copies, with slight variations, in the College Library (MS. C. C. C. 280). Though ill composed, it is our oldest authority for some of the events of Foxe's Life, and, as Foxe had been dead little more than eight years when Greenway came to the College, he must have had ample opportunity of hearing particulars about the Founder's history from persons acquainted with him or at least with the facts of his life, who were still resident in College.

It may be noted that the Visitor, Robert Horne, in giving (July 6, 1562) an interpretation of the Statutes, in relation to a doubt that had arisen whether the usual oath should be tendered to a Reader, who was elected not from within, but from outside the College, which he resolved affirmatively, took occasion to remark on the repeated violation of the Statute concerning assuming Holy Orders. 'Et quoniam complures reverendos et honestos viros audimus conqueri de violato a vobis statuto altero concernente sacerdotum apud vos creationem; quam etiam querelam ipse nuper Præsides vester Willielmus Bocherus lamentans exhibuit nobis in visitatione nostra ultima apud vos,' &c. He then proceeds to lay down emphatically and judicially, and with a stern warning to all and singular to conform themselves in future to his decision, the same position as that assumed by Bp. Poynt, eleven years before, namely, that, notwithstanding the changes effected by the Reformation, the Fellows were still under the

obligation of entering the Ministry. As for the subtle distinction (*peracutum*) between the priesthood and the ministry, 'significamus vobis, quod malo animo et inscien-ter distingua-tis, interponentes discrimen inter vocabula, quorum sensus nullum omnino discrimen habeant.' It would seem as if the Fellows of Colleges were beginning to chafe under this restriction, some because they would have preferred to follow lay professions, others, perhaps, because they were disinclined to pledge themselves to the Reformed doctrine and discipline to such an extent as the entrance into the ministry seemed to imply.

The notable admissions during Greenway's Presidency were those of John Barfoot or Barefoot, Archdeacon of Lincoln, who took a very prominent part in the affairs of the College at a subsequent period, admitted 1564; and John Reinolds, Rainolds, or Reynolds, one of the most famous theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and, perhaps, the most distinguished of all the Presidents of Corpus, admitted in 1563.

William Cole, a Lincolnshire man, born probably at Grant-ham¹, in 1527, who, without passing through a Scholarship, had been elected to a Probationary Fellowship on July 28, 1545, was sworn, as Greenway's successor, July 19, 1568. The story of his election, or rather appointment, is best told in the quaint words of Antony Wood², whose account, though somewhat rambling, is not without its interest even in respect to incidental matters. There are three points in it specially which claim our attention: (1) the strength and numbers of the Roman Catholic party still holding its ground in Corpus³; (2) the freedom with which the Crown, at that time,

¹ The name of the birth-place does not occur in the College Register, further than 'natus in com. Lincoln.' But in Burn's History of Parish Registers in England, p. 285, there is the following extract from the *Livre des Anglois* at Geneva: Anno 1557. William Cole of Grantham in the County of Lincoln and Jane Agar, daughter of Ales (Alice) Agar, widdow. Probably, therefore, Grant-ham was his birth-place.

² Annals, vol. ii. pp. 164-6.

³ There is extant (MS. C. C. C. 280, fol. 238, and also Fulman MSS., vol. x. fol.

intermeddled in College elections; (3) the arbitrary and unconstitutional power then exercised by the Visitor of the College.

'As there arose therefore a commotion in Merton Coll. some years since', partly upon account of Religion, so the like almost now in Corpus Christi, which, partly from tradition and partly from record, appears to be thus. Thomas Greenway of that College resigning his Presidentship, a Citation was stuck for the election of another to succeed him. In the vacancy the Queen commended to the choice of the Society one William Cole, sometime Fellow of that College, afterwards an exile in Queen Mary's Reign, suffering then very great hardships at Zurich. But, when the prefixed time of Election came, the Fellows, who were most inclined to the R. Catholic persuasion, made choice of one Rob. Harrison, Master of Arts, not long since removed from the College by the Visitor for his (as 'twas pretended) Religion, not at all taking notice of the said Cole, being very unwilling to have him, his wife, and children, and his Zurichian Discipline introduced among them. The Queen hereupon annulled the Election, and sent word to the Fellows again that they should elect Cole, for what they had already done was, as she alledged, against the Statutes. They submissively give answer to the contrary, and add that what they had done was according to their consciences and oaths.

147, 8) a Latin letter, addressed by thirteen of the Fellows, including Simon Tripp, Thomas Twine, and John Barfoot, to Dr. Acworth, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Winchester, which was evidently written during the vacancy of the Presidentship, after the retirement of Greenway. Bp. Horne apparently was ill or otherwise incapacitated, and Acworth, who was acting on his behalf, had apparently come to the College. The object of the letter is to bespeak the good offices of Acworth, in order to prevent the election (which rested with the seven seniors) of some person of Romish proclivities (probably Robert Harrison): '*Fructu igitur ista vel natura, vel moribus, vel virtute tua; et, quoniam ad judicium exercendum et leges conservandas venisti, noli quæso committere ut ita te misericordem præbeas, ut justitiæ tuæ te oblivio capiat; ne per te fiat ut in nomen et fortunas nostras homo cum multis sceleribus tum papistria contaminatus invadat.*' As Cole was admitted by the Visitor himself in the Chapel of the College, according to the account which I shall presently extract from Wood, which is confirmed by the College Register, this visit of Acworth was probably made previously, at the time of the futile election of Harrison. The document shews that there was in the College a strong party which dissented from the election of Harrison, and which probably, during the early years of his Presidency, would be favourable to Cole.

¹ See Wood's *Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 148-151, and the *Memorials of Merton College* by the present Warden (The Hon. G. C. Brodrick), published by the Oxford Historical Society, 1885

'The Queen not content with their answer sends Dr. Home, Bishop of Winchester, Visitor of the College, to admit him; but when he and his retinue came, they found the College gate shut against them. At length after he had made his way in, he repaired to the Chapel, where, after the senior Fellows were gathered together, told them his business, not unknown (as he said) to them, and then asked each person by seniority whether they would admit Mr. Cole; but they all denying, as not in a possibility of receding from what they had done, pronounced them non Socii, and then with the consent of the next Fellows admitted him. About the same time (viz. 21 July), a Commission was sent down from the Queen, directed to the Chancellor of the University, the said Bishop of Winchester, Sir William Cecyll Principal Secretary, Thomas Cooper, Lawr. Humphrey, Doctors of Divinity, and George Acworth, Doctor of the Laws, to visit the said College, and to correct and amend whatsoever they found amiss, and expel those which were noted to be delinquents. The sum of all was that, after a strict enquiry and examination of several persons, they expelled some as Roman Catholics, curbed those that were suspected to encline that way, and gave encouragement to the Protestants.

'Three of those so ejected were Edmund Rainolds, Miles Windsore, and George Napier. The first, who was elder brother to John Rainolds, receded to Gloucester Hall (a place to which lovers of the Catholic Religion retired for their quiet) where, living in great retiredness, arrived to the age of 92, and died a wealthy man. The second lived afterwards for the most part in Oxford, and became not a little eminent for his Learning in that way he professed, "*Antiquæ Historiæ artifex peritus (as one hath) et ornatissimus Trilinguium meorum* ¹ *Alumnus.*" He was Author of a Book entitled "*Academi-arum, quæ aliquando fuere et hodie sunt in Europa, catalogus et enumeratio brevis.*" He wrote also a little book of the Antiquity of the University of Oxford, but Mr. Twyne's coming out, before he was willing to publish it, stopped the Author from going any farther in that matter. Several Collections of his Antiquities I have seen, but savour too much of credulity and dotage. He died a moderate Catholic, or such as we call a Church Papist, an. 1624, aged 86 or thereabouts, and was buried in Corp. Ch. Coll. Chapel, to which College he left money and Books. As for the third, George Napier, he went afterwards beyond the seas, where spending some time in

¹ I. e. members of C. C. C. See p. 59.

one of the English Colleges, that was about these times erected, came again into England and lived as a seminary Priest among his relations, sometimes in Halywell near Oxford, and sometimes in the country near adjoining, among those of his profession. At length, being taken at Kertlington, and examined by one Chamberlaine Esq. a Justice of the Peace, was sent Prisoner to the Castle of Oxford, and, the next Sessions after, being convicted of Treason, was on the 9 Nov. 1610 hanged, drawn, and quartered in the Castle yard. The next day his head and quarters were set upon the 4 Gates of the City, and upon that great one belonging to Ch. Ch. next to St. Aldate's Church, to the great terror of the Catholics that were then in and near Oxford. He was much pitied for that his grey hairs should come to such an end, and lamented by many that such rigour should be shewn on an innocent and harmless person. No great danger in him (God wot) and therefore not to be feared, but being a Seminary, and the Laws against them now strictly observed, an example to the rest must be shewed. Some, if not all, of his quarters were afterwards conveyed away by stealth, and buried at Sandford near Oxford, in the old Chapel there, joining to the Manor House, sometime belonging to the Knight Templars.

'As for Mr. Cole (who was the first married President that Corp. Ch. Coll. ever had), being settled in his place, acted so foully by defrauding the College, and bringing it into debt (not to be recruited till Dr. Rainolds became President) that divers complaints were put up against him to the Bishop of Winchester, Visitor of that College. At length the said Bishop, in one of his quinquennial Visitations, took Mr. Cole to task, and, after long discourses on both sides, the Bishop plainly told him,—“Well well, Mr. President, seeing it is so, you and the College must part without any more ado, and therefore see that you provide for yourself.” Mr. Cole therefore, being not able to say any more, fetcht a deep sigh and said—“What, my good Lord, must I then eat mice at Zurich again?” meaning that must he endure the same misery again that he did at Zurich, when he was an exile in Queen Mary's reign, where he was forced to eat carrain to keep life and soul together. At which words the Bishop being much terrified¹, for they worked with him more than all his former oratory had done, said no more, but bid him

¹ We must recollect that Bishop Horne had been in exile with Cole at Zurich, and was probably (see pp. 129, 30) in the same house with him, where they may have 'caten mice' together.

be at rest and deal honestly with the College. So that though an end was for that time put to the business, yet means were afterwards found that he should resign his Presidentship for the Deanery of Lincoln.'

Wood proceeds to state that the principal instrument in bringing about the Visitation of the College was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, then Chancellor of the University, 'a great favourer of the Calvinistical Party'; his favourites in the University having reported to him the religious condition of the College. Cole's name, it is not improbable, may have been suggested for the Presidency by Horne to Leicester, and by Leicester to the Queen.

Two accounts of these same events are given by Strype, one in his *Life of Abp. Parker*, Bk. III, Ch. 20, the other in his *Life of Abp. Grindal*, Bk. I, Ch. 13. The latter, as giving some particulars not contained in Wood's account, I subjoin :

'Complaints came up this year concerning the prevalency of Popery in Oxford ; and particularly in Corpus Christi, and the New College, and that of Winchester appertaining to it. Wherein were strong parties of such as inclined that way. As for Corpus Christi, the Queen appointed one Cole, a learned and a good man, once an exile, to be President there. But the college would not admit him, and elected another, named Harrison, who had before left the college out of an affectation to the Popish religion. Insomuch that the Bishop of Winchester, the Visitor of that college, was fain to institute a visitation, and placed the said Cole by force in the said presidentship, breaking open the gates of the house which they had shut against him. And when the said Bishop had made some progress in visiting the house, in order to the purging it of some of the worst affected Fellows, they were so refractory and abusive, that the visiting Bishop sent a letter to Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, shewing that it was his judgment that the irregularities of this college, as likewise of New College and Winchester, would be better remedied by the Ecclesiastical Commission than his private visitation. The Archbishop signified this to the Bishop of London, and withal sent him Winchester's letter. He, considering the stubbornness of these University

men, approved of the counsel of bringing them before the Commission, perceiving well what seminaries of irreligion and disobedience they might prove: and sending the letter back again, he wrote his mind at the bottom briefly in these words, "My Lords, I like this letter very well, and think, as the writer, if by some extraordinary ready [means; or? does it = remedy] that house and school be not purged, those godly foundations shall be but a nursery of adder's brood, to poison the Church of Christ.

"Edm. London."'

The actual measure taken, however, was to issue the special Commission mentioned by Wood.

The intervention of Hooker and his pupil George Cranmer, mentioned by Strype in the passage above referred to in the *Life of Abp. Parker*, cannot have taken place at this time, it being simply an impossibility from the comparison of dates, but it may have occurred at some subsequent period during Cole's Presidency.

The appointment of Cole was, in one respect, a return to the better traditions of the College; for, like its first three Presidents, he was at least a man of eminence and learning, and had sympathies with learned men. Expelled from the College, or taking refuge in flight, soon after the accession of Queen Mary, in 1553 or early in 1554, he is spoken of by Humfrey¹ as forming one of the band of English Protestants who composed a sort of literary society ('*in hoc literatissimo Collegio*') round Peter Martyr, at Strasburg. But he, with others, soon moved to Zurich, where he, Robert Horne, afterwards Bp. of Winchester (with whom he was destined, hereafter, to be brought into very different relations, the two being respectively President and Visitor of Corpus), Margery, Horne's wife, Pilkington, afterwards Bp. of Durham, Thomas Lever, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, Laurence Humfrey, and others, twelve in all, petitioned the Magistrates of Zurich, that they might be permitted to sojourn in their most famous city, 'relying upon and supported by your sanction, decree,

¹ *Life of Jewel*, p. 87.

and protection against the violence of those, should any such be found, who would oppose and molest us¹. These, in all probability, were the twelve persons spoken of in Humfrey's *Life of Jewel*, p. 89, who lived in common in Froschover's House. 'Accessimus huc ante Petri Martyris adventum, Angli aliquot circiter duodecim: in domo Christophori Froschoveri, Typographi diligentissimi et honestissimi, simul fraterne et jucunde viximus, et ordinaria pensa, quasi in Gymnasio quopiam, persolvimus.' From Zurich Cole, possibly having first spent some time at Basle², must have removed to Geneva, arriving there in the summer of 1557. In Burn's *History of Parish Registers* (2nd Ed., p. 281) the names are given 'of all such persons as have been received into the English Church and Congregation at Geneva.' On June 5, 1557, were received Ales (Alice) Agar, other members of the Agar family and William Cole. During his residence at Geneva, he took part in the translation of the Scriptures, which is known as the 'Geneva Bible.' Whether he returned to England at once on Q. Elizabeth's accession³, and, whenever he did return, where he lived, or how he occupied himself, we do not know. He certainly was not 'restored to his Fellowship,' or, at least, if so, he cannot have held it sufficiently long to 'exchange it for the Presidentship,' which is the 'conclusion' of the writer of Cole's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; for, as we have seen, one of the objections to Cole's election as President was 'his wife and children,' and the institution of married Fellows had not then been invented.

It is curious, and especially in that age, that a man so learned and well known as Cole should, if we except his

¹ Zurich Letters (Parker Society), 1537-1558. The date of this letter is 1554, but no day or month is given. It is numbered 356.

² Several of the letters to or from Cole which are copied in vol. ix of the Fulman MSS. (see p. 132, n. 3) are addressed to or by him at Basle. He may have been there on two occasions, but, if on one only, it was probably during an interval between his stay at Zurich and that at Geneva.

³ The reference to Strype's *Annals* I. i. 343 (Clarendon Press Ed.), i. c. Ch. 10, sub 1560, where it is said that he took part in the Geneva translation, certainly does not bear out the assertion in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* that 'Cole was among those that at once came back to England.' He may have been among the 'one or two more' who 'stayed behind' with Whittingham.

share in the Geneva Bible, have left behind him no published works. The only printed matter ascribed to him are a few epistles included in the Zurich Letters, Second Series, 1558-1602, and these mostly deal with private topics. Some of his earlier letters, of which there are copies in the Fulman MSS., vol. IX, are somewhat more interesting, as illustrating the great privations suffered by the Marian exiles, but they are of no great importance.

William Higford, who was admitted Commoner of C.C.C. in 1596, during Cole's Presidency, says, in *The Institution of a Gentleman*, that his 'father had for his tutor doctor Cole, an excellent governour¹.' And this direct testimony is indirectly supported by such circumstances as Bishop Jewel's commendation to him of Hooker and by the sums of money frequently entrusted to him for distribution amongst poor students, for which see *The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell*, edited by Mr. Grosart in 1877, a work to which I shall presently refer again in connexion with Hooker.

But there can be no doubt that in his relations to the Fellows he was less happy than in his relations to the Students. Making all allowance for over-statement and for religious and personal prejudice, he was evidently not a man of conciliatory disposition or one who was likely to work in harmony with colleagues. Moreover his avarice and self-seeking seem to be established beyond doubt. Antony Wood, in a passage already quoted, says that 'being settled in his place, he acted so foully by defrauding the College and bringing it into debt (not to be recruited till Dr. Rainolds became President) that divers complaints were put in against him to the Bishop of Winchester, Visitor of that College.' The repeated appeals to the Visitor² during his Presidency,

¹ See Park's additions to Wood's notice of W. Higford in *Ath. Ox.*, ed. Bliss, vol. iii. 429, 30. The author of the article on Cole in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* transfers this testimony from Higford to Wood, who does not even report it.

² It is curious that in Bp. Horne's Register in the Episcopal Archives at Winchester, though, as we have seen, it contains a very long account of a Visitation in Greenway's time (1566), there is absolutely no mention of Cole or of anything referring to him. It looks as if Horne did not wish to perpetuate the recollection of either the unconstitutional proceedings of 1563 or of his friend's shortcomings.

the reported conversation between them, the substantial truth of which there is no reason to doubt, and the incidental notices which we obtain of the affairs of the College at this time, all point in the same direction. The old question of the fines of copyholds, with which the resignation of the two previous Presidents was not improbably connected, still troubled the College in Cole's time¹.

For the claim put forward by these three Presidents there seems to be no statutable authority. But it not unnaturally came about from their presiding in the manorial courts and from the fines being, probably, paid to them personally on the spot². And then the old allowances,—the commons, the servants, the horses, the vests, and the modest stipend of ten pounds yearly, which had been amply sufficient for the wants of a dignified ecclesiastic fifty years before, were, with the increased cost of all articles of consumption, and, probably, the more ambitious style of living, becoming inadequate even for a single man, while to a married man like Cole, with an increasing family, and associating with other married Heads, the temptation to endeavour to augment his income must have been exceedingly strong. Moreover, men who have known privations in early life, and he must often have fared hardly during his exile³, are usually just those who

in his office. The only entry, during Cole's Presidency, is a notice that a Personal Visitation of C. C. C. was begun on July 31, 1576.

¹ See the passage quoted above from Morice's Dialogue 'Nuttus,' with the note, pp. 107, 108.

² In the decision given by Bp. Bilson (MS. 437 in College Library, almost ad init.) on October 1, 1599, in reply to a letter from Dr. Reynolds, it is stated that the President is 'the perpetual governor of such Tenants and Tenures' (Copyholds), and hence it is argued by the Visitor that there is 'great reason that the President alone should have the choice of the persons to whom such grants should be made.' But, in those days, it would have been strange indeed, if he had the exclusive choice of the tenant, that he should not have exacted a personal gratification for the favour. The subject, however, of fines on College copyholds and leases, at this time, requires a separate treatment, and I have attempted a brief summary of it in Appendix A.

³ In the Fulman MSS., vol. ix. fol. 88-111, there are copies of several letters to and from Cole during his exile. They are not particularly remarkable in any other way, but they illustrate the extreme indigence to which he was reduced. Thus, in a letter written during the early part of his exile, while he was still at Strasburg, he writes: 'Ego, mi Morwente, cogor Argentinam relinquere magno

set the greatest value upon money. But, though these considerations may be pleaded in extenuation of Cole's grasping and probably illegal acts, they do not, of course, excuse them.

There are two Manuscript documents which incidentally throw much light on the relations of Cole with the Fellows and other matters connected with the College during his Presidency. The earlier in date of these is a Collection of Letters, Speeches and Verses now in the British Museum, numbered Add. MSS. 6251, by one Simon Tripp, a Fellow of C. C. C., to which my attention was kindly directed by Mr. T. W. Jackson of Worcester College. The later, from which I have already quoted, is the '*Dialogus de lustratione Geitonica, qui inscribitur Nuttus*,' kindly pointed out to me by the Rev. W. D. Macray. It describes a journey taken with the President and others for the purpose of holding manorial courts at Heyford and Temple Guiting, together with a *détour* which they made to Dunteshourne Rouse, in order to have an interview with the former President, Boucher. Its date cannot be placed earlier than 1577, as its author, Nicholas Morice, did not become actual Fellow till March 15, 1579, but, as one of his friends, Richard Cobb, who seems to have been well acquainted with the College business, did not become actual Fellow till 1581, that may probably be taken as the earlier limit¹. The later limit is fixed by Boucher's death at the end of October, 1585, as the interview with him at Dunteshourne, already described, took place on the journey. Both these writers are evidently bitter enemies of Cole, and both display incidentally the consciousness that

meo malo. Nihil enim suppetit unde vivam hac hyeme: quippe deseror a Chambero, inopie meae rationem nullam habet. Quæ cum ita se habeant, veniendum puto ad vos, non ut de vestro suppetitis mihi, sed ut auxilio vestro possit impetrari aliquid, quo hyems ista exigatur sub tecto ab inclementia cœli' fol. 105 b. Cole, as appears from these letters, was exceedingly unwilling to act as a corrector of the press, an employment which seems to have been common among the exiles.

¹ One Englefield is also mentioned in the Dialogue. If this is the same Englefield who is mentioned in the alphabetical list of members of the College, given in Fulman MSS., vol. xi, as having become Clerk of Accompts ('*Clericus Computi*') in 1542, and if he already held that office, the limits of the date of the Dialogue are reduced to some time between 1582 and 1585. The '*clericus computi*,' if there was one, was to rule with the President on progresses. See Statutes, ch. 40.

they are regarded by the opposite party as inclined to the Roman Catholic religion, a circumstance which vitiates their evidence against Cole and their other opponents.

It may be interesting, if I give a few extracts from these two writings, as illustrating the state of parties and the condition of the College at the time. I shall begin with Tripp's Letters and Speeches, though he usually writes in a tone of such evident exaggeration that his letters must be taken rather as an index of the state of feeling in one of the parties in the College than of the real condition of things. In a letter to Jewel (p. 5, without date), addressed to him probably as a former Fellow of the College, he says, with much other rhetorical matter to the same purport: '*Videor mihi videre præsentem ante oculos ruinam, incensa tecta, flagrantæ ædes, collapsas domos, flentes pueros, ingemiscientes viros, et penitus sparsos fraterna cæde penates. . . . Est nova rerum facies in tuis, Foxe, ædibus. Jacent universæ leges, subversa jura, perversa statuta, conversa omnia. Nimirum Paris cum nescio qua Italica Helena perditæ omnia perturbavit. Somniavit facem Hecuba, Utinam enixa esset, modo Paris nunquam extitisset. . . . Vident fore, brevissimo tempore decurso, ut habeamus non septem seniores, sed septem juniores, verius septem pueros, quorum levissimis ingeniis res gravissimæ collabantur.*' The allusions made by both Tripp and Morice to the fact that Cole was supported by the Junior Fellows are really a high tribute to his influence in the College, and afford an indication that the old party of concealed Romanists was beginning to be replaced by a younger generation more loyal to the established faith of the University and the nation.

Writing to one Roger Jhonson in 1569 (pp. 18, 19), he presents us with a graphic picture of the relations which must then have subsisted between the two religious parties in the College: '*Magna est hodie apud Oxonienses veteris disciplinæ perturbatio, et accurata admodum papisticæ, sic enim appellant, pravitatis disquisitio. Ante paucos dies sub mediam noctem excitati fuimus, ut omnes cubiculorum nostrorum anguli excuterentur.*'

In a letter to Robert Horne, Bp. of Winchester, dated

7 Cal. Maii, 1572, he writes most bitterly about Cole ('carbo') who is lighting torches to burn down our house. 'Accusamur ego et Ruddus suspectæ religionis.' 'Tres e nostris infesti hoc tempore nobis infensique sunt, Colus Præses, Rainoldus et Charnockus.' (It may be remarked that there is a strong presumption in favour of the party with which John Reynolds was allied.) 'Præsidi non probamur, quia sæpe jam restitimus, ne Collegii bona, quæ sitienter appetit, per fraudem averteret, et quidem restitissemus semper.'

It appears from a letter written to Woolley (p. 54) in 1572, that Tripp had been delated to Leicester as suspected of Popery. There can, indeed, be no doubt that he formed one of the faction in College which sympathised with Romanism.

In this Collection, there are two interesting orations throwing some light on the College life of the times. One of these (p. 31), delivered October 12, 1571, dilates on the advantages of the life at Witney (the College sanatorium) over that at Oxford; the other (p. 42), delivered Jan. 15, 1572, naively compares the luxuries of the academic life with the sordid life of the rustic from which he and his fellows had been rescued. It by no means follows from this comparison that the life was what we should now regard as luxurious, or even comfortable, at least if the life of the University student continued to be at all like that described by Thomas Lever, twenty-two years before this time, in the Sermon at St. Paul's Cross already alluded to, on p. 93 n. 2. These two orations may have been delivered in the capacity of Latin Reader, to which office he was elected in 1568.

Tripp's character appears, even if we form our judgment only on his own letters, in no favourable light. While he was indulging in the grossest abuse of Cole, he writes a letter to him (p. 39), dated Dec. 31, 1571, couched in the most friendly terms, congratulating him on the birth of a son, and sending a present of rose-water to Mrs. Cole (the 'nescio quæ Italica Helena' of a former letter), who, it appears, had just been confined. In an English letter to Leicester (p. 57), he acknowledges his intervention with Cole (which it seems was

unavailing) for a Physician's place (*'medicinæ deputatus'*) in the College, so that he was by no means unwilling to receive favours from the man he was constantly maligning.

But it is not only Tripp's duplicity in his religious, Collegiate, and social relations which is revealed in these letters. The Collection contains several communications with a pupil, which are nothing short of love letters, alluding to his personal appearance and indulging in gross flattery of his social and mental gifts. They are certainly not such letters as would be written by any man of self-respect or of a healthy mind to a boy, and his own consciousness of their impropriety is betrayed in the request that, in order to prevent any sinister interpretation of his expressions of affection, they may be destroyed as soon as read.

The other book, the Dialogue by Morice, has already been quoted at some length. I will now extract a few other passages which, for one cause or another, are interesting in their bearing on the history of the College. The whole of the Dialogue is pervaded with a bitter feeling of hatred for Cole. He dwells specially and repeatedly on Cole's avarice. At Heyford, his country living, he had (fol. 1 b) instituted a market or perhaps a sort of shop (*'omnium rerum mercatum domesticum Heifordiæ instituerat'*), which may have been quite as much for the convenience of the inhabitants as for his own gain. On their return journey from Temple Guiting to Heyford (fol. 41 b), they catch a hare. The President pockets it. *'Leporem capimus. Præses asportavit: bellum spectaculum!'* Morice describes his object in joining the progress as being the consideration and alleviation of the miserable condition of the tenants, his friends Nutt and Cobb having urged him to undertake the journey *'ut aliquas cogitationum mearum partes ad villicorum nostrorum fortunas pessime constitutas derivarem.'* This object brought him into constant and inevitable conflict with the President. *'In illo temporis mei decursu omnia feci quam lenissime ad villicorum miseriam levandam, quam vehementissime ad consilia Præsidis perfringenda.'* After the holding of the Court at Heyford, two persons named Northworth and Bethel (the

latter apparently a dismissed Curate of Cole) open their minds to Morice (fol. 11 b): 'Interea Northworthus, Bethelus longum sermonem de fœnore, fastu, ærario Carboniano mecum contulerunt. Nemo putabatur in usuris grandibus intolerabilior, in fratrum suorum despicientia superbior, pecunia de sanguine nostro detracta abundantior.'

Precisian as Cole was, he does not seem to have objected to card-playing. On their last night out, which was spent at Temple Guiting, the President calls for cards, and so the opportunity is given to the writer to compare his habits with those of former Presidents (fol. 41 b): 'Mensa tollitur. Præses chartas, chartas inclamat. Lusitamus, nec oculi nostri usque ad duodecimam somnum vident. Joculariter, scimus; honeste. Quis negat? Verumtamen illo spacio Claimundus flexis genibus orasset, Chedsæus studuisset, Boucherus stertisset, Morwenus cum villico, Grenwaius fortasse cum villica sermones contulisset.'

That Cole had a strong party amongst the Fellows is plain from this Dialogue as well as from Tripp's Letters. It is curious to find them still described contemptuously as 'pueri' (fol. 3 b), though a considerable interval must have elapsed between the composition of the two writings. It would seem as if Cole had the knack of attaching the younger men, and then, by intercourse with the other Fellows, they were absorbed into the ranks of his opponents.

John Reynolds, the famous theologian who was Cole's successor, is spoken of, throughout this Dialogue, with respect and even reverence. Thus, on the morning after Morice's return, when he is giving an account of his journey to his friends, Nutt and Cobb, it is proposed (fol. 4 b) to call in Reynolds, through whose influence it is said that he had been appointed by the Seniors as the College representative, to hear the story, but Morice protests: 'Communicabo cum illo rerum capita præcipua, singula vero narratione putida illo audiente consecrari pudor non sinit. Certum est enim illud solemne meum institutum servare, ut quomodo ille Scævola, sic ego Rainoldum, cum ineptus esse velim, a me demittam.'

On fol. 11 a there are some interesting personal traits of

John Reynolds, Richard Hooker¹, and a less-known Fellow of that time, Leonard Tayler. After what we should now call a somewhat 'trying' speech at the Court at Heyford from one 'Vaghanus,' who was probably Steward of the Manor, Morice pictures to himself what would have been the attitude of some of the Fellows, had they been there to hear it: 'Huic oratori, si audientiam fecisset, Raynoldus pluribus in locis oculos avertisset, si Hookerus, demisso capite² subrisisset, si Tailerus, frontem dextra velasset, risum diu tenuisset, tandem tamen invitus edidisset.'

In 1572, Cole became Rector of the College Living of Heyford ad Pontem or Lower Heyford, the same living which had been held by Greenway. This preferment he continued to hold till his death in 1600, being then succeeded by his son Thomas, who seems to have been a very eccentric person, and eleven times entered himself in the list of burials in the Parish Register. At Heyford he appears partly to have resided, there being several entries connected with his family in the Register, and Morice speaking (fol. 42 a) of a 'Heifordiana villula' at which he left the rest of the party, when returning from the Progress. He also, at various times, though some of his preferments were resigned on accepting others, held two other livings, and was Canon of Salisbury, Winchester, and Lincoln, as well as Archdeacon of Lincoln³, of which diocese, as we shall see presently, he ultimately became Dean. In 1577, and in that year only,

¹ Richard Hooker, though more than three years junior to the author of the Dialogue, as a scholar, was about a year senior to him in age. He became an actual Fellow on Sept. 16, 1579, so that the allusion to him in the Dialogue is perfectly natural. Zachary Hooker did not become even Probationary Fellow till Dec. 23, 1587; consequently the allusion must necessarily be to Richard Hooker. He appears (see Paget's Hooker, vol. i. p. 25) to have resided till the end of 1584.

² It is interesting to compare with this description that of John Spenser, in his address 'to the Reader,' prefixed to his edition of the first five books of the Ecclesiastical Polity: 'whose eyes, in the humility of his heart, were always cast down to the ground.'

³ See Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, Early Series, vol. i. I take this opportunity of expressing the great obligations under which all students of University history, as well as many others, are placed to Mr. Foster for his most pains-taking exertions in compiling this and similar lists.

he was Vice-Chancellor of the University, being the first President of Corpus who acted in that capacity. We find, in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, under the date of Nov. 24, 1577, the entry: 'Dr Wm. Cole, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford to the Council. Additional Information as to recusants in the University and town of Oxford. Inclosed, Certificate of the recusants within the University and town of Oxford.'

In the year 1579, there was a general expectation that Cole was about to resign, and the friends of Barefoot and Reynolds respectively began to exert themselves in their favour with persons likely to have influence with Leicester. For it seems to have been taken for granted that a recommendation would be made by the Chancellor to the Electors. The expected vacancy appears to have excited great interest in the University, and, when it was supposed that Barefoot, who was Chaplain to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, Leicester's elder brother, was likely to be preferred, several Heads of Houses and no less than eighty Masters of Arts addressed a letter to Warwick, acknowledging that Barefoot was 'a man in whom there are some good parts of learning,' 'but to be governor of that learned Society, we think him in our consciences not to be fit.' This letter was dated Nov. 26, and, according to Fulman (vol. IX. fol. 182 b), was written in 1579¹. About the same time probably, or shortly afterwards,

¹ There is also a long letter in English from Reynolds to Warwick, (fol. 178 b-179 b), in which he says nothing about his own claims, but states, with moderation, the objections to Barefoot, who is acknowledged to have good parts, and particularly to be 'well exercised in preaching and well read in divinity,' but 'is fitter to make some other kynd of instrument for the warres of the Lord than the President of a College, of Corpus Christi College chiefly.' In this letter, Reynolds speaks of 'the towardly spring of our youth, which never flourishd more, I thinke, than it doth presently.' The extract from this letter is undated. In two letters to Walsingham (fol. 174 b-176 a), Reynolds' language against Barefoot is almost unbecomingly violent. Thus he compares his candidature for the Presidentship with that of Catiline for the Consulship. He has always resisted his nefarious endeavours to compass the object of his ambition: 'Atque utinam vel sanguine meo potuissem omnem illi prorsus aditum intercludere: ne collegii nostri spoliis expleret suam et suorum cupiditatem et libidinem.'

It appears incidentally from this letter that the Vice-President acted as Moderator in the Divinity disputations. Barefoot is acknowledged to be 'well read in

letters were written by some members of the University (including Humfrey and James) to Leicester and Walsingham commending Reynolds by name as 'a paynfull preacher and a man universallie learned in the Tongs and in all other good knowleges and such an ornament unto the Church of God as that foundation hath not yelded any one more singular sythence the Reverende Father (of good memorie) Bishoppe Jewell.' To these letters a reply was sent by the two Secretaries, Walsingham and Wilson, stating that they had dealt to such effect with Leicester that, notwithstanding he had already recommended another, he was content that the Fellows, without respect thereof, should use their liberties and freedom in their choice, and had promised not to be displeased in case they should elect Mr. Reynolds. In their own behalf, the Secretaries wish their correspondents to give what furtherance they can to the election of Mr. Reynolds after Mr. Cole shall have resigned. The date of this letter is March 20, 1578⁹/₈. On the 9th of April following, they write to Cole actually desiring him 'to advance the preferment of Mr. Reynolds as much as may be, not only by such reasons as you know and think best to persuade them withal, but also in relinquishing your room at such time as you shall find the said fellows resolved and willing to accept of him in your stead.' However Cole thought better of his intended resignation, or the difficulties occasioned by the friends of the two rival candidates induced him to delay it, and the Fellows had then no opportunity of electing a successor. On the 9th of October, 1580, Reynolds writes to Sir Francis Knollys (fol. 180 a) complaining 'of the unrighteous dealing of one of our College' (Barefoot) 'who hath taken upon him, against all law and reason, to expell out of our house both mee and Mr. Hooker, and three other of our fellowes, for doing that which by othe we were bound to doo.' The matter must go before the Visitor, but he asks Knollys to desire the Bishop, by letter, to let them have justice—a curious request, as it seems to us, which significantly marks the difference between divinitie, and therefore chosen our vicepresident, to be the moderatour of divinitie disputations.'

the conception of a judicial court obtaining in those days and these¹. The Visitor (Bp. Watson), as we learn from a letter written by Reynolds to Mr. Secretary Wilson, Nov. 4 (Fulman, fol. 177), restored the expelled Fellows, but we are not acquainted with the exact charge brought against them or with any other special circumstances of the case².

In 1592, Aylmer, Bp. of London, made an attempt to obtain the Bishopric of Oxford, first for the then Bishop of Gloucester, to hold *in commendam*, or, if Burghley did not approve of that arrangement, for Cole, but neither application was acceded to³. By the Statutes of Corpus, the President could not be a Bishop, and, consequently, the Presidency would have been vacated, had Cole's name been accepted. 'This man,' adds Strype, 'our Bishop not long before recommended to something else, but succeeded not.'

On Nov. 17, 1593, Reynolds had the Queen's Mandate for the Deanery of Lincoln, which was executed on Dec. 10, following, though he was not installed in person till Sept. 10, 1598. In writing to the Countess of Warwick, to thank her for her good offices (Fulman, fol. 183), he expresses a strong preference for the Presidency of C.C.C., as giving him more opportunity both for writing and for 'the education and training up of youth, some for the ministerie of the Church of God, some for charge of government in the Commonwealth.' But it seems that the Queen had refused to grant the Deanery to Cole, whether from a prejudice against him or because she was not at that time inclined to facilitate Reynolds' succession to the Presidency does not

¹ A Latin letter, to the same effect, was also written on the same day by Reynolds to Walsingham. Fulman, vol. ix fol. 174.

² In the Fulman MSS., vol. ix. fol. 182 b, there is an interesting entry about the date of the expulsion: 'And it should seem that afterward, in October 1580, J B took occasion to expell J R and others, though I once thought it to be in 1579, and so told Mr. Walton, who thereupon added the yere, which was not in the copie, but in the margin.'

In Fulman, fol. 216, there is a copy of a petition to Bp. Watson, which appears as if it were composed by Reynolds, dated Dec. 5, 1580, soon after these troubles, imploring him to visit the College, the main reason assigned being 'the ambitious actions and counsels of Barefoot,' which were bringing ruin on the Society. The signatures are not given.

³ Strype's Life of Aylmer, pp 110, 111 (Clarendon Press Ed.).

appear. In a letter written to the same lady, April 11, 1594 (fol. 184), Reynolds seems to have good hopes that he may yet attain his object, as he had heard that the Queen 'had so good words of comfort for anything in the Universitie, if I accepted Lincoln first.' This and other letters of the same period are written from Queen's, where he now occupied rooms, having resigned his Fellowship at Corpus, as we shall see presently, in 1586. From a letter to Barefoot, who was now Archdeacon of Lincoln, dated July 29, 1594, it appears that Sunday prayers in the Cathedral had been suspended, on account of the controversies and dissensions in the Chapter, which, according to Barefoot, needed the Dean to end them. Reynolds exclaims, as well he might, 'Good Lorde, that such a dutie in such a place should be omitted at such a time by such persons and on such occasion' (namely of their dissensions); 'yea, when the Canaanites and the Pherezites dwelt in the land (to use Moses' woords), the Papistes and the Martinists.' He adds pathetically: 'Some marvelled at me, that I left a certaintie for an uncertaintie, when I resigned my fellowship in Corpus Christi College. But indeede dissensions and factions there did make me so weery of the place, that a woorse uncertaintie than so noble and woorthy a Knighte as Syr Francis Walsingham would have woon me from it. What? And must I come againe into a company so pitifully distempered with the same humours, that the blisters breaking out thence are more loathsome than ever any broke out in Corpus Christi College?'

In 1598, Elizabeth's scruples, from whatever cause they may have originated, seem to have been removed¹, and, in November or December of that year (according to Fulman, vol. IX. fol. 85 b), Cole resigned, a step which, from what we know of his character, he certainly would not have taken, had he not seen his way clearly to some other preferment. On Dec. 11, 1598, Reynolds was elected President, and sworn on

¹ Two of the principal actors in the controversies about Cole's successor, when he thought of resigning in 1579 and 1580, were dead when his resignation actually took place. Barefoot died in August, 1595, and Leicester on Sept. 4, 1588. Warwick did not die till Feb. 20, 1588.

Dec. 14. Cole was collated to the Deanery of Lincoln (according to Le Neve's Fasti) on Dec. 30 of the same year, and installed 2nd June, 1599. He died about Michaelmas 1600, and was buried in the Cathedral. A monument was erected to him by his eldest daughter, Abigail, but is now destroyed.

Cole's Presidency was notoriously memorable for the number of Visitations and appeals to the Visitor. Of the former I have already spoken. Of the latter, there is only one which is now of sufficient interest to merit notice, and this is interesting on account of the two or three points of contrast which it brings out between the practice and ideas of those times and of our own.

In the year 1578 (June 9) the College generally seems to have been startled by the President and Seniors electing to the office of Greek Reader a young man, who, though a member of the College, was neither Fellow, Probationer, nor even Scholar. This was John Spenser, who, nearly thirty years afterwards, became President, as Reynolds' successor. He had not yet attained his nineteenth year, and, according to Fulman (fol. 229), was a Clerk, according to Reynolds, a *Famulus Collegii*¹. Such an appointment, if there were, among the older and more dignified members of the College,

¹ See Fulman MSS., vol. ix. fol. 188 a. This appeal to the Visitor, though in the name of certain Fellows, is said by Fulman to have been in Reynolds' handwriting. The copies of the various documents addressed to the Visitor on this subject occupy from fol. 188 a to 191 b in the Fulman MS. '*Famulus Collegii*' may be used in a loose sense, so as to include the Clerks. But, if used in a strict sense, Spenser was probably one of the two '*Famuli Præsidis*,' namely that one (the other being the '*equus*' or groom) who, by this time, had probably come to act as a sort of Secretary. See the original Statutes, ch. 17.

That Reynolds, who had created the vacancy in the Readership, took a prominent part in the Appeal I do not doubt, but I cannot suppose with Mr. Keble (Editor's Preface to Hooker's Works) that Reynolds was, in any way, actuated by theological hostility to Spenser, who was, indeed, almost too young to have excited any such feeling. There is not a word in the various documents, now extant, which supports any such view, nor any evidence what opinions Spenser entertained, while the appointment of so mere a youth to so important an office would, in any College at any time, have been almost certain to excite similar opposition.

others equally fitted for the office, or, as the protesting Fellows assert, much better fitted, was certainly a grave scandal. And the appointment was probably not rendered more acceptable to a large number of the Fellows by the fact that young Spenser was Mrs. Cole's brother (fol. 189 a), even though the President had not actually proposed him, but, as he said, only acquiesced in the nomination. There are no less than four letters in the Fulman MSS., addressed to the Visitor on this subject, in which it is maintained that, in the capacity of a member of the College, Spenser was ineligible on the ground that he was neither a Fellow nor a Probationer, as required by the Statutes, and that, if he were to be regarded as an extern, he was not a person of that eminence which the Founder contemplated. Moreover, much stress is laid on his youth. The Visitor had only to see him, in order to recognise his inadequacy. 'Non dubito quin ipse non dico si nosces penitus, sed si videres modo, futurum minus parem oneri judicares' (fol. 191 b). Then, there was the indignity cast on other members of the College. 'Istæ causæ nos commoverunt, Pater in Christo nobis colendissime, ut adolescentulum quem semper amavimus, et quantum potuimus in studiis promovimus, Lectorem tamen esse publicum, qui loco tam celebri tantum onus sustineat, qui censor sit multorum se superiorum, corrector seniorum, magister doctiorum, moderator puerorum, nec ipsi nec Collegio commodum putemus' (fol. 189 a). The Visitor, quite rightly, confined himself entirely to the interpretation of the Statutes, without entering on the more general questions of personal fitness, and decided that the President and Seniors, in their election of Spenser, had not exceeded their statutable authority; for 'under the word "alius" the Founder alloweth a mere stranger to be elected; and, therefore, one of his own foundation, although neither Fellow nor Scholar, may well be comprehended as "alius"¹. Had he, as a modern judge would do, looked to the intent of the Statute, as well as to its mere grammatical construction, he might have arrived at a different conclusion.

¹ There are usually one or more copies, and not infrequently the original, of the Visitors' decisions still existing in the College archives.

In reply to a private letter from Dr. Cole, and without any formal appeal on the matter brought under his notice, though it was undoubtedly one with which he would have been statutably empowered to deal at a quinquennial visitation, the Visitor (Thomas Cooper), in 1588, addressed a letter to the President touching one about whom we have already heard a good deal, Nicholas Morice, who, though the time for taking the step had long since arrived, had not yet assumed Holy Orders¹. The Letter exhibits so curious a view of the duties of a Visitor (an office which is really judicial, and, therefore, implies the obligation, at least, of acquaintance with the law to be administered, and of not concerting measures beforehand with a possible party to a suit) that I subjoin it in full :

To The Right Worshipful, my loving friend, Mr Dr Cole,
President of Corp. Ch. Coll. in Oxford.

Mr President

After commendations, I have received your letters touching Mr Morrice, and for my parte I do not mislike that he should be called to the Ministry, especially if the Statute and Custome of the House do not warrant one in that office² to be clear from the Ministry: and I do think rather some slackness that he hath not bin called unto it sooner, being a man so long a time and so greatly suspected, as you know. Your Statute in that case I remember not, neither have time to peruse it, but this I remember that Dr Belley, having that office many years together, was never called to the Ministry. If so be you think this your action fully warranted by the Statute, and he may by that means be removed, I will not deal any further touching him: If not, I will call unto me the hearing of the matter, and send both for them that be best able to charge him, and also for himself

¹ In the Dialogue (fol 11 b, 12 a), it appears that Morice was not in Holy Orders: 'Petunt' (i. e. Northworth and Bethel) 'ergo a me ut ego verbi si non officiosus minister, at accerrimus defensor, ministrum verbi, verbi ministro, id est Colum Bethelo reconciliarem.'

² The office was that of Latin or Humanity Reader. There seems to be no doubt that, if a Reader became a Fellow and was not 'Medicinæ deputatus,' he was under the obligation to assume Holy Orders.

to make answer to that he shall be charged withall ; which I think not to be the worst course for the better satisfying of his Uncle, my very honourable and good friend. And yet I assure you neither his friendship nor any subject in England shall move me to deal hollowly in the course, or any way to seek the hinderance of the true meaning of your statute. Let me have answer from you with as much speed as you can. Thus fare you heartily well, the 4th of July, 1588. Your Worship's loving friend

Thomas Winton.

We have no positive information as to the issue of this correspondence, but, as a Somersetshire Fellowship was filled up within the next seven months, there is a presumption that Morice was, some way or other, got rid of. That he was suspected of Romish proclivities, of which there were some indications in the Dialogue, is abundantly evident from this letter.

In an interpretation of the Statute (Ch. 6) 'De Vice-Præsidentis electione,' which is no longer of any interest, Bishop Cooper (March 13, 1590) makes some disparaging remarks on the present as compared with the past condition of the College: 'Could he' (the Founder) 'have conceived such an alteration as we in our days do see, I think in my conscience it would have added some limitation to the election made by five' (i. e. by five out of seven seniors, without the consent of the President). 'I may remember the first President that ever was there, and the residue that have followed. I remember also well the state of the house for the space of these fifty years and upwards, in the most part of which time I have always known in that house eight or nine fellows, for years and degree, for gravity, learning and discretion very sufficient to have been President of the house. And therefore I marvel not that your founder did attribute so much unto them, but how far it is now otherwise by great change fallen to that University the world seeth and I need not to declare it.' While compelled to decide in favour of the contention of the five out of seven seniors, the Visitor lays great stress on the many and serious inconveniences which may result 'if four or

five young men of small experience, under colour of the Statute, shall draw unto themselves the election and government of the whole house,' and 'the head shall be made a subject, and a ruler a person over-ruled.'

In the year 1592, the Colleges were all taxed for the entertainment of Queen Elizabeth, on the occasion of her visit to Oxford in that year. Corpus was taxed on the basis of a rental of £500 a year, All Souls the same, Ch. Ch. £2000, Magdalen £1200, New College £1000, Merton and St. John's £400 each, University and Balliol £100 each. These being described as 'Old Rents' (Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. I. pp. 190, 1), the actual revenues were, of course, a good deal higher, but it is interesting to note the proportionate wealth of the different Colleges.

By far the most distinguished member of the College admitted during Cole's Presidency, and perhaps the most distinguished admitted at any time during its history, was Richard Hooker. According to Izaak Walton's account, 'about the fifteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was by the bishop' (John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, to whom Hooker's uncle, John Hooker¹, alias Vowell, Chamberlain of Exeter, and a contributor to and continuator of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, had introduced him) 'appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then president of Corpus Christi college; which he did; and Doctor Cole had (according to a promise made to the bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Doctor John Reynolds) and a clerk's place in that College: which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron, the good bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence.' The year of Hooker's entrance at Oxford, as given by Walton,

¹ This John Hooker, alias Vowell, is said by Wood (*Ath. Oxon. sub nomine*) to have been 'educated in grammar and logic for a time in this university, either in Exeter or C. C. Coll., but whether he took a degree, our registers, which are in the time of K. Edw. 6 very imperfect, shew not.' There is no mention of him in either A. Clark's *University Register* or (at least in connexion with that College) in Boase's *Exeter Coll. Register*.

must be too early, as Cole did not become President till July 19, 1568. The age may, however, be correct, as, according to the entry in the College Register, made when he was admitted 'Discipulus' (Scholar), he must have been born about Easter 1554. There is no entry in the Register of his appointment as Clerk (an office which was in the gift of the President), but, in the earlier years of the College, the entries, except those of Fellows and Scholars, though they do sometimes occur, are very sporadic. If Hooker really matriculated at this early age, he was probably first appointed Chorister (a place also in the gift of the President) and promoted to be Clerk afterwards. Any way, he was not admitted 'Disciple' (or, according to the present designation, Scholar) till Dec. 24, 1573, though, as no other native of the county of Devon had been elected since Feb. 7, 1568¹, we cannot, from this fact, draw any inference as to his having entered Corpus at a later age than that assigned by Walton. In his admission as Disciple, he is described as 'quendam Ricardum Hooker viginti annorum ætatis circiter festum paschæ proxime futurum¹ natum in comitatu Devonensi, electum pro comitatu Southamptonensi.' The election of a Scholar, who was a native of one county, on the foundation of another was not uncommon, a readjustment taking place when an opportunity offered. It is more important to notice that the statutable limitation of age at the time of election to a Scholarship was nineteen, though, in the Supplementary Statutes, it was, in case of extraordinary and pre-eminent excellence ('egregie eruditus, et cæteris illius ætatis longe præstantior'), extended to one and twenty. Hooker's was one of the very rare cases in which the Electors availed themselves of this liberty. On Sept. 16, 1577, he became Probationary Fellow ('Scholaris'), and, in due course, after the lapse of the statutable period of two years, full Fellow ('verus et perpetuus socius'). The record of admission as Probationary Fellow gives no new information, except that he was now Master of Arts.

Hooker seems to have been emphatically a 'poor student,'

¹ In 1574, Easter Day fell on April 11; in 1554, the year of Hooker's birth, on March 25.

and we happen to possess some peculiarly interesting records of the assistance tendered to him. Robert Nowell (brother of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's) left to trustees a considerable sum of money to be distributed amongst poor scholars in Oxford, possibly a less pleasant and flattering, but certainly a more efficacious, mode of affording assistance to those really in need of it than the present system of competitive scholarships. The account of the distribution, under the title of 'The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell,' was edited from one of the Towneley Hall MSS., and printed for private circulation only, by the Rev. A. B. Grosart, in 1877. Hooker was assisted out of this benefaction on no less than five occasions, and it is curious that, in these five entries, his name is spelt in no less than three different ways. They run as follows :

p. 206 Rychard hoocker xx^a. (This entry occurs in a long list of names. The date of the actual distribution, in each case, is not appended, but the memorandum that the sums had all been duly paid is signed by the distributors on July 29, 1570. See p. 214. Cole was one of the persons to whom the distribution of the benefaction was entrusted.)

p. 220 To Mr Doctor Cole, presydente of Corpus Christe Colledge in Oxforde, to the use of tow poor schollers the one ys Named Thomas Cole, the other Rychard hooker the xxxth of Januarye A^o 1571 (i.e. 157½) and Thomas Coole hade xxx^a of theys and thother x^a, as appeareth by Mr Coole bill. (This entry is in the Autograph of Dean Alexander Nowell.)

p. 220 To Richard hooker of Corpus Christie colledge the xiith of februarye Anno 1571 (i.e. 157½) to bringe hym to Oxforde ii vi^d.¹

¹ This date is probably that of Hooker's return to Oxford after a visit to his parents at Exeter on recovering from a serious illness, the circumstances of which, including his affecting interview with Jewel at Salisbury, are so feelingly told in Walton's Life.

p. 224 To one Rycharde hooker scholler of corpus-christie Colledge in Oxforde the VIII^o of Marthe A^o 1573 <i. e. 157 $\frac{3}{4}$ > iii^s iiiid.

p. 226 Too S^r huker <i. e. B.A.> of Corpus christie college in Oxforde, the XXVIIIth of Aprell 1575. v^s.

It may be noticed that, on p. 212, Mylles Smythe, afterwards Bp. of Gloucester, one of the translators of our Authorized English Bible and author of the dedication and preface 'To the Reader,' is also mentioned as one of the Corpus recipients, or 'Reteyners at Corpus christie colledge,' of the Nowell benefaction.

The dates of the actual distribution of this sum, as I have said before, are not given, but the memorandum that the sums in a very long list had all been duly paid is signed by the distributors on July 29, 1570, a date which tallies very well with Antony Wood's statement that Smythe was a student at Corpus, about 1568.

I owe to Dean Paget of Ch. Ch., who, together with the late Dean Church, has earned the gratitude of all interested in Hooker by their revision of Keble's edition of his Life and Works, my knowledge of another record of the same kind. Dr. George Oliver of Exeter, some years ago, made a copy, which he contributed to a local paper (the Exeter Flying Post), of the following Resolution passed by the Mayor and Chamber of the city of Exeter, Sept. 21, 1582: 'Agreed, that Richard Hoker, the sonne of Roger Hoker deceased, and now a student of Corporis <sic> Christi College yⁿ Oxford, shall have the yearly pencion or annuytie of foure poundes to be paid quarterly 20^s, and the sayd payment to contynewe as long as it shall playse this house, and the first payment to begyne at Michaelmas next.' Dr. Oliver notices that Hooker became M.A. and a Fellow of his College in 1577, and Deputy Professor of Hebrew in 1579, had several distinguished pupils under his charge, and in 1581 was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross. 'How to reconcile these dates with the resolution we are at a loss to decide.' 'Had the resolution passed ten years earlier, all difficulty would be cleared away.' It is

not impossible, however, that Hooker may have been glad of an augmentation of £4 a year to his income even in 1582, and the word 'student' was not then confined to young men *in statu pupillari*. The Fellows had, at that time, hot disputes with the President on the division of the revenues, and it is possible that the value of a Fellowship may have been very small. Moreover, books were then a heavy item of expenditure, and, though the College Library was a good one, the Public Library had long ceased to exist and was only restored by the munificence of Sir Thomas Bodley at the beginning of the next century. There are two very curious entries in the 'Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell':

p. 230: 'Too Mr Barfoot M^r of Art, of Corpus christie Colledge, the XIth of Maye 1576. x^s.'

'Too one M^r Barefoote of Corpus christie Colledge the XXVIIth of Martch 1579. iii^{li} vi^s viii^d.'

Now Barefoot was, on both occasions, Vice-President of the College, was, on the second occasion, over thirty-two years of age, and had been elected Fellow as long ago as 1566. It is true that Reynolds says of him, in a letter already quoted (Fulman MSS., vol. 9, fol. 178, b), that he was 'no great good husband of his owne estate,' but how do we know that Hooker was a better?

Hooker's expulsion from his Fellowship, in 1579, and his speedy restoration have already been mentioned (pp. 140, 141). It is to be observed that the expulsion was pronounced by Barefoot, then Vice-president, not by Cole, with whom there is no reason to suppose he was ever at enmity, and, as Cole was his early patron, we may trust that this was never the case. The personal traits, his bended head and his smile, 'demisso capite subrisisset,' have too already been noticed in connexion with Morice's Dialogue¹.

¹ There is a letter to Reynolds from George Bysshop, dated Dec. 4, 1584, in Vol. IX of the Fulman MSS., fol. 214, in which the name of 'Mr Hooker' occurs in connexion with, apparently, some work by Reynolds, a copy of which had been sent to Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, at Hooker's urgent request and to Bishop's regret; for the Archbishop refused to 'alow it, because of somme glaun- singe at matters in this tyme.' Can this work have been the 'Sum of a Conference between John Rainolds and John Hart, touching the Head and the Faith of the Church,' &c, first published at London in 1584?

Hooker does not seem to have ever held the office of Greek or Latin Reader, but Antony Wood (Ath. Ox.), in his account of John Reynolds, says: 'As Jewell's fame grew from the rhetoric' (i. e. the Latin) 'lecture, which he read with singular applause, and Hooker's from the Logic, so Rainolds from the Greek, in C. C. coll.'

It would be futile to extract, from a work which is in every one's hands, and presumptuous to re-cast the graphic account of Hooker's College life as delineated by his quaint and venerable biographer, and hence, in the few brief notices which I have given above, I have confined myself mainly to facts which were either inaccessible to Walton or omitted or imperfectly described by him. Hooker finally left the College at the end of 1584, when he was presented, according to Walton, to the Vicarage of Drayton Beauchamp near Aylesbury, then in the diocese of Lincoln, by John Cherry, Esq. (Dec. 9, 1584). Then, or shortly before, or shortly afterwards, he must have married. Thus Hooker resided in Corpus probably for about sixteen years¹, and must there have laid in that varied and extensive stock of knowledge and formed that

¹ When I entered the College, there was a tradition (how old I do not know—probably not older than the time of Mr. Vaughan Thomas) that Hooker's rooms were the rooms a Pair Right on the Library Staircase in the Front Quadrangle, and that an Inventory of his Furniture still existed. There are, in 'the President's Cupboard,' two interesting and curious 'Inventory Books' of the College, one dated 1610-14, the other 1622 or 3, tied up with some other documents of the same kind, such as an Inventory of the President's Plate and Furniture (1677 and earlier). By comparing the two Inventory Books, it is plain that the room of which the inventory is given in the later book, as 'late Mr Hooker's,' was that of *Peter* Hooker, who signs the same inventory in the former book, and *not* that of Richard Hooker. Mr. Vaughan Thomas, a well-known Fellow of the College in the early part of this century, who docketed these papers, jumps at once to the conclusion that the 'Mr Hooker' of the later Inventory Book is the famous Richard Hooker, having never probably taken the trouble to consult the earlier book. With the false ascription of the Inventory, goes, of course, the 'tradition' as to the locality of Hooker's rooms.—In the Inventory of the President's Plate and Furniture, there occur a 'Mazir with silver brims,' now lost, 'a grate for sea-coals,' an 'iron chafing dish.' Even when this inventory was made, it appears that the President still occupied his lodgings over and near the gateway (see ch. iii. pp. 73, 74), as well as 'the house behind the Presidents garden,' the nucleus of the present Lodgings. This inventory seems to be in the hand-writing of Fulman, in which case it could not be earlier than 1660. There are some later entries with the date 1677.

sound judgment and stately style which raised him to the highest rank, not only amongst English divines, but amongst English writers. 'From that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation,' he passed 'into the thorny wilderness of a busy world, into those corroding cares that attend a married priest and a country parsonage'; and, most bitter and least tolerable of all the elements in his lot, into the exacting and uncongenial society of his termagant wife. Corpus, at that time, is described by Walton as 'noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars.' Indeed, a College which, within a period of sixty years, admitted and educated John Jewel, John Reynolds, Richard Hooker, and Thomas Jackson, four of the greatest divines and most distinguished writers who have ever adorned the Church of England, might, especially in an age when theology was the most absorbing interest of the day, vie, small as it was in numbers, with the largest and most illustrious Colleges in either University.

During the long Presidency of Cole, there were, besides the pre-eminent name of Richard Hooker, many other notable men admitted into the College. To begin with the Scholars and Fellows. In 1570, was admitted Nicholas Morice, who, though hardly notable, is interesting to us, as the author of the Dialogue, so often referred to above; in 1572, Stephen Gossons (erroneously assigned by Wood to Ch. Ch.), celebrated, in his time, as a writer of pastorals; in 1573, within a few days of Hooker, Charles Turnbull, a Lincolnshire man, who constructed the very curious pillar, with dials, still in the middle of the quadrangle, and wrote a Treatise on the use of the Celestial Globe; in 1576, Henry Parry, a celebrated preacher, Bishop successively of Gloucester and Worcester; in 1577, Edwin Sandys¹, afterwards Sir Edwin Sandys, son of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, a favourite pupil of Hooker, a traveller, and author of a book entitled *Europæ Speculum*, or a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western part of the World; in 1578, George Cranmer¹,

¹ Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer have been immortalised in Walton's

grand-nephew of the Archbishop, also a favourite pupil of Hooker and said to have given him assistance in the composition of the Ecclesiastical Polity, in after years secretary to several public men; in 1578, John Spenser, subsequently President, one of the Translators of the Bible, and a theologian of considerable repute, of whose disputed election to the Greek Readership I have already spoken (he was admitted this year as Greek Reader, having been previously Clerk or possibly 'Famulus Præsidis,' and, in the following year, Fellow); in 1583, Alexander Gill, High Master of St. Paul's, Milton's Master; in 1586, Sebastian Benfield or Bencfield, Margaret Professor of Divinity and a theological writer; in 1588, Robert Burhill or Burghill, a theologian, Hebrew scholar, and Latin poet, who is said by Wood to have assisted Sir Walter Raleigh in the composition of the History of the World; in 1588, John Barcham, Dean of Bocking, distinguished for his knowledge and writings in history, heraldry, and numismatics, collector of what A. Wood says was 'the

charming Life of Hooker, and particularly in the pathetic account of their visit to their old tutor in his country living, a year after his unfortunate marriage. Cranmer was only 12 years 3 months old, when elected to his scholarship. Sandys, as pointed out in a note to Church and Paget's revision of Keble's edition of Hooker, pp. 14, 15, can only have been 11 or 12, Cranmer only 7 or 8, when put under Hooker's tuition. It is doubtful whether they were, at that time, entered as members of the College or not. Probably it was not unusual, in those days when there were few schools, for quite young boys to read, as private pupils, with Fellows of Colleges. Neither name occurs in the University Matriculation Register, but Cranmer took his B.A. Degree May 29, 1583, Sandys Oct. 16, 1579 (see A. Clark's Register, vol. ii. pt. 3), so that the latter was probably matriculated as a commoner about two years before his election as a scholar. Strype's account of the intervention of Hooker and George Cranmer (*Life of Archbishop Parker*, bk. iii. ch. 20) in the affairs of the College in 1568, after Cole had been forced on the electors, must either be altogether apocryphal or misplaced, as Hooker, if a member of the College at all at that time, had only just entered, and Cranmer cannot have been much more than three years of age. If the following statement, quoted by Dr. Bliss, in his edition of Wood's *Athenæ*, from Lloyd's *State Worthies*, be true, it much enhances our ideas of Cranmer's importance and abilities: 'Queen Elizabeth, confiding in her own princely judgment and opinion, had formed so favourable an opinion of Cranmer's worth and conduct, that she would have him and none other to finish and bring the Irish war to a propitious end, which, not deceiving her good conceit of him, he nobly achieved, though with much pains and carefulness.' He joined Lord Mountjoy in the capacity of Secretary, and remained in Ireland till he was unfortunately killed in the battle of Carlingford, Nov. 13, 1600, only eleven days after Hooker's death.

best collection of coins of any clergyman in England,' afterwards given to Laud, and by him presented to the Bodleian Library, thus becoming the nucleus of the large collection now there; in 1594, Brian Twyne, the celebrated and indefatigable antiquary, to whom it is supposed that Antony Wood is indebted for much of his information, and whose assistance was invoked by Laud in collecting the material on which the Laudian statutes were based (a work for which Twyne was afterwards rewarded by being made first Keeper of the Archives¹), as also, on the same day, Daniel Fertlough, Fairclough, Fairclowe, or Featley (for the name is spelt in all four ways), admitted scholar, it may be noticed, before he was twelve years of age, who became chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, as well as third provost of Chelsea College, besides holding many other appointments, and was one of the most noted theological writers and controversialists of his time; in 1596, Thomas Jackson, subsequently President and Dean of Peterborough, a learned and voluminous theological writer, styled by Antony Wood 'the ornament of the university in his time'; and, lastly, in 1597, elected at 13, the 'ever-memorable' John Hales, Fellow of Eton, Regius Professor of Greek, the intimate friend of Savile, and one of the most charming characters as well as famous scholars of the period during which he lived.

To these distinguished sons of Corpus, who were admitted as Scholars or Fellows during the Presidency of Cole, we may

¹ Wood (sub nomine) says that 'about 1623 he left that' (namely, the Greek Readership) 'and the house to avoid his being engaged in a faction then between the president' (Anyan) 'and fellows; knowing very well that, if he favoured either side, expulsion would follow, because he had entered into a wrong county place.' This remark can hardly refer to his being elected for one of the other statutable counties, for this was a common practice, as in the case of Hooker, and a re-adjustment always took place afterwards. And Wood goes on to say that 'afterwards he became Vicar of Rye in Sussex, in which county, at Lewes, as 'tis supposed by some, he was born.' It is curious that, in his admission as scholar, while he is described as born in the County of Surrey, a blank is left for the diocese, though, of course, it was notorious that Surrey was in the diocese of Winchester; and again, in his admission as Probationary Fellow, he is described as of the County of Surrey and diocese of Winchester ('com. Surrrie et diocesis. Winton') and not as *born* in them, which is the usual, though not invariable, form in other cases.

add the names of Miles Smith or Smythe, Bp. of Gloucester and one of the Translators, probably the most industrious amongst them, of the authorized version of the Scriptures, whose name has already been mentioned (p. 150) in connexion with the Nowell benefaction, and who is said by Antony Wood to have been a student in C. C. Coll. about 1568, before moving to Brasenose, though in what capacity he was a member of Corpus I have not been able to ascertain; Edward Somerset, K.G., fourth Earl of Worcester, Master of the Horse 1601-15, Lord Privy Seal 1614-27, d. 1628, who is spoken of, in a petition of R. Allyn and D. Featley, copied in vol. ix. of the Fulman MSS., fol. 238, as 'sometymes of that Colledge'; George Sampole, stated in the Index given in the Fulman MSS., vol. xi., to be of Lincolnshire, who matriculated as a Commoner in 1578, and who, in all probability, is the Sir George St. Paul who devised to the College the estate at Lissington in Lincolnshire (see List of Benefactors of Corpus in Wood's *Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls* and in Ch. I. of the Introduction to this work); and William Higford, who matriculated as a Commoner in 1596, whose father and grandfather had been at Corpus before him, having been successively the pupils of Jewel, Cole, and Sebastian Benefield, this Higford being the author of a work entitled *The Institution of a Gentleman, or Virtus verus Honos*¹.

¹ See A. Wood, *Ath. Ox.* sub nomine. Higford's testimony to Cole has been already quoted.

CHAPTER VI.

THE END OF THE ELIZABETHAN AND THE EARLIER STUART PERIOD.

JOHN REYNOLDS or Rainolds (the name in A. Clark's Index to the University Register is spelt in no less than fourteen different ways; he himself seems to have spelt it Rainoldes or Rainolds) was, as we have seen already, elected President on Dec. 11, 1598, and sworn on Dec. 14. Like Jewel and Hooker he was a Devonshire man, being a native of Pinhoe near Exeter, where he was born about Michaelmas Day¹, 1549. He seems to have entered originally at Merton, where his uncle, Thomas Reynolds, had been Warden. But he cannot have remained there long, for, when he was only 13 years 7 months old, he was elected to a Scholarship at Corpus (April 29, 1563). At what was even then the very early age of seventeen, he became Probationary Fellow (Oct. 11, 1566), so that, at the age of nineteen, the age at which young men now usually come up to the University, he was already full Fellow. Reynolds' was a thoroughly academical family. His uncle, Thomas Reynolds, had been Warden of Merton. Two of his brothers had been elected before him to Scholarships at Corpus, Hierome in 1548, and Edmund, who, having been elected in 1557, was one of the three Fellows ejected for Romish sympathies in 1568². A third brother, William, was a Fellow of New College³. Of the many other persons of the

¹ At the time of Reynolds' admission to his Scholarship, and long afterwards, the dates of admissions were usually given not according to the day of the month, but as on or near some Saint's Day.

² Wood's *Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 165, 6.

³ See Fulman MSS., vol. ix. fol. 120. Both Edmund and William seceded to the Church of Rome.

name of Reynolds, who appear at this time in University lists, some were probably relatives.

Reynolds must have begun to take pupils early, if he was really (see p. 147) the tutor provided by Dr. Cole for young Hooker. He would probably be under 20 years of age, and have recently taken his B.A. degree, which he did on Oct. 15, 1568. But it is plain, from all that we know of these times, that young men were then much more forward in life than they now are at the same age, and began much earlier to be self-reliant and self-supporting. He became Greek Reader in 1573, and, according to a passage already quoted from Wood, in my account of Hooker, his 'fame grew' from this lecture as Jewel's had done from the Latin lecture, and Hooker's subsequently did from the Logic lecture. 'The author that he read,' says Wood, 'was Aristotle, whose three incomparable books of Rhetoric he illustrated with so excellent a commentary so richly fraught with all polite literature that, as well in the commentary as in the text, a man may find a golden river of things and words, which the prince of orators tells us of.' There still exists in the Bodleian Library the copy of the Rhetoric (Morel, Paris, 1562) from which Reynolds lectured. It is interleaved, and contains an Introduction, Synopsis, Index, and copious notes, all written out in a clear, round, and print-like hand. On one of the interpolated leaves, immediately after the Index, occurs the following beautiful prayer, whether original or not, I cannot say: 'Omnipotens Deus, pater nostri Domini Jesu Christi, qui nos ad pietatis satus accipiendos in artium gymnasio voluit erudiri, dignetur nobis adjicere, ad cæteras facultates quas concessit, auxilium singulare suæ gratiæ. Conformet nostras voluntates, ut addiscamus quæ debemus; ingenia, ut percipiamus quæ discimus; memorias, ut teneamus quæ percipimus: ut cuncta nostra studia semper referantur non ad pestem ambitionis aut sordes avaritiæ, sed ad ipsius gloriam ac salutem nostram; quo Deus ab omnibus et cognoscatur melius et ardentius colatur. Amen.' In 1578, he resigned this office, and thus, probably to his great surprise, was the unwilling author of the troubles brought about by Spenser's election on June 10 in

that year. Of the various other troubles and events of his life at Corpus, up to the time of his election as President, I have already spoken under Dr. Cole's Presidency.

In Wood's Annals, there are some interesting notices of him in his relations to the wider world of the University during the same period. Thus, under the year 1576, when he was not yet twenty-seven, we find him addressing a strong letter of remonstrance to Dr. Humfrey, then Vice-Chancellor of the University, on the proposal of the Chancellor that one Anthony Corrano, a Spanish preacher in London, should be allowed to proceed Doctor in Divinity, with a view, as it was supposed, to his appointment as a theological reader in the University. Though recommended by Leicester, Corrano was suspected of still harbouring the Popish leaven, in the form of Pelagianism, 'his obscure speeches giving just suspicion of very great heresies about predestination and justification by faith, two the chiefest points of Christian religion.' This business of Corrano excited great opposition amongst what we may call the Calvinistical party, and it was not till 1579 that, after a conference with certain doctors and masters, in which his answers gave satisfactory evidence of what was then reputed orthodoxy, he was permitted to give public lectures, though not, apparently, to proceed to his Degree.

In 1584, when Leicester passed some time in Oxford on his way to Cornbury, 'that he might solace himself with Scholastical Exercises and other matters which the sportive muses could afford,' a curious theological disputation was enacted before him at St. Mary's. It was between the two brothers 'John and Edmond Rainolds, the one a zealous Protestant, the other a moderate Romanist, but not as 'tis reported to the conversion of each other. They both so quitted themselves like able disputants, that it was difficult to judge which of them carried the bell away. John we know was famous in his time for the admirable writings which he published to the world, but Edmond' (whom his brother must have seen expelled from the College by Elizabeth's commissioners in 1568¹), 'being of a modest and quiet disposition, would not

¹ See Wood's Annals, under that year, as already referred to.

shew his parts that way, choosing rather to live obscurely and enjoy his opinion, than hazard his person by publishing matters savoring of the Church of Rome.'

In 1586, Sir Francis Walsingham founded what was apparently a temporary Lectureship of controversial theology, for the confutation of distinctively Romish tenets, and desired that Reynolds might be chosen to give it. Convocation at once approved both of the foundation of the Lectureship and of the choice of the Reader. It is said by Fulman (MSS., vol. ix. fol. 116) that the Lectureship was endowed with £20 a year, and that Reynolds took occasion, on this augmentation of income, to resign his Fellowship, and retired to Queen's, where he lived many years. No doubt he was glad enough to escape from the worries and quarrels from which, during Cole's presidency, the more quiet and studious of the Fellows must often have suffered so bitterly. According to Wood, 'he read this lecture in the Divinity School thrice a week in full term, had constantly a great auditory, and was held by those of his party to have done great good.' 'How long this Lecture lasted, whether till Walsingham's death only, which was an. 1590, I cannot tell, yet certain I am that all the Lectures, or at least some of them, were published after the Author's death, to the great profit of Theologists.' Fulman (vol. ix. fol. 117) says: 'Sir Francis Walsingham dying, Apr. 13, 1590, the Earl of Essex, who had married his only daughter, continued the lecture, which, accordingly, Reynolds resumed, May 5, 1590.'

When Queen Elizabeth visited the University in 1592, she sent for the Heads of Houses and others on the morning of the day of her departure, and 'spake to them her mind in the Latin Tongue. And among others there present she schooled Dr John Rainolds for his obstinate preciseness, willing him to follow her laws, and not run before them.'

Reynolds is now generally known, not so much as a learned academician, or even as a writer of learned books or a skilled controversialist (for the subjects on which he wrote and the controversies in which he took part have now little interest for the generality of men), but for the prominent position he

occupied in the Hampton Court conference and his share in the translation of the Bible. James had not long come to the throne, before he began to make preparations for convening an assembly of divines, to attempt to settle the religious and ecclesiastical differences which, during the latter part of Elizabeth's time, had become formidable to the peace of the Church. This assembly, called the Hampton Court conference, from the place of its meeting, first met on Jan. 14, 1604¹, and continued for three days. The King and the Lords of the Council were present. A large number of divines represented what we may call the ecclesiastical party, or those who maintained the established order of things, while the Puritan or dissentient party (though, in using these terms, we must recollect that this was then a party within the Church, not without it) was represented by only four persons, selected not by the party itself but by the King. He had thought it best, he said, to send for some, whom he understood to be the most grave, learned and modest of the aggrieved sort, whom, being then present, he was ready to hear at large. Of these, Dr. Reynolds was, in character, learning and position, far the most eminent, and it is plain that, throughout the proceedings, he took the lead on his own side; indeed he is expressly called their 'foreman'¹. His supporters were Dr. Sparkes, Mr. Knewstubbs, and Mr. Chaderton. The conference passed off, so far at least as the King was concerned, in the most amicable manner. According to the narrative of Dr. James Montague, then dean of the chapel royal, 'the ministers were called in, Dr. Reynolds and the rest, and acquainted with what the king had concluded on. They were all exceedingly well satisfied'². That may have appeared to be the case at the time, but we know that, in the issue, their party, if not themselves, were vastly dissatisfied with the few concessions made to their scruples. But, however that may be, the conference seems, at the time, to have been unruffled by any serious dissensions, and the parting to have been a pleasant

¹ See Cardwell's *Conferences*, 3rd Ed., p. 178

² *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 1

one. The King even condescended to make a good-humoured joke to Reynolds, with whom he was throughout peculiarly gracious. 'Dr Reynolds took exceptions at those words in the Common Prayer Book, of matrimony, "With my body I thee worship." His Majesty looking upon the place; I was made believe (saith he) that the phrase did import no lesse than divine worship and adoration, but by the examination I find that it is an usual English tearm, as a gentleman of worship, &c., and the sense agreeable unto scriptures, "giving honour to the wife," &c. But turning to Dr Reynolds (with smiling saith his majesty), Many a man speakes of Robin Hood who never shot in his bow: if you had a good wife yourself, you would think that all the honour and worship you could do to her were well bestowed¹.'

The Hampton Court conference, though it did not result in any large concessions to the Puritans with regard to alterations in the book of Common Prayer, led directly to the translation and publication of what is called the Authorised Version of the Scriptures; and Dr. Reynolds, though, of course, he stated also the opinion of his colleagues, may be said to have initiated the project. 'After that, he moved his majesty that there might be a new translation of the Bible, because those which were allowed in the reign of king Henry the Eight and Edward the Sixt were corrupt, and not answerable to the truth of the original. . . . Whereupon, his highness wished that some special pains should be taken in that behalf for one uniform translation (professing that he could never yet see a Bible well translated in English, but the worst of all his Majesty thought the Geneva to be), and this to be done by the best learned in both the Universities; after then to be reviewed by the bishops and the chief learned of the church; from them to be presented to the privy council; and, lastly, to be ratified by his royal authority. And so this whole church to be bound unto it, and none other².' Then was a general agreement that this work should be carried on with all speed, and, after the lapse of a few months, the translators

¹ Dr. Barlow's tract, printed in Cardwell's Conferences, p. 200.

² Ibid., pp. 187, 8.

were selected and at work. By the year 1611, four years after Reynolds' death, it was completed. The selection of names was singularly impartial, and Reynolds occupied a leading position among the translators. He, as well as a former member of Corpus, Miles Smith, Bishop of Gloucester (who wrote the Dedication and Preface), was on the company for translating the Prophets. Perhaps another member of Corpus, Daniel Featley or Fairclough, was on the same company, but there seems some doubt whether the Fairclough mentioned be Daniel of Corpus, or Richard of New College¹. Wood (Annals, sub 1604) tells us that 'the said Translators had recourse, once a week, to Dr Raynolds his Lodgings in Corpus Christi College, and there as 'tis said perfected the work, notwithstanding the said Doctor, who had the chief hand in it, was all the while sorely afflicted with the gout.'

Reynolds indeed was dying. But was it of gout or consumption? Fulman tells us he was cast upon his last bed by a lingering consumption, and he quotes Bagshaw's Life of R. Bolton (p. 25), to the effect that 'his last sickness was contracted merely by exceeding paines in study, by which he brought his withered body to a very *σκέλετον*. When the Doctors of the University, coming to visit him, earnestly persuaded him that he would not perdere substantiam propter accidentia, he smiling answered out of the Poet

Nec propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.'

There being some ill-natured reports about him, set afloat by certain 'well-wishers to the Romish Church,' his friends,

¹ The original 'Order for the translating of the Bible by King James,' given in vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 504, 5, of Burnet's History of the Reformation (Clarendon Press Edition, 1816), does not assign any Christian names or, in the majority of cases any office. Hence, to some extent, it is a matter of conjecture who the persons named may be. Wood (Annals, sub 1604) replaces 'Mr Fairclough,' in the 'Order,' by 'Richard Fairclough, sometime of New,' and he is followed by some subsequent writers. But of this Richard Fairclough we know nothing qualifying him for such a work, whereas Daniel Fairclough, though young, was already noted for his theological attainments, and not unlikely to have been recommended by Reynolds. There can be little doubt that the 'Dr Spencer,' who was on the Westminster Company for translating the Epistles, was John Spencer, Reynolds' successor in the Presidentship. Dr. Spencer, Master of C. C. C., Cambridge, who is sometimes assigned this honour, was not born till 1630.

including the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Airay, and Daniel Fairclough, persuaded him to sign a confession of faith in these words¹:

'These are to witnesse unto all the world that, now in this my weakness wherein I look for my dissolution, and hope shortly to be with my Christ, I dye in a constant beliefe, perswasion and profession of that holy truth of God, in defense whereof I have stood both by writing and speaking against the Church of Rome and whatsoever other enemies of God's truth.

'And for mine own resolution touching mine own state of salvation after this life, I assure myself thereof by the merits of Christ Jesus onely, into whose hands I commend my spirit as unto my faithful Redeemer.'

He died May 21, 1607, when he was not yet fifty-eight. He was buried in the choir of the College Chapel, after three orations had been pronounced over him, two at St. Mary's and one in the quadrangle of Corpus, the chapel not being spacious enough for the company. The monument now in the chapel was erected by his successor, John Spenser, 'Virtutum et Sanctitatis admirator, amoris ergo².' It is pleasant to think that the young man whose premature promotion he had opposed, nearly thirty years before, was, in later life, one of his warmest admirers and that he should have given this touching and graceful expression of his reverence and affection.

There are two portraits of Reynolds in the President's Lodgings at Corpus, but one is a copy of the other, or both of the same original. On one of them, but not the other, are the words 'melior an doctior.'

From his Will (dated April 1, 1606) it is plain that he did

¹ Fulman MSS., vol. ix. fol. 118.

² The Inscription, in full, runs as follows:

Virtuti Sacrum
Jo. Rainoldo S. Theol. D. Eruditione Pictate
Integritate Incomparabili, Hujus Coll. Præs.
Qui obiit Maii 20^o An^o 1607, Ætat. Sux 58^o.
Jo. Spenser Auditor, Successor, Virtutum et Sanctitatis
Admirator H. M. Amoris ergo Posuit.

not possess many of this world's goods. The largest money legacy that he leaves is to his 'servant' John Dewhurst¹, twenty marks, the next largest, five pounds each, to his brother Nicolas and his sister Alice. But of books he seems to have had great store. He leaves a hundred to the Corpus Library, and forty to the 'publike librarie of our University, first of all to be chosen by Syr Thomas Bodley, if I have so many fitt for that excellent woorke of his, wherewith it is not furnished already by him or some other.' To Queen's, Merton, New College, University, and Oriel ('in all the which I have either abode as student or had some part of mine education') he leaves, specifically, a valuable work each. To Queen's he bequeaths thirty works more, to be selected by the Provost. Exeter, Trinity, and Brasenose, as well as private friends, like Sir Henry Savile, the Bishop of Carlisle (Henry Robinson, formerly Provost of Queen's), Dr. Airay, and others, are also remembered. The residue of his books he bequeaths to be distributed by his executors 'among scholars of our University, such as for religion, honesty, studiousness, and towardness in learning (want of means and ability to furnish themselves being withal considered) they shall think meetest,' regard being first had to his own kindred, and then to the students of Corpus Christi, Queen's, Exeter, Brasenose, Trinity, the rest, in order. In a note to Wood's Annals, sub 1607, the names of the recipients are given with the number of volumes assigned to each. Many of these, we are told, 'were his admirers, and had sate at his feet.' There is a predominance of Corpus, Queen's, and Brasenose men in the list. But, with the exception of Jesus, which, perhaps, was hardly yet settled, or had very few students, there is no college which is not fairly represented.

There can be no doubt of the eminence of Dr. Reynolds, of his rare abilities, of his pure and high character, or of the depth and extent of his learning. With the exception of the open or secret adherents of the Romish Church, these qualities

¹ Dewhurst was appointed 'famulus Præsidis,' Oct. 15, 1603. He became Chaplain in 1610. For the 'famuli Præsidis,' see the note on John Spenser, p. 143. A secretary was, at this time, commonly styled a servant.

were ungrudgingly acknowledged by his contemporaries on all sides. Crakanthorpe, who stoutly defends his loyalty to the Church of England¹ against Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato (*Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, cap. 69), says of him, in a passage, which, though long, I think it better to quote in full, because it is the testimony of one who had known him personally, when himself an Undergraduate at Queen's, and is the source from which, often without acknowledgment, the subsequent accounts of Reynolds are often taken: 'Scisne qui vir Rainoldus fuit? Doctrinæ et omne genus eruditionis Gazophylacium dixeris. Scriptores opinor omnes, prophanos, ecclesiasticos, sacros, concilia, patres, historias evolverat. Linguarum, quæcunque Theologo vel adjumento sunt vel ornamento, callentissimus. Ingenio acer agilisque, judicio gravis et maturus: labore magis quam Adamantius ipse (i.e. Origen) indefatigabilis, memoria vero tam mirabili ut in eum verissime quadret illud apud Eunapium, Bibliotheca ille viva et Musæum ambulans, sic in omni disciplinarum genere versatus, quasi in singulis operam suam omnem posuisset. Virtute insuper, probitate, integritate, et, quod palmam tenet, pietate ac vitæ sanctimonia tam illustris ut, sicut de Athanasio ait Nazianzenus, Rainoldum nominasse virtutem ipsam laudasse sit. Tanta demum modestia, comitate atque urbanitate, ut licet summis anteponeendus esset, pene infimis tamen se æquaret. Eo nos juvenes, dum in Collegio nostro (Queen's) permultis annis versaretur, tam familiariter tantoque cum fructu usi sumus, ut quid, quoties, quantumque in ullo doctrinæ genere discere cuperemus, ex illo, velut inexhausto

¹ Thus, he shews that he approved of Episcopal government both from his works and from his attitude at the Hampton Court conference, he states that he used the square cap and the surplice, that he knelt at the reception of the Eucharist, that he was constant in his attendance at Church ordinances, that he both listened to and read chapters taken from the Apocrypha, and that he himself conducted, in the College chapel, the commemoration of Founders and Benefactors; lastly he has in his hands, at that moment, a letter written by Reynolds to Bancroft in which he professes himself 'huic Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ conformis libenter et ex animo,' 'his conscience moving him to make this profession.' Crakanthorpe adds that, in his last moments, he desired to receive absolution, according to the form in the liturgy, and, having received it, kissed, in token of gratitude, the hand of Dr. Holland, the Regius Professor of Divinity, through whose ministry his request had been gratified.

puteo, assidue hauriremus.' Bp. Hall, writing to a friend, soon after Reynolds' death¹, says: 'Since your departure from us, Reynolds is departed from the world. Alas! how many worthy lights have our eyes seen shining and extinguished! . . . Doctor Reynolds is the last; not in worth, but in the time of his loss. He alone was a well-furnished library, full of all faculties, of all studies, of all learning; the memory, the reading of that man were near to a miracle.' Fuller (*Church History of Britain*, sub 1607), for the most part, follows Crakanthorpe, but there are one or two extracts from his account which may be made with advantage. Speaking of Jewel, Reynolds, and Hooker, he says: 'No one county in England bare three such men (contemporary at large) in what College soever they were bred, no College in England bred such three men, in what county soever they were born.' 'This John Reynolds at the first was a zealous Papist, whilst William his brother was as earnest a Protestant, and afterwards Providence so ordered it that, by their mutual disputation, John Reynolds turned an eminent Protestant, and William an inveterate Papist, in which persuasion he died. This gave the occasion to an excellent copy of Verses, concluding with this Distich,

Quod genus hoc pugnæ est? ubi victus gaudet uterque,
Et simul alteruter se superasse dolet.

What war is this? when conquered both are glad,
And either to have conquered other sad.'

There is a certain confirmation of the story of the mutual conversion in the mere existence of the verses, but it has a very apocryphal ring, and, if Reynolds ever was 'a zealous Papist,' it must have been as a mere boy, for, had he been even suspected of Romish proclivities, Cole would certainly never have entrusted to him the tuition of Hooker, and it is difficult to conceive that, if he had been a 'zealous Papist,' he would have been allowed, under the vigilant rule of Cole, to have even remained in the College.

¹ Epistles, Decade I, Ep. 7 (Dr. Wynter's Edition of Works, vol. vi. pp. 149, 150).

To come lastly to Antony Wood, even he, abominating, as he did, Calvinism and Puritanism in all their forms, breaks out, in both the *Athenæ* and the *Annals*, into enthusiastic praises of Reynolds. It is true that, after his manner, he appropriates the language of Crakanthorpe and others, as if it were perfectly original and spontaneous ('as I conceive,' &c.), but still his adoption of it is, especially considering how strongly partisan were his opinions, sufficient evidence that he believed it to be truthful. Possibly there is one sentence in the *Annals* which he may have taken from tradition and not from books. 'At times of leisure he delighted much to talk with young towardly scholars, communicating his wisdom to and encouraging them in their studies, even to the last.' In the *Athenæ*, Wood tells us that, 'so temperate were his affections,' that he declined a bishopric, which was offered to him by Queen Elizabeth.

Reynolds was a voluminous and, at one time, much-read author, but, as the theological controversies on which his pen was mainly employed were on a different plane from those which interest us, his works have now passed out of vogue. Some of his translations and orations (delivered in the capacity of Greek reader) have also been published. His MS. notes on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* I have already referred to. There was a curious controversy in 1592 and 1593 between him and one Dr. Gager of Ch. Ch., on the lawfulness of stage-plays, which Reynolds condemned, even when acted by students. Antony Wood, however, is entirely wrong in ascribing¹ the occasion of this controversy to the plague with which Oxford was visited in July and August, 1593, in consequence, as it was supposed, of the overcrowding of the town by the access of visitors, about the time of the Act, to witness the Plays and Interludes brought from London. The two letters written by Reynolds, which were subsequently published in a small volume, entitled 'The Over-throw of Stage Plays,' are dated respectively July 10, 1592, and May 30, 1593.

The College may be said to have had rest during the

¹ See *Annals*, sub 1593.

Presidentships of Reynolds and his successor, a period of calm between two troublous storms. At the beginning of Reynolds' Presidency, there was, indeed, a dispute between him and the Fellows, as we shall see in Appendix A, on the subject of Fines, but, as the President's contention was based solely on what he conceived to be the rights of the inferior members of the Foundation, and was in opposition to his own pecuniary interests, it can hardly have been attended with the bitterness which had marked the differences on this subject with previous Presidents. Any way, the dispute was speedily settled, though not entirely in his sense, and we hear no more of it, till it broke out again in the Presidency of Anyan. Apart, however, from the settlement of specific matters of dispute, the improved relations generally between the members of the Foundation, were, doubtless, largely due to the personal character and influence of the two Presidents.

In 1603, in consequence of an appeal, there was a very lengthy injunction issued by Bp. Bilson, which, while settling certain points of a more or less technical character with regard to the taking of Degrees, laid down the broad principle that the College cannot arbitrarily refuse a grace, but must base the refusal on some defect which, after mature consideration, is, in their judgment, an impediment to proceeding to the Degree.

In 1605, the President, Seven Seniors, and Officers made an order that on the first or second Sunday of every month, at the time of the celebration of the Holy Communion, all persons within the College being in Holy Orders ('ministri verbi') shall be bound, on pain of a fine of ten shillings, to preach, in their turn, beginning with the Junior, in the College Chapel. This order might, at first sight, be taken to imply that the Communion was now only celebrated monthly, but the language does not necessitate any such conclusion.

The more noted Scholars admitted during Reynolds' Presidency were George Webb, Bishop of Limerick, a famous preacher and a writer of books on practical religion, and John Holt, subsequently President, admitted in 1599;

Thomas Anyan, subsequently President, admitted in 1607; and Henry Jackson, admitted in 1602¹, an industrious collector and annotator of the works of others rather than himself an author, whose collections seem to have been plundered during the troubles of the Great Rebellion.

John Spenser or Spencer, who appears to have been a learned, capable, and peaceable man, was an appropriate successor to Reynolds. We have already heard of him, in connexion with his premature promotion to the Greek Readership, during the stormy Presidency of Cole, of whom he was brother-in-law. As he was admitted, May 7, 1579, full fellow, in virtue of his previous election to the Greek Readership on June 9, 1578, his age is not mentioned in the Register, but, from Reynolds' assertion (see above, p. 143) that, when elected to the Greek Readership, he had not yet attained his nineteenth year, we may infer that he was born in 1559. In the record of his taking the oaths, the day after his election, he is described as a native of the county of Suffolk, and, as the natives of this county were not included amongst the favoured dioceses and counties from which alone the Fellows and Scholars could be elected, one reason for pressing his election as Greek Reader may have been to retain him in the College. If so, the event justified the calculations of the electors, though hardly the unusual course which they took. It may be noticed that, with the exception of Spenser, no President as yet has been taken from any diocese or county outside the list prescribed by the Founder. The particular parish in which Spenser was born is not specified in the Register, nor, so far as I know, recoverable from any other source. He

¹ More will be said about H. Jackson under the Presidency of Spenser, with whom he was closely connected in the endeavour to recover and restore the lost books of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, as well as to bring out editions of some of his minor works. There is much interesting information with regard to Jackson's labours on Hooker in Keble's Preface to his own edition, and the suggestion that the long missing Seventh Book of the Ecclesiastical Polity may have been one of the MSS. carried off or sold by the Parliamentary plunderers at Meysey Hampton seems to me a very probable conjecture.

must have come up to Oxford as the merest boy, if Reynolds' assertion about his age at the time of his election to the Greek Readership be true; for he took his B.A. Degree, Oct. 29, 1577, when, if that statement be accurate, he cannot have been much over eighteen. As noticed above, he was originally a clerk, or, possibly, a 'Famulus Præsidis.' The Greek Readership he resigned in 1588, after holding it for ten years, the period prescribed in the Statutes as that for which an 'extern' (that is, a Reader who had not been previously a Fellow or Probationer) must serve, before he had the right of retaining his Fellowship free from the duty of lecturing. It may be mentioned that the foundation on which he had been placed was that of the Diocese of Sarum (commonly filled up by a Wiltshire scholar). Soon after resigning his Readership, Spenser probably left Oxford, if, at least, he be the same John Spenser who, on June 5, 1589, was instituted to the Vicarage of Alveley, Essex, and who, on resigning it on Sept. 16, 1592, was instituted to the Vicarage of Broxbourne, Herts. There is no doubt, any way, that he is the same person who was instituted, June 12, 1599, to the Vicarage of St. Sepulchre's, Newgate, and it is under this designation that he is described on taking the oaths as President on June 9, 1607, the anniversary day, curiously, of his election to the Greek Readership. As he is there also described as 'diocesis Londonensis,' he must have been residing in London at the time of his admission. Indeed, he was a noted preacher in London, chaplain to King James the First, and, there can be little doubt, one of the Westminster company appointed for the translation of the Epistles in King James' scheme for the production of what is now called the Authorized Version of the Bible. This honour is sometimes assigned to Dr. John Spenser, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, but he was not born till 1630, and, while there is no other 'Dr Spenser' of the time who seems to have been fitted for the task, the subject of this notice, as a Royal Chaplain, a London Incumbent, a noted preacher and divine, the friend of Hooker and Reynolds, and a former Reader of Greek, in a public capacity, in one of the foremost colleges of

Oxford, seems to be just the person who would naturally be selected. The circumstance that, like Dr. Reynolds, he is portrayed, on the monument erected to his memory in the College Chapel, as holding a book, probably the Bible¹, in his hand, is confirmatory of the supposition. We are thus justified in claiming for the honour of Corpus, two certainly of the Translators of the Authorized Version, a third in all probability, and a fourth (Daniel Featley) probably.

But Spenser's name is now chiefly known in his relation to the works of Hooker, and that in two connexions. A certain Hamlett Marshall, who seems to have been his curate, published, in 1615, 'a learned and gracious sermon, preached at Paul's Cross by that famous and judicious divine, John Spenser, late President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford,' on God's Love to his Vineyard, which he dedicated to John King, then Bishop of London. In the dedication to this sermon (which, it may be remarked, is the only writing by Spenser which we possess, except the Address 'To the Reader,' prefixed to his editions of the first Five Books of the Ecclesiastical Polity), he makes this statement: 'This of mine own knowledge I dare affirm, that such was his humility and modesty in that kind' (namely, in withholding his works from publication), 'that, when he had taken extraordinary pains, together with a most judicious and complete Divine in our Church, about the compiling of a learned and profitable work now extant, yet would he not be moved to put his hand to it, though he had a special hand in it, and, therefore it fell out that *tulit alter honores*.' It is very probable that Spenser, being apparently an intimate friend, and sharing generally, as it would seem both from the Sermon and the Address, in the same theological opinions, would often communicate with Hooker on the work which the latter writer was preparing, possibly make suggestions, or have special points of difficulty referred to him for advice or information. But that he made any substantial contribution to the composition of the book,

¹ In Dr. Reynolds' case, the book is closed, in Spenser's open. Possibly the difference may have a meaning, as Reynolds translated a portion of the Old Testament, Spenser of the New.

without receiving due acknowledgment from the author, is a supposition as wholly repugnant to the character of Hooker as it is contradictory of the entire tone and spirit of the address in which Spenser introduces his friend's work. Moreover, an insinuation of this kind, which is unsubstantiated by any reference to confirmatory facts, has really no claim to consideration. And, in this case, probably, we can detect the origin of the somewhat malicious story. Henry Jackson, a young Fellow of Corpus, was employed by Spenser to put together the various fragments of Hooker's works, which could still be found, with a view to a complete edition which he was hoping to bring out, much as young scholars are being constantly employed now by older men, in the same manner and with similar objects. But Jackson seems to have been a young man of a somewhat jealous and cynical temperament, and, writing to a friend in 1612, he says, '*Puto Præsidentem nostrum emissurum sub suo nomine D. Hookeri librum octavum a me plane vitæ restitutum. Tulit alter honores*'.¹ It is curious, if my supposition be true, that a quotation, thus used in disparagement of Spenser, should, after passing through the confused mind of Marshall, have been turned to the glory of Spenser and the disparagement of Hooker. It would hardly have been worth while to dwell on this matter, had not the story obtained a wide currency through its repetition in Wood's *Athenæ*², where, after his manner, it is told on his own account, and as if he were himself responsible for its accuracy, instead of being given on the authority of Marshall, an obscure person, whose gossip would have probably attracted no attention.

The second point of connexion is that the first posthumous edition of any part of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* was brought out by Spenser³, who, in 1604, published an edition of the first Five Books, 'without any addition or diminution whatsoever,' with a brief, but graceful and pregnant, address

¹ Fulman MSS., vol. x. fol. 86 b.

² In the notice of John Spenser.

³ First, the first four books, and then the fifth by itself, had appeared during Hooker's life-time.

'To the Reader.' One sentence in this Address may be selected for reproduction, as shewing how completely Spenser had imbibed the spirit of Hooker, and illustrating, possibly, also his own manner of life and conversation: 'So much better were it, in these our dwellings of peace, to endure any inconvenience whatsoever in the outward form, than, in desire of alteration, thus to set the whole house on fire.' He also took great pains to recover, in a form fit for publication, the remaining three books, in which effort, so far as regards the eighth book, he seems to have been largely successful, no doubt owing much to the co-operation of Jackson. The sixth and eighth books were not published till 1648, the seventh book, for the recovery of which all endeavours had hitherto proved fruitless, not till its appearance in Gauden's edition of 1662. But Jackson's indefatigable industry was rewarded by his being enabled to publish, from time to time, several of Hooker's Sermons, of which that on Justification was so rapidly sold that a new edition was almost at once called for, as well as Travers' Supplication and Hooker's reply. Jackson's suspicion of Spenser was by no means justified by the results. Spenser set him on the work, supplied the materials, and allowed him to reap the glory.

The life of the College seems to have been so perfectly peaceful and so entirely uneventful during the brief period of Spenser's Presidency, that there is nothing to record, except the institution of a Hebrew Lectureship in 1607 or 8¹, but whether it was temporary or intended to be permanent, and whether it was founded by the President at his own charges or out of the College revenues, we cannot say.

Spenser died on April 3, 1614, aged fifty-five. He was married to George Cranmer's sister, which must have been an additional stimulus to the interest he felt in all that appertained to Hooker and his works. There are some expressions

¹ Fulman MSS, vol. ix. fol. 229, a, b. '1607 8. Instituit' (sc. Spenserius) 'Prælectionem Hebraicam;' and, on the opposite side of the leaf, '1607.8. H. Jacks. Epist. Nova hic nulla, nisi Hebraicam institutam apud nos Lectionem.'

in Marshall's dedication of the Sermon to Bishop King which seem to imply that the widow and children were not left in good circumstances. Spenser was buried in the College Chapel, and his monument is appropriately placed opposite to that of Dr. Reynolds, each being attired in his doctor's habits, and each holding a book, Reynolds a closed one, Spenser an open one¹.

None of the students known to have been admitted during Spenser's Presidency seem to merit notice, unless it be Walter, eldest son of Sir Walter Raleigh (for an account of whom see a note to the names of the Commoners admitted in 1607), and Richard James, of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, who, according to Wood, was a great traveller, 'a very good Grecian, a poet, an excellent critic, antiquary, divine, and admirably well skilled in the Saxon and Gothic languages.' He assisted Selden in the composition of the *Marmora Arundeliana* and Sir Robert Cotton in the settling of his library. Thomas Carew, the poet and song-writer, if, as Wood tells us, he was a member of Corpus, was probably matriculated during this Presidency. But I think it almost certain that he is identical with the Thomas Carew who was matriculated at Merton, June 10, 1608. See A. Clark's *Register*, Vol. ii. Pt. 2, p. 301, and Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, Early Series, Vol. i.

The peace of the College which had prevailed during the Presidencies of Reynolds and Spenser was almost immediately broken by the Presidential election which followed Spenser's death. When the day fixed for the election (April 12) arrived, a preliminary objection was raised by one of the seven seniors (with whom the election lay) to the votes of three of the

¹ The Inscription runs as follows.

Johannes Spenser
Preses Hujus Collegii, S. Theol. Doctor, Sereniss.
Jacobus Regi A Sacris, Veræ Pietatis, Eruditionis, Virtutis,
Exemplar, Omnibus Probus Sui Desiderium Relinquens,
Prævit 3^o Aprilis An. Dom. 1614.

others, but, in spite of this objection, the scrutators proceeded to a scrutiny. According to Fulman, 'three were named: Henry Hooke; Thomas Anian; Robert Burghill; but, none of these having a major part, they went to another scrutiny; and, likewise, twice after dinner, with like success: so they adjourned. The next day, they had likewise two scrutinies. In the last, which ended about twelve at midday, Dr Benefield declared that

Henry Hooke had one voice,
Thomas Anian three,
and Robert Burghill three:

but, it seems, refused to pronounce who was chosen, as having the Vice-President's suffrage.' The original statutes, which contain elaborate regulations with regard to the election of a President, ordain that, in the last resort, even though there be not an absolute majority for any one name, and even though no one name heads the list, that Candidate, amongst those who have an equal number of votes, for whom the Vice-President, or, in his absence, the Senior Fellow present, has recorded his vote, shall be held to be elected. The question as to the three disputed votes was then brought before the Visitor (and it is to be noted that the Visitor heard Counsel as well as the parties themselves), and was, in each case, decided in favour of the elector, the exceptions being pronounced 'false, frivolous, and devoid of all truth.' The scrutators were then ordered to publish the scrutiny, especially the last, stating for whom the Vice-President had voted in it. On May 26, 'this order being read, Dr Benefield declared (saving his duty to the King¹) that, of the persons named in the several scrutinies,

Henry Hooke had one vote, sc. Christ. Membry
Robert Burghill three, sc. Sebastian Benefield
Peter Hooker
Gilbert Hawthorne

¹ Fulman remarks, in a marginal note, 'It seems by this and the Visitor's Order that there was a letter recommendatory from the King (Qu. for whom?).' If for any of the three persons voted for, it was, in all probability, for Anyan, who was Chaplain to Lord Chancellor Egerton (Lord Ellesmere), at that time Lord High Chancellor of England and Chancellor of the University.

Thomas Anyan three, sc. William Beely, Vice-President

Gabriel Honyfold

Brian Twyne ;

and that, in the last scrutiny, Thomas Anyan was named and elected President by the Vice-President and the other two; and then Christopher Membry, the other scrutator, pronounced that Thomas Anyan was elected President.' The seal was, next day, set to a certificate of these proceedings. Anyan was duly presented to the Visitor, and, on June 1, was sworn President, this curious example of a hotly contested election being thus finally settled.

Thomas Anian, or Anyan, was born at Sandwich in Kent, about the 25th of February, 1583, was matriculated at Lincoln College in June 1597, admitted Scholar of Corpus, March 9, 1603, aged 18, and Probationary Fellow, Nov. 21, 1608. He was thus, on his election to the Presidentship, in the early summer of 1614, but little over thirty-one years of age. He had preached the Act Sermon at St. Mary's on July 12, 1612, and, the same year, proceeded to the Degree of B.D. Though so young, he must have already become a man of some mark in the Church, for, in 1612, he was made Prebendary of Gloucester, and was, at the time of his election to the Presidency, Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, and either then, or very shortly afterwards, Prebendary of Canterbury. Two of his sermons were published, the Act Sermon, mentioned above, and a Spital Sermon, preached on April 10, 1615¹. But there seems to have been, or at least to have been supposed to have been, some dark stain on his character. Dr. Sebastian Benefield (a man whose testimony we have no reason to doubt), speaking of his conduct as scrutator, says that he 'could not pronounce Mr. Anian

¹ These two Sermons, which are studded with Latin and Greek terms and quotations, seem to be rigidly orthodox, according to the standard of the time, and may be described as moderately Calvinistic, but without any leaning to Puritanism. In both he expressly teaches the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. In the later Sermon, he quotes passages from Calvin with approval, though without any epithet of admiration for the author; in the earlier, he dwells on the indefectibility of grace and the final salvation of the elect, as if they were familiar truths which might be taken for granted.

elected for two reasons,' one of them being 'because it was in writing exhibited unto me, under a public Notary's hand, that Mr. Anian by reason of the infamy, wherewith he then stood burthened, was ineligible to that place.' There is, in the Fulman MSS., vol. ix. fol. 233, a very plain-spoken letter, written by Peter Hooker, acknowledging the receipt of advice from Anian, on his appointment to the Mastership of the Charterhouse, and intimating that he had better look at home. Some portions of this letter do not admit of reproduction, but it may be mentioned that 'bribery and corruption both in elections and offices, places, leases and copie holdes,' drunkenness, dissoluteness, and even adultery, are not the worst crimes which, with studied ambiguity, it is insinuated that Anyan either commits himself or tolerates in others. Such offences will not be tolerated, or, if they spring up, they will be rooted out, in the writer's own society, 'and so wishing you to take the like course in the College, I leave you to God's holy protection. Sutton's hospitall. Jan. 10, 1616. Yours as you use me, Peter Hooker.' On Oct. 10, 1618, Henry Jackson, writing to the Visitor, Bishop Andrewes, implores him 'ut afflictissimo Collegio succurrere velis, nosque ab eo Præsiede liberare, qui omnium sermonibus vapulat, et in quo plurima esse audivisti, quæ non solum condemnes, sed detesteris.' It is plain from several documents preserved by Fulman that the charges against Dr. Anyan fell under two heads, corruption with respect to fines and elections, and personal immorality. At length, in 1624, Drs. Richard Allyn and Daniel Featly (Fulman MSS., vol. ix. fol. 238) petitioned the King for a full enquiry, by means of a Royal Commission, into the 'enormous offences' wherewith the President stood charged, complaining, at the same time, of the injurious manner in which he had oppressed the witnesses produced against him, and of the vexations to which the supplicants themselves had been subjected by means of 'arrests and threats of suits.' On May 28 of this year, the House of Commons, amongst the grievances enumerated in their address to the King, complained: '(12) Wheras complaints have been made to your Majesty's Commons, now assembled in Parlia-

ment, against Dr Anian, President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, of sundrie misdemeanours in the government of the same colledge, and other enormous and scandalous offences unworthy of his calling, degree, and place, which, upon examination before them, have appeared, in the greatest part, to be true: Forasmuch, as nothing can be more agreeable to your Majesty's great knowledge and wisdom than to have particular care of the advancement, &c. your most dutiful Commons in all humbleness beseech your most excellent Majesty that some course may be taken, according to your princely justice and wisdom, for removing the same Dr Anian from the place of President in that colledge¹. The next day (May 29) the King replied with respect to this matter: 'You all took the oath of supremacy whereby you acknowledge me to be supreme judge in ecclesiastical matters. I have referred the matter to the Bishop of Winchester' (Andrewes), 'who is visitor of that College, upon whose learning, gravity, and (as I may saye) Holyness I may well rely in that cause.' On June 12, Locke, writing to Carleton, says: 'Many of the grievances that were complayned of by the House of Commons do now come to be scanned at the Council Table, amongst which one was against Dr Anian, President of Corpus Christi in Oxford. Dr Featley, Dr Allen, and Dr Barcroft, with others, that complained against him, and not without a cause, are bound over to appear before the Lords, but it is thought the King will have the hearing of it himself².' James I died on March 27, 1625,

¹ Extracted from the State Papers (Domestic) in the Record Office, Vol. 165, May 18, 1624. 53. The King's Reply immediately follows on the statement of grievances. The letter of Sir Francis Nethersole to Carleton (Vol. 167, June 2. 10) evidently refers to the same matter, and gives no further information. Rushworth (Historical Collections, vol. i. p. 147, mispagged in some copies as 151), Jac. 22 (1624), gives a somewhat different version of the King's words. 'That the form of proceedings used by the Commons in this Parliament is also a grievance unto His Majesty, for that they did not call the Commissioners (Are these the Commissioners asked for in the petition of Allyn and Featley?), whom they complained of, before them, touching their complaint against Dr Anyan (sic); His Majesty said their oath of supremacy forbids them to meddle with Church matters. besides they complain against him, and never heard him.' The 'him' (bis) most probably refers to Dr. Anyan, not the King.

² Extracted from the State Papers (Domestic), vol. 167, June 12, 1624. 50.

and this same year, in the first Parliament of Charles I, the Commons renewed their complaints against Dr. Anyan (or 'Onion'), to which the King replied that, 'if they of the College do complain unto his Majesty of him, he will take a course in it¹.' On August 3 of this year, according to Fulman, vol. ix. fol. 235 b, 'A Fast was kept by the Parliament at Oxford, and a sermon at St. Marie's, which should have been preached by Dr Anian, Pr. of C. C. C., had he not been silenced by some of the Lower House the day before.' In June, 1626, according to a very brief note in Fulman, he was 'citatus,' but whether before the Visitor or a Commission or the Privy Council we know not, nor how the proceedings were conducted, nor what was the issue. Any way, in April, 1629, he retired from his office ('cessit'). It is a remarkable circumstance that, in Bishop Neile's Episcopal Register at Winchester, we find that, on April 14, 1629, the very month in which Anyan resigned the Presidency, he was instituted to the Rectory of Cranley, Surrey, on the resignation of John Holt, his successor in the Presidency, the patron of the living being William Holt of London. This transaction seems to suggest some arrangement between Holt, Anyan, and the College, but, unless Bishop Neile was singularly indifferent to the morals of his clergy, it affords a presumption that the Visitor, being willing to institute Anyan to a rectory in his own diocese, did not himself give credence to the more scandalous charges against him. The only other fact we know about Anyan is that recorded by Fulman (MSS., vol. ix. fol. 235 b) at the end of his notes: 'Obiit Cantuariæ, ubi Præbendarius erat, (a yere or two after² (his resignation)) of the small Pockes, buried ignominiously by his wife Martha.'

Whether Anyan was or was not guilty, and, if guilty, in what degree, of the scandalous charges insinuated against him, it is impossible at this distance of time, and with no direct evidence before us, to determine. We must recollect that, Locke to Carleton. The complaint of Dr. Featley, &c., must be the same as the one mentioned above. Whether it preceded or succeeded the statement of grievances by the Commons, we do not know.

¹ Heylin's *Bibliotheca Regia*, pt. ii. p. 277.

² According to Le Neve's *Fasti*, in January 1633.

at this particular period and for some time before and after, charges of this kind were wildly and recklessly brought against theological, political, and even literary opponents, and one party in a College, when College feuds ran high, would probably have little scruple in calumniating another. The foregoing extracts will shew that the opinion of contemporaries seems to have been divided on the matter, at least as between doubt and conviction, though the adverse interpretation was plainly preponderant. On the less serious charges, those connected with the administration of the College, namely, corruption in elections and extortion and misappropriation in respect to fines, Anyan, like Greenway, was probably guilty; and, indeed, from Bocher's Presidency to Anyan's, there seems to have been an evil tradition amongst the Presidents of the College, with respect to the fines, excepting only Reynolds and Spenser, whose high character and nobler interests saved them from giving way to this mean temptation.

The appeal to the Visitor (Bishop Bilson) in reference to the disputes arising out of Anyan's election, with his decision, has already been mentioned. In 1619, Bishop Montague decided, in conformity with Ch. 26 of the Statutes, that, in all University Elections, members of the foundation, having votes in Convocation, should 'certify their unanimity at home by their unanimity abroad,' and 'conform themselves to the inclination and disposition of the President.' One wonders how far, during the subsequent disputes between the President and Fellows, this interpretation was regarded. Perhaps the dissentients took refuge in neutrality.

About the same time (Feb. 5, 1518) was made the important order, shortly afterwards sanctioned by the Visitor, with reference to the increase of the allowance for Vests, Gowns, or Liveries, as they were indifferently called. This additional allowance was subsequently called, in honour of the Visitor who sanctioned it, the Montague Vest, but it is more convenient to reserve the account of this change and its results till I come to treat of the financial history of the College in Appendix A. Soon after according this very considerable boon, Bishop Montague appears to have become the

guest of the College at the celebration of its Centenary, which probably occurred on or about March 5, 161⁶₇. On his arrival, the youth of the College ('nos tenuior juventa<æ> soboles, qui manum ferulæ dudum subduximus') presented him with a collection of Latin epigrams¹, which are of much the same character and quality as other compositions of that kind at this period. They are characterized by the frequent playing upon the Bishop's name ('Jacobus de Monte Acuto'), for the inevitable conjunction of him with his name-sake, the King, and for the expressions of gratitude to him as a second founder ('Qui Foxi domui, Foxus ut alter, ades') on account of his recent concession with respect to the 'Montague Vests.' Amongst the contributors are Robert Hegge (the compiler of the Catalogue of Fellows and Scholars) and Edmund Staunton, subsequently President.

In 161⁷₈, the President and Fellows, with the consent and approbation of the Visitor, order that, besides the stipends allotted by the Founder, the Vice-President shall have, for the care of the Library and Divines, £4 per annum; the two Deans, for the care of the Bachelors, £2 each per annum; the two Lecturers 8s. 4d. each per quarter; the two Bursars, pro cura Braccatorum (the servants or, perhaps, those servants who were not students) £4 per annum between them; the Logic Lecturer 5s. per quarter: which allowances are to take place only in case 100 Marks are carried into the Tower². On June 1, 1615, a decree of the President, Seniors and Officers was issued requiring, on pain of a fine of 13s. 4d. for each omission, all those Masters of Arts on the Foundation, who were between the standing of one year and four years from their inception (when they became subject to the obligation of preaching before the University), to preach, in turn, in the College Chapel, as a kind of exercise, for the space of

¹ This collection is preserved in the Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. Poetry, 171, fol. 100, &c. It was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. F. Madan.

² It appears from the Register that Thomas White, who was admitted Chaplain in 1623, had agreed, in 1621, to perform the duties of that office, provisionally, for his living and clothing and 6s. 8d. per term. The money payment was exactly double that of Thomas Newman, who was engaged provisionally as Butler in 1627.

half an hour, on certain Saturdays at the time of morning prayers. The document is signed by Thomas Anyan, President, Peter Hooker, Vice-President, Sebastian Benefield, Thomas Jackson, George Sellar, and Robert Barcroft.

The members of the College, most worthy of mention, admitted during Anyan's Presidency, were, amongst the scholars: Robert Hegge, admitted 1614, 'a prodigy of his time for forward and good natural parts,' according to Wood, who died when only thirty, and was buried in the College chapel, leaving behind him several MS. works, which included the 'Legend of St Cuthbert with the Antiquities of the Church of Durham' (afterwards published), a 'Treatise of Dials and Dialling,' still in the College Library, containing drawings and descriptions of Kratzer's dial in the Garden, and Turnbull's in the Quadrangle¹, and the MS. 'Catalogus' of Fellows and Scholars of C. C. C., invaluable for reference, which, with its continuations down to the present time, is in the custody of the President; Robert Nulin, Newlin, or Newlyn, also admitted in 1614, elected President in 1640, and, after expulsion by the Parliamentary Visitors, restored in 1660; Edmund Staunton, the Parliamentary President, admitted in 1615; Edward Pocock, a native of the parish of St. Peter in the East, Oxford, admitted Scholar Dec. 11, 1620, having been previously a member of Magdalen Hall, for some time Chaplain at Aleppo, subsequently Laudian Professor of Arabic,

¹ Kratzer's dial in the Garden has unfortunately disappeared, without a trace of it being left. Turnbull's dial in the quadrangle bears two dates, 1581 and 1605, the former of which is the probable date of its construction, the later date being probably that of some tables painted subsequently on the cylinder, which do not appear in the drawing given in Hegge's Treatise. It should be noticed that, in Hegge's drawing of this dial, the structure terminates with the octagonal base of the cylinder, resting on a platform, approached by four steps, and surrounded with rails. The present square pedestal, which is much defaced, owing to the softness of the stone, and seems older than the cylinder, is not figured in Hegge's drawing. It cannot have been part of Kratzer's dial, which was differently shaped, and where it came from we cannot now say. There are two copies of Hegge's MS. *Treatise on Dials* in the Corpus Library: one a small quarto (perfect); the other a folio (imperfect), bound up with much miscellaneous matter. The figures in the latter copy are better executed than in the former, though, in the case of the cylindrical dial, we miss the view of the quadrangle which we have in the quarto. The drawings were probably executed between 1625 and 1630.

Rector of the College living of Childrey, Berks, Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Ch. Ch., one of the greatest Oriental scholars whom England has ever produced, and hardly less remarkable for his pure, blameless, and exalted character (see Locke's letter to Mr. Smith of Dartmouth, July 23, 1703, quoted in Twells' Life and Bliss' Edition of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*); and Edmund Vaughan, admitted Scholar 1627, author of the Life of Dr. Thomas Jackson, to which I shall presently refer. The only other member of the College, worthy of mention, who entered during Anyan's Presidency, seems to be Edward Rainbow, subsequently Bishop of Carlisle, who is said by Antony Wood (*Ath. Ox.*) to have entered C. C. C. in July 1623, and, two years afterwards, to have migrated to Magdalen College, Cambridge, of which, in 1642, he became Master.

On Anian's cession, John Holt was elected to the Presidency (Apr. 24, 1629) and sworn on the first of May following. All that we know of him, in addition, is that he was born at Chertsey, in Surrey, about the Feast of the Purification (Feb. 2), 158⁵/₈, admitted Scholar Jan. 3, 1⁵⁹⁹/₈₀₀, Probationary Fellow, Oct. 19, 1611, installed Prebendary of Westminster on Nov. 29, 1619, died at London, Jan. 10, 163⁹/₁, when he had been President little more than a year and eight months, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. During his brief Presidency, only three Scholars were admitted, one of whom was Richard Samwaies, a man of some note in his time, who was ejected from his Fellowship by the parliamentary commissioners in 1648, and, after suffering great misery, restored at the Restoration.

The next President, Thomas Jackson¹, was a man of great

¹ I may be excused, perhaps, for explaining that certain points of identity between this notice of Jackson and that in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* are due, not to my having borrowed from that article, but to my having supplied corrections and suggestions to the Editor, as it was passing through the Press.

note both as a scholar and a theologian. He was born at Witton super Were in the Bishopric of Durham, about the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle (Dec. 21), 1579. According to Vaughan's Life, prefixed to Jackson's Works, he was originally designed for a mercantile life at Newcastle, where many of his friends lived in great wealth and prosperity, but, at the instance of Lord Eure, as we learn from his own dedication of his Commentaries on the Creed, his parents consented to send him up to Oxford. He was matriculated as a member of Queen's, June 25, 1596, and there was under the tuition of Crackanthorpe, the famous theologian and logician, of whom I have already spoken in connexion with Dr. Reynolds. Nine months afterwards, March 24, 1597, he was elected to a Scholarship at Corpus, 'where,' according to his biographer, 'although he had no notice of the vacancy of the place till the day before the election, yet he answered with so much readiness and applause, that he gained the admiration as well as the suffrages of the electors, and was chosen with full consent, although they had received letters of favour from great men for another scholar.' 'A sure and honourable argument,' he adds, 'of the incorruptedness of that place, where the peremptory mandamus of the pious founder, *nec prece, nec pretio*, presented with the merits of a young man and a stranger, shall prevail more than all other solicitations and partialities whatsoever.' Soon after his migration to Corpus, he narrowly escaped being drowned in the river, though he had not gone out for the purpose of boating, as would be the case in our own time, but 'with others of the younger company to wash himself.' When he was taken out of the water, he was supposed to be dead, and was 'lapped up in the gowns of his fellow-students, the best shroud that love or necessity could provide.' Under the skilful care of the 'medicinæ deputatus,' Dr. Chennell, he at length recovered, and the event seems to have made a deep impression both upon himself and others, who 'concluded him to be reserved for high and admirable purposes.' 'His grateful acknowledgments towards the fisherman and his servants that took him up knew no bounds, being a constant revenue to them

whilst he lived.' As the succession had now become slow, he was not admitted Probationary Fellow till May 10, 1606. It must be of about this time that his biographer speaks, when he says that 'he was furnished with all the learned languages, arts and sciences, as the previous dispositions or beautiful gate which led him into the temple; but especially metaphysics, as the next in attendance, and most necessary handmaid to divinity, which was the mistress where all his thoughts were fixed. The reading to younger scholars, and some employments imposed by the Founder, were rather recreations and assistances than diversions from that intended work.' After he became actual Fellow, 'the offices which he undertook (out of duty, not desire) were never the most profitable, but the more ingenuous; not such as might fill his purse, but increase his knowledge.' Two sons of Lord Spencer of Wormleighton, Edward and Richard, who matriculated in the autumn of 1609, were commended to his charge. 'He read a lecture of divinity in the college every Sunday morning, and another day of the week at Pembroke College (then newly erected), by the instance of the Master and Fellows there. He was chosen Vice-President many years together, who by his place was to moderate the disputations in Divinity. In all these he demeaned himself with great depth of learning, far from that knowledge which puffeth up, but accompanied with all gentleness, courtesy, humility, and moderation.' In 1622, he proceeded to the Degree of D.D., and, shortly afterwards¹, though in what order it is difficult to say nor is the matter now of any importance, he was presented to the two livings of Newcastle on Tyne and Winston, both in the Bishopric of Durham, which he seems to have held together till his election to the Presidency. About the same time that he moved to the North, he became Chaplain

¹ In Rymer's *Fœdera*, XVIII. 660, quoted from Baker in Bliss' Ed. of Wood's *Athenæ*, the Dispensation to hold Winston together with Newcastle is dated May 12, 1625. Fulman has the entry 'Collegio cessit (i. e. he resigned his Fellowship) Jan. 3, 1624.' In the Register there is a curious document, dated April 16, 1616, in which the President and Fellows engage to present Jackson to the College Living of Trent in Somersetshire, when next vacant. But no vacancy occurred till after his promotion in the North.

to Bp. Neile of Durham, who, according to Wood, 'took him off from his precise way,' that is from Puritanism. At Newcastle, again to quote Wood, 'he was much followed and admired for his excellent way of preaching, which was then (i.e. at first) puritanical.' 'This,' says Vaughan, 'was the place where he was first appointed by his friends to be a merchant; but he chose rather to be a factor for heaven¹. One precious soul refined, polished, and fitted for his Master's use, presented by him, was of more value to him than all other purchases whatsoever.' When he went out into the streets, we are told, he usually gave what money he had to the poor, 'who, at length, flocked so unto him, that his servant took care that he had not too much in his pocket.' To proceed with Vaughan's account, 'After some years of his continuance in this town, he was invited back again to the University by the death of the President of the same College, being chosen in his absence at so great a distance, so unexpectedly, without any suit or petition upon his part, that he knew nothing of the vacancy of the place, but by the same letters that informed him that it was conferred upon himself: a preferment of so good account, that it hath been much desired and eagerly sought after by many eminent men, but never before went so far to be accepted of. Upon his return to Oxford, and admission to his government, they found no alteration by his long absence and more converse with the world, but that he appeared yet more humble in his elder times.' 'He ruled in a most obliging manner the fellows, scholars, servants, tenants, nemo ab eo tristis discessit, no man departed from him with a sad heart, excepting in this particular, that by some misdemeanour or willing error they had created trouble or given any offence unto him. He used the friends as well as the memory of his predecessors fairly. He was *præsident pacificus*, a lover and maker of peace. He silenced and composed all differences, displeasures, and

¹ Thomas Fuller (Worthies of England, 1662), from whom this epigrammatic sentence is sometimes quoted, simply follows Vaughan, whose Life of Jackson first appeared in 1653, being prefixed to the first three Books of the Commentary on the Creed.

animosities by a prudent impartiality, and the example of his own sweet disposition. All men taking notice that nothing was more hateful unto him than hatred itself, nothing more offensive to his body and mind ; it was a shame and cruelty (as well as presumption) to afflict his peaceable spirit. It is a new and peculiar art of discipline, but successfully practised by him, that those under his authority were kept within bounds and order, not so much out of fear of the penalty, as out of love to the governor. He took notice of that which was good in the worst men, and made that an occasion to commend them for the good's sake ; and living himself *tanquam nemini ignosceret*, as if he were so severe that he could forgive no man, yet he reserved large pardons for the imperfections of others.' 'I can truly avouch this testimony concerning him, that, living in the same college with him more than twenty years (partly when he was Fellow, and partly when he returned President), I never heard, to my best remembrance, one word of anger or dislike against him.' Fuller (Worthies of England) sums up Jackson's work as President in the following pithy and alliterative sentence: 'Here he lived piously, ruled peaceably, wrote profoundly, preached painfully.'

Still speaking of his conduct in the Presidency, Vaughan continues: 'His devotions towards God were assiduous and exemplary, both in public and private. He was a diligent frequenter of the public service in the chapel very early in the morning, and at evening, except some urgent occasions of infirmity did excuse him. His private conferences with God by prayer and meditation were never omitted upon any occasion whatsoever. When he went the yearly progress to view the college-lands, and came into the tenant's house, it was his constant custom (before any other business, discourse, or care of himself, were he never so wet or weary) to call for a retiring room to pour out his soul unto God, who led him safely in his journey. And this he did not out of any specious pretence of holiness, to devour a widow's house with more facility, rack their rents, or enhance their fines. For, excepting the constant revenue to the founder (to whom

he was a strict accomptant), no man ever did more for them or less for himself.'

Jackson was sworn as President, Feb. 17, 1631. The entry in Fulman runs: 'Mortuo Holto, eligitur absens, nec quidquam minus cogitans, Thomas Jackson.' Wood says that he was 'elected partly with the helps of Neile, Bishop of Durham' (now of Winchester), 'but more by the endeavours of Dr Laud.' As a matter of fact, he was recommended by the King, to whom he was already Chaplain (see Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, sub Jan. 12, 1631), though very likely at the instance of Laud. It was probably due to the same influence that he was made Vicar of Witney (to which office he was instituted in 1632, on the King's presentation during the vacancy of the see of Winchester, and which he resigned in 1637), Prebendary of Winchester (in 1635) and Dean of Peterborough (Oct. 29, 1638). The Headship, Deanery, and Canonry¹ he held together till his death; the important living of Newcastle he resigned, shortly after his election at Corpus².

There is no doubt that, during the latter part of his life, Jackson was closely identified with Laud, Neile, and, generally, with the Arminian party in the Church. In the Epistle Dedicatory to Lord Pembroke (1627), prefixed to the Sixth Book of the Comments on the Creed³, he all but accepts the imputation of Arminianism (that is, anti-calvinism), though he appears to think that the rival doctrines admit of reconciliation. As a consequence of this attitude, he was violently attacked by the Puritan writers, such as Prynne and Burton, and appears to have attracted the attention of Parliament and Convocation. In his *Anti-Arminianism* (ed. of 1630, p. 270), Prynne, who may be taken as a sufficient representative of his party, says, speaking of Jackson: 'The last of these, a man otherwise of good abilities, and of a plausible,

¹ But, according to Vaughan, he was very anxious to resign the Canonry, and only prevented by the Bishop refusing to accept his resignation.

² See Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Nov. 28, 1631. Bp. Howson of Durham to Bp. Laud. Received, Nov. 14, letters from His Majesty requiring him to give restitution to Mr. Alvey into Dr. Jackson's Vicarage at Newcastle, which was done before those letters came.

³ Works, vol. v pp 4, 5.

affable, courteous deportment till of late ; being transported beyond himselfe with metaphysicall contemplations, to his owne infamy, and his renowned Mother's shame (I meane the famous University of Oxford, who grieves for his defection, from whose duggs he never suckt his poisonous doctrines), as his evidence is intricate and obscure beyond the reach or discovery of ordinary capacities, so it hath bin blanced and blasted by a Parliamentary Examination, excepted against by the Convocation House, answered by some, disavowed by most of our Divines.' The Parliamentary Examination must have been before the 'Committee of Religion,' of whose proceedings we have no account, though the result of them is contained in a report, which is entered in the Journal of the House of Commons (vol. I. p. 924). It runs thus: Jan. 29, 1628. Mr Prynne reporteth to the House a Frame of a Declaration agreed upon by the Committee of Religion; and followeth in these words. 'That we, the Commons, assembled in Parliament, do claim, profess, and avow, for Truth, that sense of the Articles of Religion, which were established in Parliament, in the 13th year of the Reign of Queen Elisabeth, which, by the public acts of the Church of England, and by the general and current expositions of the writers of our Church, hath been delivered unto us; and we reject the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and of all other, wherein they differ from us.' This, upon Question, agreed. It is probably to these transactions that Barnabas Oley refers in the Life of George Herbert, prefixed to his Remains which were published in 1652, where he relates that Dr. Jackson 'had like to have been sore shent by the Parliament in the year 1628 for Tenets in Divinity, I cannot say so far driven by him as by some men now they are with great applause. His approach to Unity was very near,' &c. Of any exceptions taken to Jackson's doctrines in Convocation, there is, so far as I am aware, now no record. Cardwell's *Synodalia* does not contain any account of proceedings in Convocation at this period, and I am not acquainted with any other mention of any action or discussion on Jackson's works except this allusion to them by Prynne.

That Jackson's views had ceased, in later life, to be Calvinistic and had become what were then called Arminian, has already been stated. On Church authority, the nature and efficacy of the Sacraments, and kindred questions, he was in accord with the school of Laud. Hence the revived interest in his works amongst the divines of what is commonly called the High Church Party in the middle of the present century¹. They were re-published, at Oxford, by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press in 1844, in 12 vols. octavo, the previous edition of the entire works having been published in London, in 1673, under the superintendence of Barnabas Oley. There are several sermons and smaller treatises, but far the most important of his works is the Commentary on the Creed in twelve Books, the first two of which were printed in 1613, and the rest at various times during his life and after his death.

During the latter part of his life, Jackson, according to his biographer, 'seemed to be very prophetic of the ensuing times of trouble,' and, 'as he was always a reconciler of differences in his private government, so he seriously lamented the public breaches of the kingdom.' 'At the first entrance of the Scots into England, he had much compassion for his countrymen, although that were but the beginning of their sorrows.' 'One drop of Christian blood (though never so cheaply spilt by others, like water upon the ground) was a deep corrosive to his tender heart.' 'His body grew weak, the cheerful hue of his countenance was impaled and discoloured, and he walked like a dying mourner in the streets.

¹ This, however, was not the first revival of interest in Jackson's Works. William Jones of Nayland, in his *Life of Bp. Home* (1799), speaks of Dr. Jackson as 'a magazine of theological knowledge, everywhere penned with great elegance and dignity, so that his style is a pattern of perfection. His writings, once thought inestimable by every-body but the Calvinists, had been greatly neglected, and would probably have continued so, but for the praises bestowed upon them by the celebrated Mr Merrick of Trinity College, Oxford (fl. 1765), who brought them once more into repute with many learned readers. The early extracts of Mr Home, which are now remaining, shew how much information he derived from this excellent writer, who deserves to be numbered with the English fathers of the church.' I have borrowed this quotation from Bliss' ed. of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

But God took him from the evil to come; it was a sufficient degree of punishment for him to foresee it; it had been more than a thousand deaths unto him to have beheld it with his eyes.' Vaughan, with many others, was in his chamber when he died, and describes his pious ejaculations, couched in the ever appropriate language of the Psalmist. He died in College, Sept. 21, 1640, and was buried in the inner chapel, but, as Wood says, 'hath no memory at all over his grave.'

Jackson's Will, and the inventory of his effects, obtained from the Archives of the University, are printed in the introductory matter to the Clarendon Press edition of his Works. They are both of them interesting documents, as shewing how little he thought of this world's goods, and how much in his mind were his College and his friends. He bequeaths to the College fifteen or sixteen volumes of books, some of which are still in the College Library, together with a little gold box, still in the custody of the President, 'wherein I have usuallie kept the Founder's ring' (or, more strictly rings, as there are two, the episcopal ring, in which a sapphire is set, and the signet ring on which a pelican, in its piety, is engraved)¹. Christopher Downes was appointed sole executor, and Dr. Sheldon, Warden of All Souls (subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury), and Robert Newlyn, his successor in the Presidency, the former described as his 'deare and loving brother,' the latter as his 'loving friend,' the overseers, of his Will. To the overseers was commended 'the care and custody of all my papers and manuscripts, to be perused and published as they thinke fitt.' These papers and manuscripts,

¹ The same box now contains a third ring, of later and inferior workmanship, on which is engraved a waxing moon, with the motto 'Non sistor latratu.' There used to be in the College a tradition that this device was adopted by the Founder as a defiance of Wolsey, but there is no evidence, or, as it seems to me, much probability, that it was the Founder's ring, and, moreover, as we have seen, friendly relations, at least in appearance and probably in reality, subsisted between the Founder and Wolsey, to the end of Foxe's life. In Claymond's Will, after bequeathing the sapphire ring to Morwent and his successors, he adds: 'privatim autem magistro Morwent anulum meum obsignatorium.' Can this be the ring with the device of the waxing moon? Or, possibly, it might be the ring with the pelican. But, even in that case, the latter may have originally belonged to the Founder. Any way, in Jan Rave's portrait in the Hall, Bp. Foxe appears to be wearing this ring together with the sapphire ring.

Vaughan tells us, the 'Bishop of Armagh,' that is Archbishop Usher, 'being at his funerals, much desired might be carefully preserved.' The total amount of property, included in the Inventory, is valued at £270 18s. *od.*, of which, however, £69 8s. 4*d.* is set down as 'desperate debts.' The value of the books amounts to £109 11s. *od.*, of the 'little gold boxe' to £2 10s. *od.*, so that the personal property, exclusive of books, and deducting the bad debts, was, even for those times and at the then value of money, remarkably small. He may, however, have devised real estate in a separate document.

As the stormy Presidency of Cole was followed by the quiet times of Reynolds and Spenser, so the still more stormy period of Anyan's Presidency was followed, after the brief interval of Holt's, by the profound peace of Jackson's rule. There is no trace, in the College Records, of any Visitation or Appeal, nor indeed is there any College event to record, an indication, probably, that the time of the Society was devoted to study and the offices of religion.

Of the more eminent men admitted during Jackson's Presidency may be mentioned James Hyde, Regius Professor of Medicine and Principal of Magdalen Hall, admitted Scholar in 1632; Robert Carey, Archdeacon of Exeter, author of a chronological work, entitled *Palæologia chronica*, admitted Scholar, 1634; Samuel Crumlum or Crumblehome, High Master of St. Paul's, matriculated (but in what capacity we do not know) in 1635; Robert Frampton, matriculated in 1637, in the capacity, according to Wood, of a chorister, for a long time chaplain at Aleppo, afterwards successively Dean and Bishop of Gloucester, in which office, after refusing to take the oaths to William and Mary, he was succeeded by another Corpus man, Dr. Edward Fowler; and John Lenthall, matriculated as a commoner or what was subsequently called a 'Gentleman Commoner' on Sept. 12, 1640, the only or only surviving son of the Speaker of the Long Parliament, subsequently knighted both by Cromwell

and Charles II, of whom Antony Wood says, with the characteristic bitterness of a political partisan, that he was 'the grand braggadocio and lyer of the age he lived in¹.' It may be noticed that, during Jackson's Presidency, the number of admissions of gentlemen commoners was abnormally large, including many young men of rank. Among the entries in the University Matriculation Book, under the head of Corpus, are :

Oct. 10. 1634. 'Georgius Chandois. Oxon. fil. Nobilissimi Domini Gray Chandois de Castro Shudley (Sudeley) Baronis in com. Glocestr: ipse jam Baro (6th Baron) ejusdem loci. 14.'

Mar. 16. 1638(9). 'Gul. Bridges. Gloc. fil. 2^{us} de Gray Bridges Baronis de Sudley in com. prd. 17.'

On the death of Jackson, Robert Newlin, Newlyn, Newling, Neulin, or Nulin, was elected President, and was sworn October 9, 1640. He was born at Priors-deane, Hampshire²,

¹ Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, sub William Lenthall. The entry in the University Matriculation Book is '1640. Sept. 12. Johes Lenthall Oxon fil Johis Lenthall de Burford Arm. 15.' The Speaker then had a house at Burford, his son John was born in 1624, a date which would well correspond with the date of his matriculation, and Mr. E. K. Lenthall of Bessels Leigh, who has obligingly examined into the matter, informs me that he has no doubt that this is the son of the Speaker mentioned by A. Wood, and that Johis in the matriculation book is a mistake for Gulielmi, the Christian name of the Speaker.

A previous Lenthall, 'Joh. Leynthall e C. C. C. Generos. 1603,' appears in the Alphabetical List, given at the end of Vol. XI of the Fulman MSS., and, if not identical (which I think possible) with the 'Joh. Leynthall Oxon. Arm. fil. 15,' who matriculated at St. John's on Dec. 4, 1601 (see A. Clark's *Register of Matriculations*) and may have migrated to Corpus, was probably a cousin of the Speaker. The St. John's Lenthall, Mr. E. K. Lenthall believes to have been the Speaker's elder brother.

² Wood's *Diary* (Life and Times, ed. Clark, vol. iii. p. 258) supplies some additional information about Newlyn. The place of his birth, we are told, was Goldley or Goldleigh in the parish of Prior's Deane, and his father's name was Richard. 'He took to wife, about an yeare before his majesty Charles II's restauration, Jane the daughter of Dr Daniel Collins prebendarie of Windsor, widow of William Dring, a clergie man; but had no issue by her. The said Dring left her a joynture of £40 per annum, which was all that maintained them, till the said Dr Newlin was restored to his Presidentship.' There is no mention of any former wife, and, any way, I was in error in assuming, in my article on C. C. C. in the 'Colleges of Oxford,' that some of the numerous Newlyns, who enjoyed the endowments of Corpus, were sons or grandsons of the President. From Mr.

about the end of December, 1597. He was admitted to his Scholarship, aged nearly seventeen, on Nov. 7, 1614, and was matriculated in the University, the College at that time not being specified, on the following 9th of December. Previously to his election at Corpus, he had probably been a chorister at Magdalen, one 'Newling' being mentioned by Dr. Bloxam, in his Register of Magdalen, as a chorister from 1609 to 1614. Fulman, moreover, in his brief memoranda of Newlyn, has 'Magd. Coll.' without any date. On July 15, 1622, he was admitted Probationer. He took his M.A. Degree in 1620, his B.D. in 1628, and his D.D. in 1641, after his election to the Presidency. Though Jackson speaks of him as his 'loving friend,' he does not seem to have been a man remarkable in any way¹. After his restoration in 1660, he developed, to an inordinate degree, the quality of nepotism, and was frequently embroiled in quarrels with the Fellows. But, during the period of his Presidency preceding his expulsion, he appears to have led a quiet life, and there are no signs, at least in the College records², of any disturbances in the College till the advent of the Parliamentary Visitors in 1648. Amongst the persons expelled by the Visitors, however, on Oct. 2, 1648, was one 'Mr. Newlyn, Steward (i.e. Clerk of Accompt),

Foster's invaluable work *Alumni Oxonienses, Early Series*, it seems that all those who were appointed to Clerkships or Choristerships or elected to Scholarships during Newlyn's Presidency were sons of either Robert Newlyn of Oxford, Steward of the College, or Thomas Newlyn, 'Minister' of Bix, both of whom, as appears from the President's will, preserved in the University Archives, were his nephews.

¹ Wood, however *Annals*, sub 1623), speaking of the controversy then going on in Oxford between the Calvinists and Arminians, says: 'I have heard that some young Divines, at this time students in Oxford, had their meetings once in a fortnight, wherein were handled controversies relating to Arminianism, not for, but chiefly against it; one of which was lately Archbishop of Canterbury' (namely, Gilbert Sheldon), 'and others whose minds changed became Bishops and Deans; and the person at whose chambers they usually met' (Robert Newlyn) 'had the honor to be called *Boger mannus*, at this time President of Corp. Ch. Coll.'

² In an Appendix, however, to the *Life and Death of Edmund Staunton, D.D.*, by Richard Mayow (p. 69), there is a statement that 'the House, before his' (Staunton's) 'time, had been much troubled with divisions.' It is difficult, however, to know what value to attach to such a statement coming from a theological partisan, and there are no documentary or independent confirmations of this charge. From the beginning of the Civil War, there would, of course, be political divisions in the Society, but I am here alluding, not to theological or political, but domestic broils.

for Non-appearance.' The name suggests a relative of the President, and may, therefore, be regarded as a presage of the gross nepotism which marked the second period of his Presidency. Indeed it was that of a nephew, whose four sons, like the four sons of his brother Thomas, were afterwards provided for out of the endowments of Corpus. The only College document, excepting the records of punishments, relating to this period of Newlyn's Presidency is an Order of the Seniority, dated January 4, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$, 'That no man after this Quarter shall receive bread, beer, or any other provision out of the College Buttery, unless he put in caution to the Butler.' But the Order is only temporary, while 'the debts to the Brewers and Bakers for this present Quarter remain unsatisfied,' and till certain other dues are discharged. The first Register of Punishments begins with the year 1641, the previous ones having been lost. It has already been stated that the culprit was obliged to write a record of his punishment in his own hand, which was preserved in a register and delivered over at the end of every term by the Deans to the Bursars; the punishments recorded being chiefly deprivations of commons, involving a money payment or subtraction of stipend at the end of term. Extracts from these registers will be given in an Appendix.

There were only two persons admitted¹ between Newlyn's entering on the Presidency and his ejection by the Parliamentary Visitors, who need be mentioned: John Betts, an eminent physician, admitted Scholar 164 $\frac{2}{8}$; and William Fulman, the last scholar he admitted during the first period of his Presidency, Jan. 28, 164 $\frac{7}{8}$. With Fulman were admitted eleven others. It would be ungrateful to pass over, with a mere allusion, one to whom this book is so much indebted, and who laboured so assiduously in the cause of the archives and antiquities of the College. William Fulman was born at Penshurst in Kent, in November, 1632, and was, according

¹ On Nov. 4, 1642 (on occasion of the admission of Thomas Drury to be Scholar), the date of birth is, for the last time, given approximately on some Church Festival. For some years before this time, the practice had been dropping out, but, in the earlier years of the Register, it was almost universal.

to Wood, the son of a 'sufficient carpenter' of that place. 'Being a youth of pregnant parts while the most learned Dr Hammond was parson there, he took him into his protection, carried him with him to Oxon in the time of the troubles, procured him a chorister's place in Magd. Coll. and caused him to be carefully educated in grammar learning in the school joyning to that house, under the tuition of Mr William White the vigilant master thereof. And being there well grounded in school learning, that worthy doctor put him upon standing for a scholar's place in Corp. Ch. Coll. where, shewing himself an exact proficient in classical learning, was forthwith elected in 164 $\frac{1}{2}$; and put under the tuition of an excellent tutor but zealous puritan, named Zach. Bogan.' On July 22 following, he was expelled. The circumstances of his expulsion I shall give in detail on a later page. In 1660 he was restored. Meanwhile, he acted, first, as amanuensis to Dr. Hammond, in which capacity he may have acquired the beautiful, clear, and perfectly legible hand, which it is such a pleasure to read, and, next, as 'tutor to the son and heir of the ancient and genteel family of Peto of Chesterton in Warwickshire, where he found a comfortable harbour during the time of the Church of England's disconsolate condition.' After his return to College, he 'continued several years a severe student in various sorts of learning.' In 1669, he was presented to the College Living of Meysey Hampton, Gloucestershire, succeeding Richard Samwaies, who himself had succeeded Henry Jackson. There he died June 28, 1688, and was buried in the church-yard. Wood says of him that 'he was a most zealous son of the Church of England, and a grand enemy to popery and fanaticism. He was a most excellent theologist, admirably well versed in ecclesiastical and profane history and chronology, and had a great insight in English history and antiquities; but, being totally averse from making himself known, his great learning did in a manner dye with him.' He had, however, a reputation for a bad temper, and 'had not in him a complaisant humour, unless soothed up, flattered, and admired.' These drawbacks, together with his retiring disposition and want of

self-assertion, stood in the way of his obtaining the preferment which he had merited both by his learning and his sufferings for the royal cause. 'He wrote much, and was a great collector, but published little.'

Fulman was, indeed, a great collector. There are no less than twenty-five volumes of his *Collectanea* in the *Corpus Library*, three of which relate to the history of the College and its members; and the rest to a great variety of subjects, including theology, history, both secular and ecclesiastical, antiquities, biography, and academical lore. Antony Wood, who, it may be remarked, seems to have been a great friend of Fulman, complains that he was not allowed to consult these volumes. Fulman, he says, left 'behind him a great heap of collections, neatly written with his own hand, but nothing of them perfect. All which being afterwards conveyed to C.C.coll. to be, according to his desire, put into the archives of the library of that house, what had it been for those that had the care, to have permitted the author of this work the perusal of them, when they could not otherwise but know that they would have been serviceable to him in the promotion of this work, then almost ready for the press?' Besides these large literary collections, Fulman also arranged and catalogued the various 'muniments,' i.e. title-deeds or 'evidences' relating to the College property, which are now in the Tower, together with the ancient documents bearing on the origin or early history of the College, which are now in the iron safe, and superintended the transcription of these numerous papers in the thirty large folio Volumes of Evidences which are now in the College Library, making marginal annotations and references in his own hand-writing. Besides these prodigious labours, there are a few other MSS. of Fulman in the Rawlinsonian Collection in the Bodleian Library; and he also published certain works, namely the *Academiæ Oxoniensis Notitia*, the first Volume of *Rerum Anglicarum scriptorum veterum*, an edition of Hammond's Works in 4 vols., and an Appendix to the Life of Edmund Staunton, D.D., 'wherein some passages are further cleared, which were not so fully held forth by the

former authors,' a smart but bitter answer to Mayow's partial biography. Moreover, he collected and prepared for publication the so-called works of Charles the First, the credit of which edition, however, fell to Dr. Richard Perrinchief, who, Fulman being then laid up with small-pox, had written the *Life* prefixed¹; and lastly he contributed largely to the greater accuracy and completeness of Burnet's *History of the Reformation*. The studious and laborious life of many of the College Fellows and country Clergymen of that time, though it was by no means the universal or even general mode of life in either class, could find few better illustrations than in Fulman.

¹ There is a copy of this work in the C. C. C. Library, with this inscription, in Fulman's own beautiful hand-writing :

Liber Coll. Corp. Christ. Oxon.

Ex dono Guilhelmi Fulman A M ejusd. Coll Socii qui Sacrosanctas hasce Patriæ Patris Reliquias jam denuo collegit, digessit et absolutissimæ huic earundem editioni summa diligentia solus præfuit. Jan xxx. MDCLXII.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PARLIAMENTARY VISITATION AND THE PERIOD OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

THE actual commencement of the Civil War is usually dated from the raising of the Royal Standard at Nottingham on August 25, 1642. On Jan. 10, 1643, we read in Wood's *Annals*, 'The King's letters came to all Colleges and Halls for their plate to be brought to the Mint, and turned into money. Whereupon all sent, except New Inn, and soon after most house-keepers and private persons.' Corpus, therefore, must have been one of the Colleges which surrendered its plate. But in the document entitled 'Abstract of the Plate presented to the King's Majesty by the several Colleges of Oxford and the gentry of the County, the 20th of January, 1642,' which is preserved in the Tanner MSS., vol. 338. p. 101 (fol. 65), and printed in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. I. p. 227, there is no entry with regard to Corpus. Twelve Colleges only are named, Christ Church, Jesus, Oriel, Queen's, Lincoln, University, Brasenose, Magdalen, All Souls, Balliol, Merton, and Trinity. The rest were possibly less forward, though they must ultimately have followed the example of the others. And Corpus, according to Mr. Clark (*Wood's Life and Times*, vol. I. p. 94, note), sent in their plate shortly after the list was made, although the exact quantity nowhere appears. How the College contrived to retain its splendid pre-Reformation and Elizabethan plate is a question often asked, which cannot be definitely answered. Certain mythical stories are told, as of the discovery in a cellar or drain of the skeleton of a butler grasping the plate, but the probability is that it was redeemed by a money-payment, which, as the King wanted

bullion and not artistically wrought metal, would be attended with no difficulty.

The first siege of Oxford began May 22, 1645, and ended June 5. Fairfax appeared before the City again on May 1, 1646, and on June 24 it was surrendered to the Parliament, it being stipulated that the University, Colleges, and Halls should 'enjoy their ancient form of Government, subordinate to the immediate authority and power of Parliament,' and that all the public buildings, whether belonging to the City, the University, or the Colleges and Halls, should 'be preserved from defacing or spoil.' During this critical period in the history of the University and City we hear nothing specially of Corpus.

One of the provisos contained in the Treaty was to the effect that 'this,' namely a certain grace as to time allowed to any one who might be removed from his place or office by Parliament, 'shall not extend to retard any reformation there intended by the Parliament nor give them any liberty to inter-meddle in the Government' of the University and Colleges. But it was not till May 1, 1647¹, that an ordinance was passed by the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament, 'for the Visitation and Reformation of the University of Oxford and the several Colleges and Halls therein,' the object being more definitely stated to be 'the due correction of offences, abuses, and disorders, especially of late times, committed there.' The Visitors were successfully kept at bay by Dr. Fell and other dignitaries of the University and Colleges for several months, and it was not till March 17, 1648, that they were able actually to commence operations. Meanwhile, on Sept. 30, 1647, the date at which their Register begins, Mr. Sparkes and Mr. Hillersden of Corpus (both of them Fellows) were included amongst 'the names of divers worthy gentlemen who are appoynted delegates to the Visitors,' this list consisting of representatives of most of the Colleges and Halls, designed, doubtless, to afford local

¹ From this point onwards, throughout the period of the Parliamentary Visitation and the Commonwealth, I must express my obligations to Professor Burrows' excellently edited Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford from A. D. 1647 to A. D. 1658, printed for the Camden Society, 1881.

information with reference to the other inmates and the affairs, generally, of their respective societies. On Jan. 28, 1647, a batch of no less than twelve new Scholars was admitted, very few vacancies, probably, having been filled up in recent years, owing to the war and the siege, as indeed may be gathered from the sparse entries in the Register between 1643 and this time¹. One of the Scholars then elected, James Metford, a native of Crewkerne in Somersetshire, and, after the Restoration, Rector of Bassingham, a College living in Lincolnshire, has left us a very interesting account of this election, in a letter to his friend Mr. Joshua Reynolds, Fellow of Corpus, uncle of 'Sir Joshua,' dated from Bassingham, July 3, 1704. This letter, kindly pointed out to me by Mr. F. Madan, from which I shall presently quote other extracts, relates chiefly to the events which took place in the College in connexion with the troubles of the Civil War. It is contained in the Collections for Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, and is numbered in the Bodleian Catalogue as MS. J. Walker, c. 8, fol. 247. The passage I allude to is the following: 'The Scholars expelled were the Cuttings of many Schools of the best note in England, after the opening of the University, that gave way to Armes for severall yeers. The Candidates for eleven (really twelve) places vacant in that time were the first day 97 the second day 84 the third day dropt off a few more: yet upon the day of declaring the Election they were numbred to 62 Competitors. It hath been often thought, the scattering such men all over the Nation did more to the pulling downe of that Party than all the warlike Provisions made against them. Their inclinations could not easily be discerned, because they were awed

¹ On July 2, 1646, it had been ordered that no further admissions should take place to any emolument in the University or Colleges, or any lease of lands be granted, 'till the pleasure of the Parliament should be made known therein.' 'Which order,' says Wood, 'being received by the Vice-Chancellor and every Head, and read in Convocation, the University desired in their letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax (penned by Hammond the Orator) that he would be an instrument, so far as concerned them, of recalling that order, repugning the articles of the surrender of the Garrison; but what remedy they found appears not: yet sure I am that several Colleges made elections and leases of lands till the general rout of them in an. 1648.'

by the Ferula, not living above two yeares together (really for not more than a few months. Metford was now an old man, and his recollection of dates is confused) before the dispersion came, and so no character can be given.'

The first notice we have of any event connected with Corpus, after the Visitors or Commissioners (as they are indifferently called) set about their work in earnest, is the issue (April 4, 1648) and execution of the 'Warrant givinge power to Jo. Langley, Mandatory, Andrew Burrough, Provost Marshall to the Garison of Oxon, and such as they shall thinke fitt to take with them, to breake open and serche the lodgings of Do^r Newlin, President of Corpus Christi, for the Bedle Staves, and other Insignia of the Universitie of Oxon.' Dr. Fell, the Royalist Vice-Chancellor, was now and had for some time been imprisoned in London, and Newlin, as his Pro-Vicechancellor, was suspected to have the staves, books, keys, seals, and other articles, pertaining to the office of Vice-Chancellor, in his custody. The Visitors, we are told by Wood, went themselves, with their officers, to the President's Lodgings, 'the doors of which being fast shut and none within to unlock them,' they, i.e. the officers, 'brake them open, made a search for the books, staves, &c., but, missing them, took away a brace of pistols and a sword which they there found.' On the 7th of April, the orders for the ejectment of the Vice-Chancellor, Pro-Vicechancellors and Proctors, which had already taken place, were publicly read in Convocation, and the Insignia were formally ordered to be given up. 'As for the Bedells Staves,' says Wood in his account of a subsequent Convocation held by the Earl of Pembroke, as Chancellor, on April 12, 'there were none now to be found, neither could they get them without trouble, till above two years after. The Goods,' i.e. books, keys, seals, &c., 'also belonging to the Vicechancellor they could not obtain till about the latter end of 1650.' On Sept. 18, 1649, we find an Order of the Visitors with regard to these 'Bedells Staves,' or rather the want of them: 'The Visitors, taking into consideration the great dishonor of this Universitie of Oxon in want of Bedell staves, doe order that every Colledg be desired to lend

what sum of monies they shall think fitt to the purchasing thereof, and that such summes of money be ready against the beginning of the next tearm.'

On May 9, 1648, the members of Corpus were cited to appear before the Visitors, and the answers are reported as follows¹:—

'The Answeres of Corpus Christi Colledge, May 9th, 1648.

George Stratford: To the Question, whether I doe submitt to the Authority of Parliament in this Visitation, I Answer: I referre my selfe to the Answeres which the Delegates for the Universitie [have] given in Answer to this Quere (which, like the answer of Dr. Newlin, referred to immediately, amounted to a repudiation of the authority of the Visitors. See Wood's Annals, sub June 1, Nov. 4, 5, 1647, and, for Dr. Newlyn's answer, the Order of the Committee of Lords and Commons on May 22, 1648, extracted on p. 211 of this work).

Tho: Drury: As I am a Member of the Universitie, doe referre my selfe to the Answer given in by the Delegates: As I am a member of Corpus Christi Colledge, doe referre my selfe to the Answer given in by our President, as relatinge to this question concerninge Visitation.

Geo. Halsted: As concerninge the Question of the power of Parliament in this Visitation and my submission thereunto, I referre my selfe unto the Answer given by the Delegates of this Universitie, chosen for that purpose.

James Jackson: I doe referre my selfe to the Answer given in by the Delegates concerninge the Visitation of the Universitie of Oxon.

Henry Dutton: I Henry Dutton as a Member of this Universitie (concerninge the Question of Visitinge the Universitie), I referre my selfe to the Answer of the Delegates. And concerninge the Visitation of our private Colledge, I referre my selfe to the Answer of our President, formerly given in to this Question.

William Chidley: I William Chidley, concerninge this

¹ See Burrows' Edition of the Visitors' Register, pp. 61-4.

Visitation, doe referre my selfe to the Answer given in by the Delegates of the Universitie, and by our Colledge of Corpus Christi.

Edward Eales: As concerninge the power of Parliament in this present Visitation, I referre my selfe to the Answer formerly given in by the Delegates of the Universitie.

Tho: Jennyns: Whereas it clearly appeares by the Priviledges of this Universitie, that the Visitation of it is soly in the Kinges power, or in the power of those who imediately dirive their authority from him soe to do, this beinge considered, I cannot submitt to these Visitors appoynted by the Parliament: As I am a Member of C: C: Colledge, I cannot without perjury acknowledge any Visitors but the Bishop of Winchester. This is my Answer to which I subscribe.
THO: JENNYNGS.

Zachary Bogan: When I shal be satisfied in conscience that I may lawfully doe it, I will readily submitt.

William Lydall: I give in the same Answer as our President has already given in to the same Question, and to that I subscribe.

Henry Glover: As I have noe voyce in the Convocation, I conceive myselfe not obliged to Answer to this Question: As I am a Member of the Universitie I referre myselfe to the Answer of the Delegates: As a Member of Corpus Christi Colledge to the Answer of our owne President.

Timothy Parker: I doe referre myselfe solely to the Answer which was given in by our President.

Tim: Shute: I referre my selfe to the Answer given in by our President.

William Coldham: I referre myselfe to the Answer formerly given in by our President.

Rich: Ward: As touchinge the Visitation of the Universitie in generall I referre my selfe to the Answer of the Delegates: As for the perticuler Visitation of our Colledges, I referre myselfe to the Answer of our President.

Hen: Stapleton: I Henry Stapleton doe hereby referre myselfe to the Answer of the Delegates.

James Metford: Havinge Questions propounded to mee I

give in this by way of Answer: That, forasmuch as I am a Member of this Universitie, I referre my selfe to the Answer of the Delegates: and as beinge a scholler of Corpus Christi I referre my selfe to the Answer of Dr. Robert Newlin, President thereof. And soe much I Answer.

Tho: Johnson: In generall for the Visitation of the Universitie, I referre my selfe to the Delegates: In perticuler for the Visitation of our Colledge, I referre my selfe to the Answer of our President.

Jo: Betts: My Answer as I am a Universitie man is the same with the Delegates: As I am of Corpus Christi Colledge it's that of the President.

Will Stampe: I William Stampe for submission to your authoritie in Visitinge the Universitie doe referre my selfe to the Answer given by the Delegates: And in perticuler in Visitinge our Colledge doe referre my selfe to the Answer of our President.

Jo: Fountaine: This is my Answer: I cannot submitt.

Gamaliell Clarson: I beinge a member of this Universite, and of the aforesaid Colledge, doe referre my selfe to the Answer of the Delegates and the Answer of Dr. Newlin in behalfe of the Colledge.

Will: Tonstall: I referre my selfe to the Answer given in by the President.

Samuell Ladiman, Ba: Arts: Submitts.

Thomas Sanderson: Concerninge the poynt of Visitation, my Answer is breifely this: First that as I am a publique Member of the Universitie I am not satisfied how I can without manifest perjury submitt to this present Visitation, or any other whatsoever, whereunto the Kinge hath either given a denyall, or, at least, not given his consent. And this is the sence of the Delegates Answer formerly presented to you.

Secondly, that, as I am a private Member of Corpus Christi Colledge, I know not how I shall acquitt my selfe of the same horride cryme of perjury if I submitt to any other person as my lawfull Visitor then whom the Founder hath expresly appoynted in his Statutes, which everie Member of the Foundation is bound by oath to observe and mentayne. And this

I take to be the sence of the President's Answer formerly delivered to you in the name of the Colledge. To both which Answeres beinge more full and satisfactory I referre and subscribe.

Present of the Visitors :

The Vice-Chancellor (now Edward Reynolds, Dean of Ch. Ch.).

Dr. Wilkinson. Dr. Rogers.

Mr. Wilkinson.

Mr. Chennell. [Cheynell.]'

James Metford, one of the respondents, records a graphic incident of the interview with the Visitors on this occasion: 'Dr Reynolds¹, a man learned and not immorall, but as covetous, and so fearfull he could not stand by the best cause in the world, was Chairman of the Committee (as Vice-Chancellor). His Co-assessors were Dr Cheynell, hot and furious, who, when Reynolds urged the Committee to excuse me from answering as too young (he is entered as 15 on admission) to understand the case before us, said Let him answer, He hath Originall Sin in him as well as the rest, w^{ch} occasioned a saying in the University, that Metford suffered for Original Sin. The other two that sat that day were Dr Langley and Dr Cornish², men looked on as insipid and dull both in Preaching and Conversation; only they shewed their Religion by a mode of sighing, and oft exposed themselves in Preaching to the smiles of the Auditory, and were tedious even when shortest.'

In the list of persons expelled the University, on May 15, 1648, by the 'Committee of Lords and Commons for regulating the University of Oxford,' which, of course, sat in London, and to which constant reference was made by the Visitors

¹ Just before this extract, Metford, speaking of the Visitors, says: 'The Visitors of Oxon were Philip, Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, our Chancellor, noted for much swearing, he led the dance.'

² Their names, however, do not occur in the List of Visitors present at the sitting of May 9, as given in the Register. And still it is difficult to understand to what other sitting Metford can refer. He can hardly have been examined twice, and this is the only record in the Register of any examination undergone by him.

sitting in Oxford, occur the following Corpus names: Thomas Drury, Henry Dutton, William Godley, William Lydall, Henry Glover, Timothy Parker, William Coldham, Richard Warre, John Betts, Thomas Teakle, William Fulman, James Metford, Thomas Johnson, Thomas Sanderson, Gamaliel Clarkson, William Tonstall, Timothy Shute, John Fountaine, George Stratford, George Halsted, James Jackson, Edward Eales, Henry Glover (<? repeated>), Richard Warryn (<? same as Richard Warre above>), John Stapleton, commoner, John Bettes (<repeated>), William Stampe, John Jackson, Thomas Sanderson (<repeated>), George Kind, Thomas Immings, Zachary Bogan¹. It is worth remarking that all the twelve scholars admitted on Jan. 28, 1647, are included in this list, with the sole exception of Norton Bold, who can only have escaped by his non-appearance on the 9th of May, as he was subsequently expelled on Oct. 2, the ground assigned being that he, in common with some others expelled at the same time, had been unlawfully elected to his Scholarship. The Order of the Committee, which extended to no less than 334 persons, was, however, left to be put in execution by the Visitors in Oxford, who, to use Wood's words, 'did not expel them all, but most by parcels, as anon shall be shewed.'

On May 29, there occurs in the Register the following entry: John Clark, Art. Bac. C.C.C. I am not as yet satisfied in conscience that I may lawfully submit to the present Visitation, or to any other authority which is not derived as well from the King as from both Houses of Parliament. On June 6, Josiah Lane answers: I humbly conceive the authority wherby this present Visitation is carried on to be lawfull, and therefore submit to it. On June 14, John Clark, mentioned above, was expelled. On June 29, Mr. Stratford, Mr. Sanderson, Tymothy Shute and Gamaliell Clarkeson were ordered forthwith to remove themselves. On July 5, Dr. Staunton was placed on 'the Committee for the examination of all such as are Candidates for any Fellowship, Scholarship,

¹ Burrows' Ed. of the Register, pp. 90-93. Bogan escaped expulsion, and is recognised in the Register as a Fellow twice during 1649, and again in 1651. Metford, in his letter to Reynolds, speaks also of Warre as having escaped.

or other place in this University.' He had already, as we shall see presently, been appointed President of Corpus. On July 7, the following answers from Corpus men were given in either orally or by writing: by Thomas Sutton, It is not any guilty feare of an enquiry to be made into my actions by the established law of the land, but only a conscientious regard to those Colledge Statutes which by solemne oath I stand engaged inviolably to observe, that necessitates my refusall of submission to this your present Visitation; by Joseph Barber (? Barker), The severall Statutes of our house (to an inviolable observation of which I am bound by oath) expressly forbidding me, I cannot comply with this visitation without open violence to my judgment and conscience; by Thomas Johnson, I beinge fully resolved doe willingly submit to the authority of Parliament in this Visitation, and doe humbly acknowledge my former error in denyinge to submit hereunto; by James Hayes, I doe hartily submit to this present Visitation; by William Windham, I submit to this Visitation. On the same day, the following Corpus men, who had previously been deprived by the Parliamentary Committee in London, but whose actual expulsion had been deferred by the Visitors in Oxford, were required to remove forthwith: Mr. Thomas Drury, Mr. John Betts, Mr. George Halsted, Mr. George Kind, Mr. Jackson, Mr. John Clarke, Mr. Thomas Teakle, Mr. James Metford, Mr. William Stampe, Mr. John Stapleton, Mr. Henry Glover. On the following Tuesday (July 11), the same day on which, as we shall see presently, Dr. Newlyn's name was dashed out from the Buttery Book, 'a Drum, with a guard of musqueteers,' according to Wood, 'were sent to every College, where, after a call had been beaten by the Drummer,' the order for expulsion was read. James Metford, one of the victims, in the letter already quoted, gives the following graphic account of the Visitors' proceedings: 'The Civility shewed us in our Expulsion was, a foot company at their Arms in the Quadrangle: beating a Drum for silence, and proclaiming (while an Agent fastened their Visitors Orders on the College Gates, with the names proscribed) That whosoever, named in the Order, should

remaine in Oxon or within five miles of it, after Sun sett, He should be taken and prosecuted as a Spy in the Parliam^{ts} Quarters: w^{ch} we understood to be hanging; tho' many knew not whither to go on such short warning: nor could they have time to dispose their Books, and such Goods as they had. And some were searched for Let^{rs} only to pick their Pockets. And a little before the Doome, every weeke, Alarms and Plots were talked of among the Citizens to intimidate them, and render us hatefull. Crackbrain D^r Cheynell one of the Visitors traversd the streets in slippers crying out of plots against their lives in the night.'

We must now retrace our steps, by some six weeks, to the 22nd of May, in order to give some account of the deprivation of Dr. Newlyn and the substitution of Dr. Staunton as President of the College. In the Register of the College during the times of the Parliamentary President and Fellows¹, there are copied two orders (not to be found in Professor Burrows' edition of the Visitors' Register), which were issued by the 'Committee of Lords and Commons for Reformation of the University of Oxford' on May 22, 1648, one depriving Dr. Robert Newlyn of the Presidentship, the other constituting Dr. Edmund Staunton President in his stead. As these documents have probably never hitherto been published, it seems worth while to extract them in full.

' May 22, 1648. At the Committee of &c.

Whereas severall answers of Dr Fell, Dean of Christ Church and pretended Vice Chancellor, Heads of Houses, Doctors, Proctors, and others of the Universitie of Oxford, refusing to submitt to the authority of Parliament for visiting the said University, were referred to this Committee by speciall order of both Houses of Parliament, to heare and determine, and to apply effectuall remedyes as the cases should require upon full hearing and debate thereof, it being resolved that the matter of the said answers was a high contempt and denyall

¹ This is really the Second Register, though that beginning with the Restoration is entituled *Liber Secundus Admissionum*, ignoring the Register kept during the Commonwealth, which, however, was, fortunately, not destroyed.

of authority of Parliament : It is now resolved upon reading of the answer of Doctor Newlyn, President of Corpus Christi College (who saith, first, he is bound by severall oathes to answer before none as a Visitor but the Bishop of Winchester, secondly, he finds nothing in the Delegates answer (that is the Delegates appointed, on behalf of the University, in Convocation, on June 1, 1647, for which see Wood's Annals) that he can disapprove, besides many other contempts since committed against the authority of Parliament in the visitation), that the said Dr Newlyn is guilty of high contempt and denyall of authority of Parliament, and it is also resolved that, for an effectuall remedy thereof, the said Dr Newlyn be removed being President of Corpus Christi Colledge afore-said, and accordingly the said Dr Newlyn is required to yield obedyence hereunto, and to remove from the said Colledge, and quitt the said place and all emoluments, rights, and appurtenances thereto belonging and depending, and he who supplies the Vice-President or Senior Fellow's place in the said Colledge is hereby required to publish this Order to the whole society and such others as are concerned herein.

Francis Rous.'

'May 22, 1648. At the Committee &c.

Whereas it appeared to this Committee and accordingly was resolved that Dr Robert Newlyn was guilty of high contempt and denyall of authority of Parliament, and, for an effectuall remedy thereof, it was also resolved that the said Dr Newlyn be removed from being President of Corpus Christi Colledge in the University of Oxon, and that Edmund Staunton Doctor in Divinity be President of the said Colledge : It is therefore ordered that the said Dr Staunton be and hereby he is constituted and established President of the said Colledge to all intents and purposes, and shall enjoy and have all the power, rights, emoluments, roomes and lodgings by any Statute, Custome, or Right belonging to the President of the said Colledge. And the Senior Fellow in the said Colledge is hereby required to publish this order to the fel-lowes, schollers, and others of the said Colledge who are

or may be concerned in the knowledge hereof. And the fellowes, schollers, and others of the said Colledge are hereby required to receive, respect, obey, and submit to the said Dr Staunton as President of that Colledge, as they will answer the contrary att their perills. And that the former order of this Committee for removing Dr Newlin and this Order for establishing Dr Staunton President of the said Colledge be entered into the Register of the said Colledge.

Francis Rous.'

On May 27, according to Wood, the Visitors caused a paper to be stuck on the College gate, deposing Dr. Newlyn from being President, and commanding the Vice-President to signify to the House 'that no obedience should, for the future, be given to him, nor he be acknowledged President; but the paper was soon after torn down with indignation and scorn.' It seems to us a singular example of forbearance, but there are not wanting many others of the same kind (for the Oxford Visitors, we must recollect, were dealing with old colleagues and, in some instances perhaps, even old friends), that, after such contumelious treatment, no further steps were taken till more than six weeks afterwards. On July 11, however, the Visitors, headed by Dr. Reynolds, now Dean of Ch. Ch. and Vice-Chancellor, came to the College, 'dashed out Dr Newlin's name from the Buttery, and put in that of Dr Stanton, formerly voted into the place: but their backs were no sooner turned but his name was blotted out with a pen by Will. Fulman and then torn out by Tim. Parker, Scholars of that House. At the same time, if I (i.e. A. Wood) mistake not, they (i.e. the Visitors) brake open the Treasury, but found nothing.' After this audacious feat (which would supply no bad subject for a historical picture) we shall hardly feel surprised, when we read presently that Will. Fulman and Tim. Parker were expelled on the 22nd of July following.

Recurring to the general course of events, so far as it affects Corpus, on July 13, several of the College servants (whose position, at that time, was at once more important and more on an equality with that of other members of the

College than it now is¹) appeared before the Visitors. The answers given were as follows :

'The Answer of Jo: Hill, Senior Cooke of C. C. C. :

Sirs, if it please you I shall acknowledge Dr. Staunton as President put in by the authoritie of both Houses of Parliament, but, under favor, I cannot acknowledge him as President accordinge to the Statutes of the Colledge, for that I am altogether ignorant of them.

The Answer of Henry Price, Junior Cooke of C. C. C. :

Sirs, If it please you I shall acknowledge Dr. Staunton as President put in by the authority of both Houses of Parliament : But, under favor, I cannot acknowledge him as President accordinge to the Statutes of the Colledge, for that I am altogether ignorant of them.

The same Answer, verbatim, is given by John Parne, Butlor of C. C. C.

And by Tho: Seymor, Manciple C. C. C.

And by Tho: Booden, Portor of C. C. C.

And by William Harrison, Groome of C. C. C.'

All these persons, as well as Thomas Sutton and John Barker, were ordered, by the Committee of Lords and Commons, sitting on Aug 1, to be deprived of their places and expelled the University. At the same time, the same order was made by the same authority with regard to the following members of the College, on the ground of non-appearance before the Visitors, either through having absented themselves from the University or refusing to answer the summons, though resident: Dr. Hide, Mr. Wrench, Mr. Sparke ('a long tyme sike' (i.e. sick)), Mr. Newell, Mr. Greaves, Mr. Hillersden, Mr. Haywood, Mr. Samwayes, Mr. Speedinge, Holloway, Bould (for whom see

¹ Some of the junior servants, as already remarked, were students and attended lectures. Besides the Stewards and Clerks of Accompt (who were, perhaps, something like our modern Chapter Clerks), the Manciples and Butlers were occasionally Masters of Arts, as, for instance, William Tylour, Butler of St. John's, mentioned in Wood's Annals, sub April 27, and Latimer Crosse, Manciple of Magdalen Hall, mentioned by Wood, sub May 16, 1648. Service, at that time, did not necessarily imply social inferiority, and the word servant was applied to secretaries, chaplains, and pages, the last of whom were often of gentle, and even noble birth.

above, p. 208), Horne, The Steward (Mr. Newlyn¹). It is remarkable that in this list are Noel Sparke and John Hillersden (who, after the Restoration, became Archdeacon of Bucks), two of the 'worthy gentlemen,' who, on Sept. 30, 1647, were appointed Delegates to the Visitors. The Revolution that was proceeding had probably outrun their sympathy and zeal. As usual, some time elapsed before the Oxford Visitors executed the order of the Parliamentary Committee, and it was not till October 2 (the same day on which they resolved that 'all elections since July 2nd, 1646, according to an order of the Committee of Lords and Commons, be voyd and of none effect') that the following persons, being members of C.C.C., were 'removed from their places':

Mr. <Robert. See MS. J. Walker, c. 8, fol. 240> Newlyn,
Steward, for Non-appearance.

Jo: Hill, Senior Cooke	}	Non-submission.
Jo: Parnes, Butler		
Tho: Seamer, Manciple		
Hen: Price, Junior Cooke		
Tho: Bowden, Porter ²		

Mr. Wrench, Fell:

Mr. Speedinge, Fell:

Mr. Thos: Sutton, Fell:

Mr. Barker, Fell:

Bolde	}	Scho: Elections null.	{	Johnson ; Horne ³ ;	}	Sch:
Warr				Tonstall ; Lawrence ;		Elec:
Fountaine				Holloway		null.

Mr. Samwaies, Fell:

Mr. Haywood, Fell:

Sr. Lydall, Sch:

Sr. Eales, Chaplin:

Mr. Hen. Dutton, Fell:

Coldham, Sch.

Upon the Order of the
Committee of Lords and
Commons,
Oct: the 11th.

¹ This Mr. Newlyn (Robert Newlyn) was (as already stated, p. 196) nephew of the President.

² The 'Equiso,' William Harrison, had been ordered to be expelled on Aug. 1. In Metford's second letter to Joshua Reynolds (MS. J. Walker, c. 8, fol. 252), one Izhard, famulus præsidis, is referred to as expelled; but his name does not seem to occur in the Visitors' Register.

³ Horne and Lawrence were Choristers, Holloway a Clerk.

Meanwhile, the following persons had been 'chosen' by the Visitors into the College :

Sr Billingsley } Fell:	Ed: Hawes, Jun: Cooke.
Sam: Byfeld } Fell:	Nath Wells, Butler.
Rich: Byfeld, Schol:	John Langley, Manciple.
Will: Gardner } Fell:	Jo: Milward, Fell. Vice-President.
Burgesse } Fell:	Stephens, Fell:
Beniamyn Way, Schol:	Tho: Gilston, Fell:
Whitehorne, Fell: Deane	Elisha Bourne, Fell:
Ezek: Webb, Schol:	Isley, Schol:
Will: Ford, Schol:	Whettham, Schol:
Ladiman, Fell.	Ed: Disney, Schol:
Josia Lane, Schol:	Sam Ashurst,
Jo: Lisley, Schol:	Thorneton.
Jo. Sayer, Schol:	Tho: Maulthouse.
Josia Ballard.	Wandricke
Nath: Vincent, Quer:	Anderson.
Nelson, Schol:	Roe, Fell:
Jo: Prous, Fell:	Ford, Fell.
Rich: Abbotts, Fell:	Sanderson, Fell.
Jo: Dod, Fell:	Raynor, Schol.
Jo: How, Steward.	Tidcombe, Fell
Will: Adams, Sen: Cooke.	Wight, Schol:

This list must, however, be posterior to the actual admission of several Fellows and Scholars, as the College Register begins with the admission, on July 14, 1648, of three Scholars, nominated by the Visitors, nor is there more than a rough correspondence between the dates attached to the names in any part of this list and those attached to the same names in the Register.

On July 22, occurred the expulsion of Parker and Fulman, already mentioned, together with that of Thomas Jennings, B.A. and Scholar. Fulman and Jennings were restored in 1660.

Though not directly referring to Corpus, there is an entry in Wood's Annals, under December 1648, which must be interesting to members of the College, as connected with Beam Hall (now the residence of Professor Case), a house

which has been in possession of the College almost since its foundation: 'In the same month (December) Latin prayers according to the Liturgy were taken away at Ch. Ch., having continued there till the Nativity in spite of the Visitors. Afterwards certain divines of that House, namely, Mr John Fell, Mr John Dolbin, Mr Richard Allestrey, &c., all lately expelled, set up the Common Prayer in the house of Mr Thomas Willis, a Physician, against Merton College Church (being the same house where lately had been an Independent Meeting), to which place admitting none but their confidants were Prayers and Surplices used on all Lord's Days, Holy Days, and their Vigils, as also the Sacrament according to the Church of England administered, continuing so till the Restoration of K. Ch. II.' Almost all Oxford men must be acquainted with the fine picture in Ch. Ch. Hall¹, representing these three Divines in the act of reading the Liturgy.

Having now arrived at the end of the year 1648, as then reckoned, we may consider the general result of the changes as they affected Corpus, and also give some account of the new President, Dr. Staunton. With reference to the first point, besides the substitution of the Presbyterian for the Anglican form of worship, and the introduction, probably, of a much more severe discipline than the students had been accustomed to for the last few years, almost the whole *personnel* of the College appears to have been changed. Metford, whose narrative is, in this respect, very valuable as supplementing our other authorities, gives us the following account of this change, the substantial accuracy of which there is no reason to doubt:—

As to the College of C. C. C., it was generally ruined in 1649. There was not one Fellow left but Mr Noel Sparks the Greek Lecturer who was bed rid, and could not answer the Rump Visitors at their visitation, and after his recovery was grievously harrassed by the Intruders, as he often complained to Mr William Tonnall now vicar of Heckington in Linconshire one of the ejected Scholars.

¹ This picture, I am told by Mr. Vere Bayne, is not an original, but a copy of one by Lely in the Deanery.

Mr Zachary Bogan was a Probationer and consumptive and his death daily expected, he also was left by their Charity, so that 18¹ very worthy and learned men were thrown off with Dr Newlin the President and none saved, but what twas plain inhumanity to drive out. So of the Scholars, all were ejected but Mr Warre (as far as I can remember) and Mr Parsons², provoked by being refusd Probationership at the time he expected, and so chose to be perjured, for they were sworn to the locall statutes as well as the rest. The number of Scholars must be 18 ejected. There returnd at the Restoration but two actual Fellows Dr James Hyde and Mr Richard Samwayes, and Scholars Will: Coldham (who was very sickly and dyed in a week or two after Restoration), Norton Bold afterward Squire Beedle, Will: Fulman, Tho. Immings and myselfe, one Chaplain Mr Eeles, and no Clerk no Chorister³ who were all outed except Mr Lane⁴ & a Clarke⁵.

The Intruders I had little opportunity to know. Dr Staunton the President among them was reckond by themselves a man that had parts but idle, and would instruct but not study for what he did, but was verbose. His son Francis, a Scholar thrust in, to excuse him, used to say would he take paines, he could produce elaborate discourses, but none appeard. He labourd not to augment Learning, nor urged any other Authors but the Assemblers Catechisme: wch was an ungratefull taske put on the Scholars. The Bulls <jokes or, perhaps, frauds or rather tricks. See Murray's Dictionary> he was

¹ Including, according to a subsequent letter from Metford to Joshua Reynolds, of date Oct. 17, preserved in the same volume, fol. 152, one John Sweete, who had 'slipt out of Town,' and into whose place Parsons, an M.A. Scholar, mentioned below, was anxious to be elected.

² In the letter quoted in the last note, Parsons and Warre are said to have 'revolted'; Johnson was 'outed,' but, afterwards, restored at the instance of powerful relations.

³ The name of Lawrence, however, one of the Chonsters, son of Dr. Lawrence, Master of Balliol and Margaret Professor of Divinity, who had resigned both these offices, occurs on the books for a considerable time after his appointment was annulled, and probably till he took his degree.

⁴ Josiah Lane, Clerk, submitted to the Visitors on June 6, 1648, subsequently became a Fellow, and was ejected at the Restoration.

⁵ With regard to the Chaplains, Metford says, in his second letter: 'Allen resigned his Chaplain's place in the beginning of 1648, and Edward Eales was advanced from Trinity Coll. into his place. So the Visitation ejected Chidley and Eales. Chidley died, Eales was restored, and one Coppock brought in to Chidley's place.' But Chidley seems ultimately to have conformed. See an order of the Visitors, June 6, 1649, addressed to the President and Fellows.

charged withall are not worth mentioning. They were noted by observers to serve the College most in letting Lands, being acquainted with husbandry. M^r Roe (Rowe) was thought an enthusiast, M^r Wey one of the Chaplaines was an Independent. M^r Fowler now B. G. (Bishop of Gloucester) another of the Chaplains a Presbyterian, the rest were also seemingly the same way. But of the Intruded Scholars ¹ Peter Glub, John Lisle, William Ford and Francis Staunton declared themselves Episcopally inclined.

For the charact^{rs} of the Fellows expeld, they were esteemd the Ornament of the University, and carryed on Religion and Preaching in the Episcopall Assembly, till they were banished the Citty, as the Visitors and their Party did at S Maries, w^{ch} drew such vaste Crowds of people toget[her] in S Magdalen Parish Church (if my memory faile me not in the name) that nothing but their utter Extirpation could satisfie the Visitor's rage. They were men whose wits and Morals vyed w^{ch} should exceed. As for two of them, D^r Tho: Sanderson son of renowned Rob^t B^p of Lincoln, Grantham will speake his worth where he practisd Physick till his death: and D^r Geo: Halsted Manchester is too gratefull to forget him. And the present most pious and learned B^p of Chester (Nicholas Stratford) formerly Warden of Manchester can say enough in his behalfe. The rest were Divines and well knowne to the world, and particularly my good Tutor D^r Barker, being sometime Chaplaine to the house of Commons. As for the Intruders, tho' I hate Rebellion, Robbery, and unconscionable Invasions as much as others, yet chuse to forget what may serve to provoke.

The remainder of this portion of Metford's letter, which is on the expelled Scholars, has been already given (pp. 202-3), in connexion with the large election of Scholars in 164⁷/₈.

It will be seen that a very large majority of the Society refused to subscribe, and was consequently sentenced to expulsion. Some, however, came in afterwards, and either saved their places or were restored to them. Including these, it may be said, on a rough calculation, that the proportion of those who finally disappeared from the College to those who

¹ The names of John Lisle, William Ford, and Peter Glub, constantly appear in the Record of Punishments. Whether their Episcopal inclinations were causally connected with this circumstance, either as causing them to chafe at the College regulations, or their superiors to take the more note of their aberrations, we do not know.

remained was probably about four to one. See the table given in Burrows' ed. of the Visitors' Register, pp. 494-6. This table, it may be remarked, being based exclusively on the Visitors' Register, without comparison with College documents, does not always give the true designation of a student. And to those expelled should probably be added one Izhard, famulus Præsidis (see p. 214).

Whatever may have been the failings or shortcomings, real or imputed, of the new President, Dr. Staunton, there can be little question that he was the most eminent of the newly appointed, or, as they were called by their antagonists, 'intruded' members of the College. Edmund Staunton¹, or Stanton, was born at Woburn, Bedfordshire, being one of the younger sons of Sir Francis Staunton, Knight, on Oct. 20, 1600 or 1601, the age being differently stated in the records of his admission as Scholar and Probationary Fellow. He was admitted Scholar of Corpus on Oct. 4, 1615, and, being the only Bedfordshire Scholar and a vacancy occurring in the only Bedfordshire Fellowship, was admitted, while still an Undergraduate, to a Probationary Fellowship, on March 22, 1614. After a dangerous illness, when he was about eighteen, and a narrow escape from drowning in the river, whither he had repaired 'alone, to wash himself,' he had, about the year 1620, to use his own words, 'many sad and serious thoughts concerning my spiritual and eternal estate,' leading to a rigid self-examination, which resulted, first, in his 'laying about two months under a spirit of bondage,' during which time he 'durst not close his eyes in the night lest he should awake in Hell, thinking every night the Devil would come for him and

¹ Our principal authorities for Staunton's Life are *The Life and Death of Edmund Staunton, D.D.*, published by Richard Mayo (or Mayow) of Kingston, Minister of the Gospel, London, 1673, to which is added A brief relation (chiefly) of his great care to promote religion and learning in the College of which he was President, by Mr J. M. (! John Milward or John Martin); and *A Short Appendix to the Life of Edmund Staunton, D.D.*, London, 1673, published anonymously, but written by Fulman, being a series of sarcastic strictures on the former book. As Mayo seems to have known little or nothing of University or College ways, he falls, wherever they are concerned, an easy victim to Fulman.

fetch him away,' and then, in answer to his prayers, in his being 'filled with a strong persuasion of the love of God to his soul, and with joys unspeakable and full of glory.' After taking his M.A. degree, he selected the ministry as his profession, and commenced his clerical life as afternoon lecturer at Witney, where he was very acceptable to the people, who flocked in crowds to hear him, but not so, by any means, to the Rector of the parish, who, after reading the prayers, was accustomed, accompanied by his clerk, to quit the Church. These strained relations, it may be remarked, were very common at that time between the Puritan lecturers, who, being on special foundations, were entitled to occupy the pulpits in the afternoons, and the old-fashioned incumbents in whose churches they were planted. But he soon quitted his lectureship at Witney for the valuable living of Bushey in Hertfordshire, procured for him by his father, and this living, not long afterwards, he exchanged for that of Kingston on Thames in Surrey. At Kingston he remained for about twenty years. 'There he preached twice on the Lord's Day' (it may be noted that he went by the name of the 'searching preacher'), 'and catechized the younger and ignorant sort of people; and he did not satisfy himself in teaching them publicly, but (though the place was large and populous) he taught them also from house to house. There also he set up a weekly lecture, which was supplied, in their turns, by as eminent preachers as that part of England did afford.' Ten of his children lie buried in Kingston Church, where there is or was a stone over their grave commemorating the fact in somewhat doggrel rhyme. While at Kingston, he took his D.D. degree at Oxford, his exercises, according to his biographer, being 'wonderfully applauded by all that were present,' and he was not only chosen to be one of the Assembly of Divines which met at Westminster, but also one of the six preachers in the Abbey.

Being thus a leading Puritan minister, it is no wonder that, when Dr. Newlyn was ejected from the Presidentship, the Committee of Lords and Commons should have selected Staunton, being a former Fellow of the College, to fill his

place. His nomination, as we have seen, bears date May 22, 1648, but he probably did not actually come into residence till after Dr. Newlyn's ejection on July 11. There seems little doubt that, both as respects religion and discipline, if not learning, though even as to that we have no evidence to the contrary, the College gained by the accession of the new President.

'At his first coming to the College,' writes an admiring colleague, quoted by his biographer, 'he put in execution, and that vigorously, all such statutes as tended most to the advancement of Learning and Religion, and was frequently himself present at all Lectures and other Exercises, to encourage the studious and reprehend the negligent. He set up a Divinity Lecture every Lord's Day early in the morning in the Colledge Chappel, for the initiating and exercising the elder students in order to the work of the Ministry. He constantly catechized the younger sort publicly in the Chappel every Saturday' (of this catechizing we have already heard, p. 217, from the other side, in Metford's letter to Reynolds). 'He preacht once or twice every Lord's Day, to the edification and comfort of many'; besides his constant course in the University Church¹ and Colledge Chapel, and several lectures in the Country, wehreunto he was alwayes most

¹ It would seem from Wood's Annals, sub 1651, that the Sermon at Corpus on a Sunday morning, which was preached at the 8 o'clock service, was part of a 'public Exercise,' open to all members of the University. He adds, 'Stanton also the President of that Coll. did set up a Presbyterian meeting in his Lodgings there every Thursday in the afternoon, and lasted till 4 of the clock, at which time they were called away to Ch. Ch. Sermon.'

² The contrast appears a violent one, but this seems to be the most convenient place for introducing the macaronic verses in which Staunton's preaching is described by an unfriendly hand, John Allibone, D.D., formerly Head Master of the Magdalen College School, in his *Rustica Academiæ Oxoniensis nuper Reformatæ Descriptio*, the laments of a country-parson on his return to Oxford after the Visitors had begun their work of Reformation, first published, anonymously, in 1648, and since frequently reprinted:

'Suggestum conscendebat Fungus
Insulsa quæque fundens
So dull a fool was never among us
Pulvinar qui contundens.
In Buccam quicquid ebullivit
Minaci usus dextrâ

Boatu magno effutivit
Nec unquam erat "Extra."
Defessus hæc Dulmannitate
Decrevi venerandos
Non adhuc pulsos civitate
Amicos salutandos.'

In Antony Wood's copy of these verses, now in the Bouleian, there is attached to 'fungus,' the note 'Dr Staunton Pr. C. C. C.'; and to 'Extra' the note 'A bald

ready, rather seeking opportunities than declining them. He had every week a meeting at his own lodgings for prayer and spiritual conference, as well of the members of the Colledge as others, wherein himself alwayes bore the principal part, bringing forth out of his store of experimental knowledg things new and old. He was constantly present in publique duties of worship in the Chappel morning and evening, observing all, and reprovng any that were negligent and remiss. He took great care to introduce and elect into the Colledge such as he either saw or heard to have some appearances of grace, at least such as were docible and inclineable towards that which is good. Spiritual discourse was his meat and drink; and, when he sat at meals in the Colledge Hall, his constant course was, either from the chapter then read or from some occasion or other, to speak that which might tend to the instruction of those who were present, and to call up their minds to some heavenly contemplation.'

From the author of the Brief Relation, we have the further information that 'every Lord's day in the Evening, he examined the younger sort, calling them to account about what they had heard that day; which was a likely means to engage them to the greater attention in hearing, and to make the truths, by their pondering them, sink the deeper into their hearts.'

Admirable as might be, and probably was, the spirit of Dr. Staunton's ministrations, and the zeal which animated him, one cannot but suspect that this constant succession of sermons, prayers, conferences, reflexions, expositions, catechizings, admonitions, reproofs, must have produced such utter weariness in the minds of many of the students as to prove a hindrance rather than an incitement to religious thoughts and a godly life. To others, however, who were already of a devout disposition, they may have furnished just the spiritual nutriment which they needed. And it was not Staunton's fault, if the scholars and other members of the foundation were not thus inclined. For by the author of the Brief Relation we are phrased is good enough for a bald Sermon.' 'Nec unquam erat "Extra"' probably means 'Was never out' sc. of the pulpit.

When the country parson comes to Corpus, in the course of his perambulation of the University, he thus describes its condition :

'Ad Corpus Christi flecto gressum
Qua brevitæ possum
Jurares novis probris pressum
Et furibus confossum.'

informed that, so far as his influence extended, he 'always let Piety have the honour to turn the scale.' We can only hope that he had insight enough to discern when the piety was real, and when assumed.

On June 15, 1652, Staunton, who, it may be remarked, unlike Dr. Reynolds, Dean of Ch. Ch., had already submitted to the 'Engagement,' was nominated by the Committee of Parliament to be on the new Board of Visitors, which was limited to ten. But, as no effectual order was taken by Parliament on the matter, Cromwell, as Lord General, on his own responsibility, appointed them to act for a limited period only. On the third Board of Visitors, nominated by the Lord Protector about two years afterwards, Staunton's name does not occur. The former, which was the second Board, had been nominated under the influence of Dr. John Owen, Reynolds' successor in the Deanery of Ch. Ch.; the latter was nominated under the influence of Dr. Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen Coll., who, though also an Independent, was now a rival of Owen.

Dr. Staunton seems, if we may judge from the College records still extant, to have been a good man of business, and to have ruled the College rigorously and wisely, though, very early in his Presidentship, there are signs of dissensions among the Fellows, due, possibly, to differences between the rival factions of Presbyterians and Independents. Any way, he knew how to maintain his authority. In the record of punishments, made in the handwriting of the culprits themselves, we find that, in 1651, four of the scholars were put out of commons 'usque ad dignam emendationem,' 'till they had learnt to mend their ways,' for sitting in the President's presence with their caps on. The discipline appears to have been almost exceptionally stringent at this time. Amongst other curious entries, we find that Edward Fowler, one of the clerks (subsequently Bishop of Gloucester), was similarly deprived of his commons for throwing bread at the opposite windows of the students of Ch. Ch. ('eo quod alumnos Aedis Christi pane projecto in tumultum provocavi'). Two scholars who had been found walking in the town, without their gowns, about

ten o'clock at night, were put out of commons for a week, and ordered, one to write out, in Greek, all the more notable parts of Aristotle's Ethics, the other to write out, and commit to memory, all the definitions and divisions of Burgersdyk's Logic. Another scholar, for having in his room some out-college men without leave and then joining with them in creating a disturbance, was sentenced to be kept hard at work in the library, from morning to evening prayers, for a month, a severe form of punishment which seems not to have been uncommon at this time. Under the Puritan *régime* there was certainly no danger of the retrogression of discipline.

As a result of the Restoration, Staunton was, in his turn, ejected from the President's Lodgings on August 3, 1660, Newlyn having been restored to his former position by the Royal Commissioners, sitting in the Convocation House, only three days before, on July 31. To the great grief of his friends, as we are told by his biographer, he thought it advisable to withdraw from Oxford altogether, and he retired, in the first instance, to Rickmansworth, a small town in Hertfordshire, from which, as a centre, he ministered in various parishes around. On St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, however, he was silenced, like other Nonconformists, and seems, after remaining at Rickmansworth about two years longer, to have made frequent moves from place to place, living in private families, and exercising his ministerial functions in a private, it being no longer legal to exercise them in a public, manner. Or possibly he may have been led by his religious zeal and his love of preaching to outstep the law; for 'his great sufferings and often imprisonments,' to which the author of the Brief Relation alludes, may with most probability be referred to this period of his life. It is satisfactory to find that his misfortunes were not aggravated by pecuniary difficulties, as his biographer tells us that 'God lent him a competent estate, and (which is better) gave him a heart to lend it back again unto Him.' His last remove was to a place called Bovingdon, where and at the neighbouring towns, such as St. Alban's, 'seeing he could not preach in a Church to many, he would preach in a Chamber to a few.' Here he died on the 14th of

July, 1671¹, and was buried in the parish church, where there is or was 'a fair stone' bearing an inscription to his memory. Though so constant a preacher, and occupying so prominent a position amongst those of his own beliefs, he has left no literary remains behind him, except a few occasional sermons and two tracts, entitled 'A Dialogue between a Minister and a Stranger' and 'A Treatise of Christian Conference.' These contain much the same matter, and are written in much the same manner, as other Puritan compositions of the period.

The College records, though tolerably full during the period of Dr. Staunton's Presidency, are mainly occupied with orders, of little general interest, concerning the College property, to which considerable attention seems to have been given, with admissions, punishments, of which a list will be given in an Appendix, and the ordinary leaves of absence. The few events on record, of more general interest, which have not already been mentioned or which have been merely alluded to, may be enumerated as follows:

There is extant a curious document addressed to Staunton as President, who was then apparently absent from Oxford, signed by seven of the newly made Fellows, and dated January 2, 1648, only a few months after the new régime began. The subscribers, who were all Bachelors of Arts, complain bitterly of the 'unhappy breaches,' which they 'groan under,' of the 'exasperation' of the Masters (i.e. M. A. Fellows), and of the 'rigid government of the College' as 'a burden insupportable.' But, they add, 'we were and are contented to bear what we can, until the Visitors, with the assistance of your Worship's favour, shall ease us.' It is notable that they seem, throughout, to assume Staunton's sympathy with them, and that, in his absence, they had consulted their 'noble and worthily honoured friend, Mr. Wilkinson' (that is, Mr. Henry Wilkinson, one of the Visitors). This probably was merely a revolt, on the part of the Junior

¹ In Wood's Diary, sub June 1671 (ed. Clark, vol. ii. p. 224), there is the entry: 'Dr Edmund Stanton died this month under a hedg, suddenly in a journey—quare.'

Fellows, having no reference to religious or political differences, against the over-severe discipline of their Seniors, aggravated by a dispute then raging in the College about the admission to actuality of one William Parsons, a scholar who had submitted to the Visitation, and whose claims to seniority collided with those of the recently created Junior Fellows. So high sometimes did personal disputes of this kind rise in a College, that, alluding to this matter of Mr. Parsons, they write: 'This is the reason that the Masters are soe much displeased with and act soe vigorously against us in the Colledg, with the honourable Visitours and souldery (soldiery), that they may render us the more odious in the eyes of them, and, consequently, more invalid to proceed against him.'

The number of Fellows and Scholars admitted by order of the Visitors amounted altogether to forty, the exact number prescribed by the Statutes¹, and the admissions range from July 14, 1648, to June 26, 1651, though the last entry in Hegge's Catalogue, that of William Long, Scholar, is difficult to account for, as it does not occur either in the Visitors' Register or in the College Register of Admissions². The list includes certain old members of the College, namely Samuel Ladyman, formerly Servitor, now Fellow, Josiah Lane, formerly Clerk, now Scholar, Thomas Johnson, formerly Scholar, re-admitted Oct. 13, 1648, William Parsons, formerly Scholar, now Fellow, Zachary Bogan, formerly Fellow, re-admitted Nov. 2, 1648, and Richard Warre, formerly Scholar, whose election had been annulled by the Visitors, but who was re-admitted Dec. 18, 1648. The Buttery Book, on Jan. 26, 1648³, shews that Noel Sparkes retained his Fellowship, and that there were then 18 Fellows and 20 Scholars. All these, with the exception of Sparkes, occur in Hegge's Catalogue, as having been appointed or re-appointed by the Visitors, so that at this time the College may be regarded as

¹ But they are distributed as 23 Scholars and 17 Fellows, and the coincidence seems to be accidental.

² His name occurs, amongst the Scholars, in the Buttery Book of 1651, and he first battels on June 27, the day after the date of his admission as recorded in Hegge's Catalogue. But there is nothing there to shew whether he was freely elected by the College or appointed by the Visitors.

re-constituted, two Fellowships only remaining vacant. The new Fellows and Scholars were imported largely from Cambridge and New Inn Hall ¹.

On January 10, 1648, begins the list of Fellows and Scholars elected by the College, in accordance with the Statutes, one of the earliest being Francis Staunton, the President's son. If William Long, already mentioned, be included in the list nominated by the Visitors, the dates of the two lists overlap, but not otherwise. Fifty names occur altogether in the second list, the last admission being dated July 16, 1660, shortly before Staunton's ejection. The number in proportion to the time is so abnormally large, that, though there is no positive evidence, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the ascendancy of the Independents must have displaced some of the Fellows and Scholars nominated during the Presbyterian rule.

After the right of election was restored to the College, the vacancies were all filled up, as formerly, from the Counties and Dioceses favoured by the Founder's Statutes. It had been impossible for the Visitors, as they themselves say in a document dated July 29, 1649, 'to find fit persons born in statutable counties to succeed such as were ejected from the several Colleges by authority of Parliament,' but, with the law-abiding habits of Englishmen, they were anxious that, for the future, the Statutes of all the Colleges should be punctually observed in this respect. Hence, according to a scheme propounded to them by the College, the existing Fellows and Scholars, most of whom had been nominated by themselves without regard to the local restrictions, were assigned to the different dioceses and counties designated in the Statutes, and then, as vacancies occurred, the reputed places could be filled by persons actually possessing the statutable qualification.

On Aug. 13 of this year, the President, Mr. Milward, who had been nominated by the Visitors Fellow and Vice-President, and Mr. John Ford, who had been nominated Fellow and Junior Dean, were included amongst seventeen persons, who were desired 'to be assistant to the number of Delegates

¹ See Burrows' Ed. of the Visitors' Register, pp. 497-8.

formerly chosen by the Visitors,' thus shewing the influence exercised by the College, at that time, in the settlement of the University.

In a book of College Orders, &c., kept during Dr. Staunton's Presidency, there is the following order, with reference to the Clerks or 'acolytes,' as they are called in the original Statutes, which is worth noticing as characteristic of the times :

Aug. 11, 1653. 'Wheras, by the Statutes¹, the Clarkes had constant employment, the one as Pulsator Campanæ, the other as Modulator Organorum, there being now no use of one part of their employment, it is now ordered that they shall, in lieu thereof, take care for to beginne in the singing of the Psalme.' The 'part of their employment,' for which there was 'now no use,' was, of course, the playing the organ.

In the same book, there are two memoranda, dated Oct. 21, 1653, which reflect credit on the expelled Royalists, one of whom is nameless, the other Mr. Robert Newlyn, the ejected Steward, even though the spirit of College loyalty may possibly have been reinforced by the fear of a prosecution :

'Memorandum, that a basket mal'd up with Cords and stuffed with strawe wherein was two silver flaggons, two Cupps with Covers, Cista sigilli in which were two Comon Seales, the Charta ffundacionis and Mortmain Henr. Oct. and originalis Charta Ricardi ffox ffundator, with a Napkin key and purse², was left by a messenger (that sayd hee broughte it from the wharfe) in Mr. Rowney's³ Malt-house with his Maltman and from thence brought by Tom Wall to the College, and there the Basket was opened. The Basket was thus directed—leave these with Mr Rowney for Dr Staunton at C. C. C. in Oxon.'

¹ For the duties of the Clerks, see p. 48 of this Work.

² All these objects, with the exception of the napkin, and, perhaps, the key, are still in the possession of the College. The two silver (gilt) flagons are of the date 1598-9, the cups with covers, one of 1515, the other of 1533. The College possesses a disused great seal, in addition to the one now in use, besides the smaller seal used for testimonials.

³ One Mr. Thomas Rowney was made Clerk of Accompts (or Steward, the same office which Robert Newlyn had held) on Dec. 12 of this year. He may have been the same person as this Mr. Rowney, or at least of the same family. The Rowneys were at one time a leading family in Oxford.

'Memorandum, that there was delivered into the Coll by Mr. Rob. Newlin, late Steward, 2 lease-books, 2 Court-bookes, Bailives book, book of Rentalls, the Admission-book, grant-book, divers yearly books of the Bursary, 6 Mappes or Descriptions of Lands, a Survey of the Manour of North-grove, debt-books, many counter-parts of leases, a Ring¹; upon receipt whereof it was agreed the proceedings against Dr Newlin, the said Rob^t Newlin, Mr Eeles (i. e. Eales, an ejected Chaplain) should be stopped untill Hilary Terme next, and that no proceedings afterwards should be made, unless the Company shall conceive speciall cause for the same, and, if they find any such cause, then they, before any further proceedings, will give notice thereof at the now-dwelling-house of the said Dr Newlin.'

'Memorandum likewise, that at the same time the Company, considering Mr. Newlin's ingenuous dealing and pains in bringing in the said Colledge goods afore mentioned (he also promising to further assist), gave him the sum of five pounds.'

We have already had abundant evidence, in the course of this history, of the troubles and disputes occasioned by the increasing revenues of the College and the rise in the value of money. The revenues now far exceeded the sums needed for satisfying the allowances prescribed by the Founder, whereas these allowances themselves had been rendered totally inadequate, partly by the lower purchasing power of the precious metals, and partly by the improved style of living. The question then was what to do with the money which remained over and above, after the statutable allocations had been satisfied. The dictate of common sense was surely that, taking into account all the allowances together,—for lodging, food, raiment, pension, or whatever it might be,—the surplus revenue should be distributed amongst the various members of the foundation in the same proportion as the aggregate sum to which these allowances in each case amounted. And this principle which, had it been recognised at an earlier period, would have saved the College from many bitter feuds,

¹ Can this be the Founder's Ring, handed on from President to President, described on p. 84 ?

was, apparently¹, so far as we can judge from the brief order which follows, the one adopted by the Visitors :

May 10, 1655. 'Whereas, since the Foundation of Corpus Christi Colledge, Oxon: there hath beene severall additionall revenues, which is conceived should (according to the letter or reason of the Statutes) be divided proportionably to each one's Statutable allowance: It is now ordered by the Visitors of the University: That the President of the said Colledge, or in his absence the Vice-President, with any three of the seven Seniors, doe consider what the revenues of the said Colledge are, and how they ought to be divided in their proportions according to the equity of the Statutes.'

Here it may be noticed that when, in 1649, the Visitors asked for an account of the value of the various Headships which needed augmentation, Corpus was one of the six Colleges not included, its Headship being regarded as one of the most valuable in the University.

On October 9, 1656, the Visitors make an order that the exposition of the Bible in the College Hall, prescribed in the Founder's Statutes, shall be intermitted every other week, and its place taken by a Sermon, 'about an houre long,' in the College Chapel on the Sunday morning of the week in which the exposition is intermitted. It would seem, from this order, as if the Sunday Morning Sermons, already spoken of in connexion with Dr. Staunton, had fallen into abeyance.

The last entry in the Order Book of the Parliamentary President and Fellows was made on July 4, 1660, the last admission on July 16, and, as we have seen, Newlyn was restored to the Presidentship on July 31, and Staunton ejected from the President's Lodgings on August 3. Reversing the usual order, the new state of things had given place to the old, and the interval of academical government by the Parliamentary Visitors soon seemed as if it had never been.

Of the ninety members of the Foundation appointed or elected during Staunton's Presidency, but few attained to subsequent eminence. The following may be enumerated :

¹ I say 'apparently,' because the word 'allowance,' in the Visitors' order, might be confined to the 'pensions' only, for which see Statutes, ch. 37.

John Rowe, an eminent Presbyterian Minister, and voluminous author, one of the preachers at Westminster Abbey, admitted in 1648; Joseph Allen or Allein, also a noted Puritan writer, whose life was written by Baxter, admitted in 1651; and John Roswel or Rosewell, the excellent Tutor of whom we shall hear presently¹, and subsequently Head Master of Eton, a liberal donor to the C. C. C. Library, admitted in 1653. Outside the list of Fellows and Scholars may be mentioned Edward Fowler, admitted Clerk in 1650 and Chaplain in 1653, subsequently, as Bishop of Gloucester, one of the leading prelates in William the Third's time, and a principal representative of what was called the Latitudinarian School of Divinity.

¹ See p. 234.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RESTORATION AND THE PERIOD OF THE LATER STUARTS.

NEWLYN had not long been restored to the Presidentship, before an order of the Royal Commissioners, dated Aug. 22, was served upon him for the ejection of certain of the 'intruded' and the restoration of certain of the ejected fellows, the parts being now completely reversed. According to the official document, still extant in the College archives, the now ejected Fellows were Samuel Byfield, John Sayer, Josiah Lane, William Gardner, Thomas Malthus, and Thomas Wight; the restored Fellows, or rather Scholars who were now to be placed in the Fellowships which they would have otherwise occupied, had it not been for their ejection, were William Fulman, William Coldham, Norton Bold, James Metford, and Thomas Yeomans (or Immings). But a List, drawn up by Mr. Joshua Reynolds (Metford's Correspondent, already referred to), now in MSS. J. Walker, c. 8, fol. 245, adds to the list of restored Fellows Dr. James Hyde and Mr. Richard Samwayes, agreeing therein with the list given at the beginning of the College Register for 1660 and following years, and substitutes for Thomas Wight, the now ejected Fellow, the name of John Peachell. Both Wight and Peachell must have been ejected, as their names are affixed to College Orders on the very eve of the Restoration, but do not occur in the list of Fellows given at the beginning of the Restoration Register, just mentioned. The number of ejected Fellows (seven) is thus equated with the number of restored Fellows. At the same time, Edward Eales, according to Joshua Reynolds, was restored to his Chaplaincy, one of the then Chaplains, but we do not know which, being ejected to make

room for him. According to the same authority, Mr. Robert Newlyn again became Steward (*Clericus Computi*), Henry Price, Cook, and Thomas Bowden, formerly Porter, became Butler¹. These seem to have been all the alterations made in the personnel of the College. Joshua Reynolds remarks that 'all the rest of our ejected members were either dead, married, or preferred, except Jo. Betts, who turned Papist.'

What became of Dr. Newlyn during the twelve years he was 'outed' from the Presidentship, we do not know, except that, as we are informed by Wood (*Life and Times*, ed. Clark, vol. iii. p. 258), he and his wife had nothing to maintain them but a jointure of £40 a year, bequeathed to her by her former husband. The years of adversity through which he passed certainly do not appear to have improved his character. Nor does the College seem to have gained in learning, discipline, or quiet, by the change of government. The constant appeals to, or intervention of, the Visitor revealing to us, as they do, the internal dissensions of the Society itself, recall the troubled days of Cole's presidency. And Newlyn himself seems to have been largely to blame for this disorganized condition of the College. His government appears to have been lax, and his nepotism, even for those days, was remarkable. During the first fourteen years after his return, no less than four Newlyn's are found in the list of scholars, while, in the list of clerks and choristers (places exclusively in the gift of the President), the name Newlyn, for many years after his return, occurs more frequently than all other names taken together². It would appear as if there had been a perennial supply of grand-nephews³, to stop the avenues of preferment to less favoured students.

¹ This statement is incorrect, as it appears from the College Register (vol. i.) that James Man was appointed by the Royal Commissioners, Aug. 11, 1660.

² James Parkinson, a Scholar (admitted 1678), was ejected 'for abusing some of the relations of Dr R Neulin, the President, and for saying that it was a scandalous matter to be a Neulin,' &c. Afterwards, he became a Fellow and well-known Tutor of Lincoln. See Wood's *Ath. Ox.* One of the Newlyn's (Robert, elected Scholar 1674), together with another Scholar, John Bradshaw, broke into the room of one of the Senior Fellows, robbed him, and attempted to murder him in his sleep. See further on, p. 254, under the year 1677.

³ See above, under Newlyn's first Presidency, pp. 194-5, note 2.

Before undertaking the task of recording the dissensions in the College and its unsatisfactory relations with its Visitor, I will turn to a more pleasing topic—a contemporary account¹ of his studies and intercourse with his tutor, left by one of the scholars of this period, John Potenger, elected to a Hampshire Scholarship in 1664. From the account of his candidature, it appears that, even then, there was an effective examination for the scholarships, though it only lasted a day and seems to have been entirely *vivâ voce*. It is curious to find Potenger largely attributing his success to his age, 'being some years younger' than his rivals², 'a circumstance much considered by the electors.' Can the well-known preference of the Corpus electors for boyish candidates in the days of Arnold and Keble, and even to a date within the memory of living members of the College, have been a tradition from the seventeenth century? It appears that the tutor was then selected by the student's friends. 'I had the good fortune,' says Potenger, 'to be put to Mr. John Roswell' (afterwards Head Master of Eton and a great benefactor of the Corpus library), 'a man eminent for learning and piety, whose care and diligence ought gratefully to be remembered by me as long as I live. I think he preserved me from ruin at my first setting out into the world. He did not only endeavour to make his pupils good scholars, but good men. He narrowly watched my conversation' (*i.e.* behaviour), 'knowing I had too many acquaintance in the University that I was fond of, though they were not fit for me. Those he disliked he would not let me converse with, which I regretted much, thinking that, now I was come from school, I was to manage myself as I pleased, which occasioned many differences between us for the first

¹ My attention was directed to the rare book, which contains this account, by Mr. C. H. Firth of Balliol College. It is entitled *The Private Memoirs of John Potenger, Esq.*, edited by C. W. Bingham, and was published by Hamilton, Adams & Co. in 1841. Since I wrote this portion of my work, extracts from this and many other 'Reminiscences of Oxford' have been published by the Oxford Historical Society (1892).

² And yet, at the date of his admission, he was more than 16 years old. Even in the early part of the present century, there were many admissions of scholars younger than Potenger, as I shall point out, when I arrive at that period.

two years, which ended in an entire friendship on both sides.' Potenger 'did not immediately enter upon logick and philosophy, but was kept for a full year to the reading of classical authors, and making of theams in prose and verse.' The students still spoke Latin at dinner and supper; and consequently, at first, 'his words were few.' There were still disputations in the hall, requiring a knowledge of logic and philosophy; but Potenger's taste was mainly for the composition of Latin and English verse and for declamations. His poetical efforts were so successful, that his tutor gave him several books 'for an encouragement.' For his Bachelor's degree he had to perform not only public exercises in the schools, but private exercises in the College, a custom which survived long after this time. One of these was a reading in the College Hall upon Horace. 'I opened my lectures with a speech which I thought pleased the auditors as well as myself.' After taking his degree he fell into vicious habits which, though commenced in Oxford, were completed by his frequent visits to London. 'Though I was so highly criminal, yet I was not so notorious as to incur the censure of the Governors of the College or the University, but for sleeping out morning prayer, for which I was frequently punished.' 'The two last years I stayed in the University, I was Bachelour of Arts, and I spent most of my time in reading books which were not very common, as Milton's works, Hobbs his *Leviathan*; but they never had the power to subvert the principles which I had received of a good Christian and a good subject.' The exercises for his Master of Arts degree he speaks of, as if they were difficult and laborious.

In the summer of 1663, there arose a hot dispute in the College with respect to the allegation that Fulman had forfeited his Fellowship by not entering Priest's orders within the period, dating from his Regency as Master of Arts, which was prescribed by the Statutes. The Vice-President (Immings), taking advantage of the absence of the President, had, at the urgent instance of Daniel Agas, the Junior Dean,

actually gone to the length of expelling him. Whatever might be the interpretation of the Statute on assuming Holy Orders, which was disputed, there could be no doubt that the Vice-President had largely exceeded his powers by expelling a Fellow with the consent of only a single officer of the College. The case, as a doubtful one, was referred by the President and a large majority of the Fellows to the decision of the Visitor, George Morley, formerly Canon and lately Dean of Ch. Ch., now Bp. of Winchester. Morley, deferring the more general question of the interpretation of the Statute, for a definitive judgment, gave an *ad interim* decision, on the particular case, that, if Fulman entered Deacon's orders and then Priest's orders within certain prescribed times, he should be left in undisturbed possession of his Fellowship. But many of the Fellows, for this and other reasons, were anxious for a general visitation of the College, and, on the 6th of July, 1663, five of the Senior Fellows, and two College officers, including Benjamin Parry, William Fulman, and John Rosewell (the President, it will be noticed, not joining), petitioned the Visitor 'to visit the College in such manner as his Lordship in his wisdom shall judge most agreeable to the Statutes.' Accordingly, in the following year (June 22, 1664), Morley, who had only recently come to his see, cited all persons on the foundation of the College to appear, for visitation, in the Chapel on July 25 following. On July 19, the Bishop, who, according to Wood¹, came also to visit the other Colleges under his jurisdiction, arrived in Oxford late in the evening, and took up his lodging at Christ Church, his old College, probably as the guest of the Dean. On July 20, 'he went to Magdalen College, about nine in the morning'; on July 21, to New College; on July 22, he dined at Ch. Ch., and went in the afternoon to (? St. John's²); on July 24,

¹ Ath. Oxon. sub George Morley. My information about the Visitation of Corpus is derived from a MS. Paper in the hand-writing of Fulman, who was, of course, a contemporary witness, still preserved amongst the President's papers. The Bundle, in which it is contained, is numbered in my MS. Catalogue as No. 16. I have given a full account of this Visitation, thinking that such an account, derived from a contemporary source, would be of interest to many of my readers.

² Here there is a blank space in the MS.

which, it may be noticed, was a Sunday, he went to Trinity. On July 25, 'about nine in the morning, he came to C.C.C., accompanied by the Bishop of Gloucester' (William Nicholson), 'the Deane of Worcester' (Thomas Warmestry), 'Sir William Turner, and Sir Modiford Bramston.'

'In the Gatehouse was a chaire, set for the Visitor, where, being sate, a Speech was made by Mr. Benjamin Parry, S T B, one of the Senior Fellowes. The speech being ended, he went to the President's Lodging, and, after a short stay, to the Chapell to Prayers. Where he sat in the President's seat, and, at a distance on that side, Sir Will. Turner and Sir N. Bramston. In the Vice-President's seat sat the President, and near him the Bp. of Gloc. and then the Deane of Worc. After Prayers, they returned to the Lodging, and soon after the Visitor went into the Hall and, placing himself at the side table, with Sir William Turner at his right hand and Sir N. B. at the left, both sitting bare, the names of the whole Society were called over, every one answering. Then, the Statute concerning Visitation being read, the Visitor declared that he was come to that purpose, and did take those two Knights for his Assessors and Counsellors, who thereupon likewise put on their hats. Then were proposed and read by the Bishop's Secretary the Articles to be enquired. Then was proposed the forme of an Oath, first shewed to the President, and then read aloud to the rest'. The President, at first, moved some scruple against the taking a new oath, but at length it was taken by him and all the Fellowes and Scholars. Which done, the Visitor made a speech in Latine to this purpose: That we read in Scripture, when the cry of Sodome and Gomorrah was ascended unto heaven, God said, I will² <go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me; and if not, I will know. Gen. xviii. 21>. That this, being the first visitation we read of, was to be the rule and measure of all that should follow. For God being himself καρδιωγώστης would not need any inquiry into the <facts of the case,

¹ The 'Formula Juramenti' ran as follows: 'Tu jurabis, quod dices et denuntiabis plenam et meram veritatem, An scilicet Ordinationes et Statuta Fundatoris vestri, quantum ad quemlibet e Collegio vestro pertinent, fuerint debite executæ et observatæ: Et quod (exceptis occultis, denuntiabis etiam quæcunque noveris vel credideris reformanda, statum, commodum, et honorem Collegii vestri quomodocunque concernentia. Ita Deus te adjuvet.'

² Here, as also a few lines further on, there is a space left blank, evidently not to suppress anything, but for the purpose of being filled up afterwards.

or something to that effect). But intended by His example to shew how others were to (act under such circumstances, or something to that effect). That he should (*not* omitted) make any inquiry or use any severity more than was meet, nay than was necessary. And, being to give an account to the King of the state of the College, he wished he might doe it *μετὰ χαρᾶς*. Lastly, he adjourned his Visitation to the morrow between the houres of foure and seven afternoon. Then, dismissing the Company, his Lordship went about to see the College, and, returning to the President's Lodging, saw the Mitre and Crosier Staffe.' (It will be noticed that the College then possessed the Mitre (doubtless of the Founder)¹ as well as the Crosier.) 'At Dinner his Lordship sat at the end of the High Table in the Hall, the Bishop of Gloucester on the inside and the President at his other hand; then the rest of the company.'

Then follow, in Fulman's MS., the following entries:—

'That night a Scholar was killed in the Street about eleven of the clock neere the Starre Inn' (now the Clarendon) 'in the North Street: for whose death a son of Sir William Turners' (just mentioned as one of the Visitor's Assessors), 'of Wadham College, was suspected and seised upon. Afterwards, a servant of Sir William took it upon him, and was tryed for it, and acquitted.' (A tolerably evident case, I fear, of a collusion for the purpose of defeating the ends of justice, the probable criminal being the son of a powerful man and a member of the University²).

'July 26. The next day, about foure afternoone, the first stone of the Theatre' (the Sheldonian Theatre, erected by the munificence of Archbishop Sheldon) 'was layd; the Vice-Chancellor with the Doctors and Masters being present in their formalities, the Bishops

¹ The remains of this mitre, then decayed, were actually sold in 1736 and 1737! See under Dr. Mather's Presidency.

² The condonation of offences (even murders), in the case of powerful men or their sons, was not uncommon at this time. Thus, in 1671, the Duke of Monmouth received the Royal pardon for his share in the wanton murder of a street watchman. For the instance of Crabtree of Balliol, who, having stabbed a fellow-undergraduate so that he died, pleaded benefit of clergy, was condemned to burning in the hand, and then received the Royal pardon in 1624, see Mr. R. Lane Poole's article on Balliol, in the *Oxford Colleges*, p. 47. We shall find a somewhat similar instance at Corpus in 1677. Wood (*Diary*, July 25, 1664, speaks as if Sir Wm. Turner's son were himself tried at the Assizes: 'He held up his hand at the next assizes and downe upon his knees for his life. By means of his father Sir William Turner, Dr., his life was saved.' See Wood's *Life and Times*, ed. Clark, vol. ii. p. 18.

of Wint. Gloc. and Oxon likewise there. Doctor South made a Speech.'

'Afterward, the Visitor came to C. C. C., and went immediately into the Hall, where he sat as before with Sir M. Br. at his left hand (Sir W. Turner absent). The names were again called over. Which done, the President presented an answer to the Articles.'

These articles took the form of questions on the observation of the Statutes, much like the questions on the Ten Commandments used in the Confessional, together with a general invitation and requirement that the several members of the Foundation should denounce any other breach of the Statutes or Visitors' Injunctions, not specified in the particular questions, and, moreover, should point out any reforms of existing practices which might conduce to the advantage or honour of the College. To these articles the answers handed in are very brief, and are mostly to the effect that the Statutes are observed, without any further remark. To the question whether the Bible is still read in Hall daily at dinner, and a portion of the passage read expounded by one of the Fellows after dinner; and whether the conversation at table is still confined to Latin and Greek, the answer is: '*Biblia quotidie leguntur et sunt partis lectæ expositiones, latino sermone ordinariæ* (sic; word erased) *magna ex parte utuntur sedentes in mensa.*' It thus appears that the custom of reading the Bible at dinner, and expounding a portion of it afterwards, was still retained, but that the custom of speaking Latin (of Greek there is no mention) was often infringed, or imperfectly observed, English words probably being freely inserted in the Latin (or dog-Latin) sentences. To the question whether the lectures in the public schools of the University and at Magdalen are still frequented, the answer is that the practice of attending lectures at Magdalen has fallen into desuetude for at least fifty years, and has been dispensed with, while as to attendance at public lectures in the University '*non liquide constat,*' a very suggestive and eminently unsatisfactory answer. To several of the questions and to the general invitations or requirements at the end of the Articles it is answered: '*Quod non sit aliquis excessus, inordinatio, crimen, aut de-*

lictum de quo in his articulis inquiritur aut contra quod in statutis Collegii nostri aut per se planis aut per interpretationes Visitorum nostrorum declaratis providetur, quod non sit punitum vel emendatum, aut domesticis remediis et ordinario procedendi modo, quem statuta alias postulant, non corrigi et reformari possit.' From a marginal note, written by Fulman, it appears that the following sentence had been erased: 'Insuper Præsident, Seniores et Officiarii, ubi res exigit, modo et methodo prædictis se processuros, cæteri se correctionem debitam subituros, omnes se pietati, paci, et charitati, studiis, et observationi Statutorum sedulo operam daturos pollicentur et spondent.' As to the 'Scrutiny' prescribed in Cap. 52 of the Statutes, i.e. the annual inquiry not only into the observation of the Statutes, but into the life, conversation, manners, studies, and proficiency of the several members of the College, as well as into all matters which might require reformation or correction, the answer is: 'Necnon scrutinium quod longa jam desuetudine exolevit iterum in usum et vigorem pristinum, si Domino Visitori visum fuerit, restitui potest.'

The answers are signed by the President, fifteen actual Fellows, including Benjamin Parry and the Vice-President (Francklin), by one Probationer, and by sixteen Scholars ('Discipuli'). Fulman, John Paris, and Benjamin Parry (who, alone of the three, had signed the general answer) returned a separate answer to the following effect: 'Nos etiam superscriptæ Responsioni (excepto quod Magister Agas pacem Collegii turbat, nec Domini Visitoris Determinationi acquiescit) manus apponimus.' 'Mr. Rosewell,' it is added, 'presented an Answer by himself; but declared that he did not dissent from the rest, but only was not so well satisfied in some particulars. Mr. Agas presented another. And at length Mr. Imings.'

This is the close of the account, written partly in the handwriting of Fulman, partly in that of another. Whether the Visitation was followed by any general Injunctions of the Visitor we do not know. The only result that we learn from the College documents was the sentence passed by the Visitor on Daniel Agas, who, as Junior Dean, had so vehemently in-

sisted on the expulsion of Fulman. According to Wood's account¹, however, the main offence for which Agas was sentenced was his violent bearing towards the Visitor himself; for he 'accused the bishop of injustice before his face, for granting and sending letters to the College in behalf of Thomas Turner' (subsequently President), 'son of Dr Thomas Turner' (Dean of Canterbury), 'to come in scholar, for which his impudence he was put out of commons for three weeks' (months)². The material part of the Visitor's sentence³, which is a somewhat curious document, runs as follows:

'That, whereas the said Mr Agas standeth presented by some of the Fellows, and accused by others, for being a person of a turbulent spirit and a sower of discord in the said Colledge, And having wrote an audacious and scandalous paper which he formerly delivered with his own hands unto the said Lord Bishop his Visitor, and seemed again (when he had been pardoned upon his submission) to justify the same at the publike meeting of the Visitation of the said Colledge, The said Mr Agas should be immediately suspended from the Communes and all the profits of his Fellowship (of what nature soever) for the space of three whole months, and untill such time as he shall acknowledge his Crimes and publicly confesse his sorrow for the same and promise Reformation in some publike manner. . . . Whereupon his Lordship, the said Visitor, hath since been pleased to declare his sense and meaning more particularly in this businesse, and doth decree and injoyne, viz. That the said Mr Agas shall appeare before the President of the said Colledge and the Fellowes in the Chapell, Hall, or such other publike place as the President shall appoynt, and there acknowledge, That he hath pertinaciously and contumeliously carried himself against the said Lord Bishop, especially for writing and delivering that Paper before named, which was openly read in the Hall in the time of the Visitation aforesaid, and for any other disturbance he hath made in the Colledge: And shall promise, for the time to come, that he will live more peaceably amongst them, and more submissively and obediently towards his Governors and Superiours, more especially

¹ Wood's *Ath. Ox.* sub George Morley.

² In Wood's *Diary*, it is added 'And Mr Yearsons is suspended,' i. e. Thomas Yeomans or Immings, who, as Vice-President, had unstatutably expelled Fulman.

³ Numbered in my MS. Catalogue, 20 d.

towards his Visitor for the time being, And farther shall solemnly amongst them receive the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper upon the next day appointed, and so constantly for the time to come.' He was to obtain a certificate of his 'conformity and promises' from the College, and, upon the bringing in of such a certificate, 'to be absolved in diem, and relaxed from his suspension for six months as upon Probation, and if, in the meane time, no just complaint be made and proved against him, then to be clearley absolved, and restored in integrum, upon his personal submission also unto the Lord Bishop the Visitor himself.'

To these conditions, sufficiently degrading and humiliating, for a clergyman and Fellow of a College of some standing, Agas submitted, and received a certificate both of his public apology in the form prescribed and of his reception, on October 2, of the Holy Communion in the College Chapel. This last requirement is probably to be regarded, not so much in the light of a punishment as of a test of conformity; for Wood, in the *Athenæ* as above referred to, speaks of Agas as 'educated there under the presbyterians,' implying thereby, of course, that he had himself presbyterian proclivities.

Before dismissing the subject of this Visitation, and the preceding events connected with Fulman, there are two points worthy of notice: (1) that the President seems to have been guilty of a good deal of vacillation, if not of double dealing, in the matter of Fulman, for in an address, presented to him by seven of the Fellows¹, it is requested that 'you will be pleased to let us know plainly and directly, whether you have already made any kind of application to our Honorable Visitor in the differences before mentioned, wherein wee desire you to deale plainly and clearly with us, as wee shall doe with you'; (2) in a paper on the Fulman business², with no name attached but conjectured on the endorsement to be by Agas, it is said that John Paris, one of the Senior Fellows, who supported Fulman, had never received episcopal orders, and, therefore, by an Act of 12 C. 2, passed at the Restoration, had forfeited his Fellowship. But it would appear, from the

¹ Contained in the bundle of papers, marked in my MS. Catalogue, No. 16.

² 20 f in my MS. Catalogue.

silence of all the contemporary documents extant, as if his orders had never been called in question within the College.

In the autumn of 1665, the Parliament, owing to an outbreak of the plague in London, met in Oxford, and their presence involved that of the Court. On September 12, the College addressed a letter¹ to Bishop Morley, signed by the President, Seniors, and Officers, in which they state that, understanding 'that our College is designed to lodge some of Her Majesties Attendants, and a great part of it is already taken up for that purpose, we are necessitated to think of some speedy course for the disposing of those persons which must be removed upon this occasion, which, though we cannot doe any better, or indeed any other way, than by dismissing them, especially the younger sort, into the countrey,' yet, as the number of absentees would be greater than the Statutes ordinarily permitted, the time of absence longer, and there was no statutable allowance of Commons to the absent, they thought it their duty to have recourse to the Visitor's direction in 'a case extraordinary, and such as our statutes take no notice of.' The Visitor, replying on the 14th, from Farnham, dispenses with the various statutes in question, 'which, being for the special service of His Majesty, who is our Supreme Visitor, and may dispose of us all as He pleases, I conceive very fit to be done, and therefore doe hereby dispense with the said particulars during His Majesties stay at Oxon and no longer, unlesse any infection there shall hinder their returne.' From the Buttery Book for this year, we find that about ten or twelve of the B.A. and Undergraduate Scholars disappeared from the College for some time.

At this point I may introduce the connexion with the College of James, the unhappy Duke of Monmouth, the reputed natural son, and at this time the supreme favourite of Charles the Second. Wood tells us, in the *Fasti*², that 'in the plague year, 1665, when the king and queen were at Oxon, he was entred as a member in C. C. coll. there.' And, in the

¹ 20 e in my MS. Catalogue.

² Sub Sept. 28, 1663, when Monmouth was incorporated M.A. from Cambridge.

Diary¹, there is the entry: 'Sept. 25, 1665, the king and duke of Monmouth came from Salisbury to Oxon. The king lodged himself in Xt Ch. . . . and the duke of Monmouth and his dutchess at C. C. Coll.' They probably continued in Corpus till Jan. 27 following, when 'the king with his retinue went from Oxon to Hampton².' Monmouth's name, however, does not occur in the buttery-books till the week beginning May 11, 1666, when it is inserted between the names of the President and Vice-President. Whether, after this time, he ever resided in the College, or indeed in Oxford, is uncertain; but the name remains on the books till July 12th, 1683, when it was erased after the discovery of Monmouth's conspiracy and flight³. The erasures are carried back as far as the week beginning June 1.

The next event to be recorded is an action brought at the Oxford Assizes, Michaelmas, 1666, against three persons at Burford for being in unlawful possession of sixty Copes, no less than 400 other vestments, two carpets, &c., belonging to the College, the value, when the items are enumerated separately, being estimated at £3200, though the damages, at the end of the Declaration, are laid only at £3000. The exact circumstances under which this Declaration was filed are not altogether easy to conjecture. Probably these vestments had been deposited, during the Civil War, with some person or persons at Burford, had been reclaimed at the Restoration, had, somehow or other, been casually lost or lost sight of, and had been found by the defendants, who refused to give them up and converted them to their own uses, by sale or otherwise. I have thought it best to reproduce the document⁴, which is endorsed

¹ Wood MSS. D. 19 (3), for reference to which I am indebted to the Rev. Andrew Clark. (The passage is now published in Wood's *Life and Times*, vol. ii. p. 58.)

² The *Liber Benefactorum* records that Monmouth, on leaving the College, presented a tankard, weighing 35 ounces: 'Jacobus Dux de Monmouth &c., cum anno 1665, peste per Angliam grassante, ad istius Collegii perfugium se reciperet, unum cantharum eidem abeuns reliquit.' This tankard, which does not now exist, was probably melted down after Monmouth's rebellion.

³ The dates in Wood's *Life and Times*, vol. iii. p. 64, it will be seen from these statements, are not accurately given.

⁴ Numbered as 22 e in my MS. Catalogue.

'Copes,' as exactly as possible, merely rendering the contractions in full. The following are the precise words of the Declaration :

'Mich: 18^o Car: 2^{di}. R. &c.

Oxon. Scilicet. Præsident Collegij Corporis Christi in Vniuersitate Oxoniensi et Scholares eiusdem Collegij queruntur de Tho: Maslin Will. Streete Sen. W. Streete Jun: in Custodia Mareschalli etc. pro eo viz. quod cum ijdem Præsident et Scholares 1^o die Julij Anno regni Domini Car: 2^{di}. nunc Regis Anglie etc. 12^o. apud Burford in Comitatu prædicto possessionati fuissent de quibusdam bonis et Catallis, viz. Sexaginta vestibus Sacerdotalibus vocatis Copes auro acupictis ad valentiam mille et quingentarum librarum quadringentis virgatis Serici auro acupicti præantea parcella aliarum vestium Sacerdotalium vocatarum Copes Serici, auro arupict(?i or arum), ad valentiam mille et quingentarum librarum et duobus Instratis anglice Carpetts de Serico acupictis ad valentiam ducentarum librarum vt de bonis et Catallis suis proprijs. Et sic inde possessionati existentes ijdem Præsident et Scholares bona et Cattalla illa extra eorum possessionem casualiter perdiderunt et amiserunt. quæ quidem bona et Cattalla postea videlicet prædicto 1^o. die Julij anno 12^o supradicto apud Burford prædictum Comitatu prædicto ad manus et possessionem prædictorum T. W. et W. per inuentionem deuenerunt prædicti tamen T. W. et W. scientes bona et Cattalla prædicta fore bona et Cattalla ipsorum Præsidentis et Scholarium propria et ad eosdem Præsidentem et Scholares de iure spectare et pertinere machinantes tamen et fraudulenter intendentes eosdem Præsidentem et Scholares in hac parte callide et subdole dicipere et defraudare bona et cattalla prædicta licet sepius requisiti etc. eisdem Præsidenti et Scholaribus non deliberauerunt sed bona et Cattalla prædicta postea videlicet vltimo die Decembris Anno Regni dicti Domini Regis nunc 17^o. apud Burford prædictum in Comitatu prædicto ad vsum ipsorum Thomæ, Willelmi et Willelmi proprium conuerterunt et disposuerunt vnde ijdem Præsident et Scholares dicunt quod ipsi deteriorati sunt et dampnum habent ad valentiam trium Mille librarum et inde producant sectam etc.'

Mr. J. L. Mathews, Clerk of Assize on the Oxford Circuit, has kindly made search for me among the records in his custody, but informs me that there are no records extant of Civil proceedings at or anywhere about this time. There is, however, a curious confirmation of the trial in the Fulman

MSS., vol. 10, fol. 192, where there occurs the following entry : 'Triall at Oxford Assises for the Copes, Jul. 29, 1667. 400^{li}. 60 Copes 2 Carpets 54 Pieces.' It would appear as if damages were found for £400, the verdict being for the misappropriation of 60 Copes, 2 Carpets, and 54 Pieces (? of Copes). There is no mention of this trial in Wood's Diary; but in the Tower Book of the College, there is an entry, under Feb. 9, 166⁸/₇, to the effect that £3 16s. 0d., taken out of the Tower Fund, was 'laid out in the business of the Copes.'

Of these Copes and other vestments we have heard a good deal in the early history of the College. There is a curious connecting link in an entry, in the *Liber Magnus*, under May 2, 1640, shortly before the end of Jackson's Presidentship: 'Paid to Richard Hall for mending the Copes ut valet per Bill, 19s. 9d.' There can be little doubt, if they were ordered to be mended, that they were worn¹.

Passing by an unimportant Visitor's decision, in 1667, which had already been anticipated in practice as well as by an order of the Parliamentary Visitors, allowing the College to elect a Proctor, the next circumstance, worthy of mention, is a curious dispute about the President's horses, which occurred in 1672. The Statutes allowed the President, not only on College progresses, but for his own private affairs, when absent, the use of four or five horses, with their saddlery and trappings. Concerning this Statute a question had been raised between the President and the Senior Bursar's Deputy, whether 'it is equitable and reasonable that the President may, of the four or five horses mentioned, have two such as may be serviceable both for coach and saddles.' Some of the President's reasons, which alone we have, are curiously redolent

¹ Professor Rogers (*History of Prices*, vol. v. p. 33) says that he has found only two Colleges which submitted to Laud's instructions, Corpus in Oxford and St. John's in Cambridge. 'In these two, and in these two only, for a few years an ornate ritual was adopted—Copes, wax candles, and other furnitures.' Possibly Corpus was the only College in Oxford which adopted the Copes, because it was the only College which possessed them.

There is a previous entry in one of the *Libri Magni*, on Aug. 19, 1637 (for which see extracts from the Chapel accounts, in Appendix B), most probably relating to a Cope-box purchased for the College.

of old times: 1. 'Two such he hath had for six years, and they might have lasted much longer, had they not died of an infectious disease'; 2. 'Relyinge on the continuance thereof he hath not long since bought a new coach'; 3. 'His age and infirmitie of body require it. Phisitians will attest that its not safe for him to ride a journey on horseback'; 4. 'This way hee and one of his servants are provided, and in severall progresses his Coach hath carried one Fellow allso, some times two'; 5. 'This way expenses for bridles and saddles have beene and may be saved, which appeare to be considerable by our annuall account.' It may be hoped that the good sense of the parties concerned prevented this appeal from reaching the Visitor, of whom no decision is extant.

In the spring of 1674 an attempt was made to procure one of the Hampshire Scholarships for natives of Jersey and Guernsey, under the mistaken idea that there were three Scholarships confined to natives of this County¹. A Royal letter, dated April 1, reinforced by a letter from the Visitor, was sent to the College, signifying the King's 'express will and pleasure' that this appropriation should be made. But the College put in a document, signed by the Mayor of Winchester and the High Sheriff of the County of Southampton, testifying that these Islands had never done any suit or service at the Assizes or Sessions of the County, nor hath the Sheriff of the said County any authority in these Islands. And, protesting that they believed obedience to the King's command would be a violation of their statutes, they begged that this matter might be referred to the Judges. What the precise issue was, we do not know, but, as no Fellowship or Scholarship ever was appropriated or even thrown open to these Islands, we may presume that either the matter was dropped altogether or the answer of the Judges was unfavourable.

¹ Any one reading the Statutes, simply for reference, might easily be pardoned for making this mistake. For in cap. 9, where the qualifications of Probationary Fellows are enumerated, the Statute says simply 'tres in comitatu Southamptonia.' But in cap. 14, though the same words occur with regard to the Scholars, it is added. 'de cujus numero ternario erit ille qui ex compositione Magistri Willelmi Frost erit presentatus, quamvis fortasse non erit de eodem comitatu natus.'

In the summer of this year, Bishop Morley held another Visitation of the College, beginning on July 24, but this time through his Commissaries. There is no record, as in the previous case, of the forms of procedure, and the original articles of enquiry are almost precisely the same as those of 1664. Appended, however, to the long list of questions, mainly founded on the Statutes, which it appears to have been usual to ask at these Visitations, there is a very significant interrogatory, 'added to the rest by the Visitor's special command by letter, and to be particularly answered by all the Fellows and Scholars: Whether they know or believe any resignations of Fellowships or Scholarships to have been made for money, and by whome and to whome, and for how much, either lately or since my last visitation.' This question refers to the practice known as that of 'corrupt resignations' which appears to have been very prevalent about this time¹, and specially, according to Wood, at Magdalen, New College, and All Souls. At Corpus, however, if we may trust the answer given by the College, the practice was unknown: 'nec audivimus nec credimus,' &c.² To the question about the daily reading of the Bible in Hall, the subsequent exposition of a portion of the passage read, and the speaking only Latin or Greek at table, the answer is in the affirmative as to the first two clauses of the question, but, as to the last, it is confessed that 'in mensa sedentes colloquio Latino vel Græco non utuntur secundum exactam mentem Statutorum,' i.e. they had ceased to observe the statute, except, probably, by occasional excursions into dog-Latin. To the question about attending lectures at Magdalen or in the University Schools, the same answer exactly is given as in

¹ Wood's *Annals*, sub 1657. See particularly, on this practice, Professor Burrows' *Worthies of All Souls*, chs. 13-15, and his edition of the *Parliamentary Visitors' Register*, pp. 419-25. He says, in a note on p. 421 of the latter work, that 'a passage in Bp. Lowth's *Life of Wykeham*, p. 193 (2nd ed. 1759), refers to the abuse, as far from extinct in his time at New College.' The practice appears to have existed at a very early period at Oriel. See Mr. Shadwell's article on Oriel in *The Colleges of Oxford*, p. 107, and, on the subject generally, cp. pp. 116-7 and Mr. Oman's article on All Souls.

² The number of cessions by resignation, however, at this time are considerable, a circumstance which has a suspicious appearance.

1664, except that 60 years is substituted for 50, as the period during which attendance at Magdalen has fallen into desuetude. To the question about the closing of the gates, there is the somewhat unsatisfactory answer that they are closed at 9, and the keys taken to the Vice-President, but, for any cause approved by him, they can be unlocked again at any time. The Scrutiny is described as having become obsolete, so that evidently there was no attempt to revive it after the last Visitation. Comparing the two Visitations of 1664 and 1674, we cannot but observe that, not only the questions, but also the answers, at these stated visitations had a tendency to degenerate into common forms.

Bp. Morley, however, sent some additional questions, which must have arrived on the very eve of the Visitation, even if they were in time for its commencement, partly prompted thereto, doubtless, by an appeal, from outside, which he had just received on the subject of the Durham Scholarship. In this document, the Commissaries are instructed particularly to enquire of the President and some of the Fellows concerning the manner of their elections, and whether at the last election the Statutes had been duly observed. Moreover, at all the Colleges which they were to visit, they were to enquire diligently and particularly how often, in every of them, the holy sacrament is administered, and whether all of the foundation, especially the Priests, do duly frequent it; as also to enquire and take notice of those of the foundation that wear Periwigs or long hair, especially being Priests. To these questions the President and Fellows of Corpus replied as follows: 'To the 1st, In generall, that we proccede in the Elections according to the forme prescribed in the Statutes. Particularly, that the last election of an Oxfordshire youth into the Durham place was agreeable thereunto; To the 3rd, that the holy sacrament is duly administered upon the cheife Festivall days of the yeare, and generally frequented by the Preists and other members of the Colledge; to the 3rd, that some of the Foundation doe weare Periwigs, and none doth weare his hayre otherwise than is common, decent, and agreeable to the practice of others of the same condition.'

The first of these enquiries had reference to a disputed election to a Scholarship, which was destined to give the College a great deal of trouble during this and the next year. A mass of documents relating to it is still extant, including a letter to a friend from the celebrated Dr. Edward Pocock, distinctly adopting the view of the College. It appears that one George Ritchell of St. Edmund Hall, a native of Newcastle on Tyne, and son of the 'minister' of Hexham¹, was the only candidate for a vacant Scholarship confined to the Bishopric of Durham. But he was rejected on three grounds: (1) that, though he asseverated that he was a native of the Bishopric, he did not produce satisfactory proofs; (2) that he stammered, and was therefore disqualified by the Statutes; (3) that he was 'non habilis,' specially on account of his verses (a copy of which, included among the papers, abundantly justifies the assertion), moderate skill in Latin versification being one of the statutable requirements. The College, instead of filling up the Durham vacancy, elected one additional Oxfordshire scholar, one John Hungerford (it has an unfortunate appearance that the name of the other Oxfordshire Scholar, elected just before, was Robert Newlin), to be reputed as a Durham Scholar, and transferred to the Oxfordshire foundation on the next vacancy. Ritchell's case was warmly taken up by the clergy and gentry of the district, and petitions were drawn up to the Visitor from the Dean and Chapter of Durham and the inhabitants of the County Palatine, headed by the High Sheriff. The Visitor took cognisance of the appeal, and a statement of the case was given on each side to the Commissaries at the quinquennial Visitation. But they made no order with regard to it, and hence the College maintained that the Visitor's power of interference, the appeal being from an extern, even if it existed at all, had lapsed till the next general Visitation came round. Then came a

¹ There is a long account of this George Ritchell or Ritschel the elder in Wood's *Ath. Ox.* sub nomine. He was a Bohemian by birth, and, being a protestant, had fled from his native country and taken refuge in Oxford, where he studied in the Bodleian, and became a member of Trinity. He was afterwards appointed Head Master of the Grammar School at Newcastle on Tyne, where his son was born.

controversy between the Visitor and the College, which procured a large number of opinions in its favour from eminent lawyers, with the result that the Visitor had not the courage himself to take any definite action¹. But the matter was brought before the King in Council, on the petition of the rejected candidate, George Ritchell, June 11, 1675, and was remitted to the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the University, who was to call to his assistance Sir Francis North, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir William Jones, Attorney General, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge of the Admiralty and Prerogative Courts, and Sir Robert Wyseman, His Majesty's Advocate², who were to inspect and examine the Statutes, the Visitor, President, and some of the Fellows, as well as the Petitioner, being present at the meeting. The meeting was to be on the 19th instant, and the Duke was to make a report to the Privy Council, together with his opinion. What was the precise issue of the business we do not know, but, as Hungerford retained his Scholarship and Ritchell's name never appears on the books, and as the case seems never to have come again before the Privy Council³, we may presume that the petition was withdrawn.

That the Visitor's wrath was now rising against the College, and his prejudices beginning to be enlisted against it, appears incidentally in a postscript to a letter from Hungerford's father to Dr. Newlyn, dated July 8, 1675, while the Chancellor's report was being daily expected. It is to this effect: 'The Bishop of Winton did lately say, you would be undone by Government, and instanced that wearing of Periwigs, whereof he had given you an admonition to be a breach of

¹ In the order of reference to the Duke of Ormond, in the transactions of the Privy Council on June 11, it is stated: 'Wherefore the Petitioner did appeale to the Lord Bishop of Winchester, Visitor of the said Colledge, for redress, but the President and Fellows, denying his authority, did refuse to submit thereto.'

² It is curious that, of these four legal assessors, three, namely North (while Attorney General), Jones (while Solicitor General) and Wyseman, had already given opinions in favour of the College.

³ There is no entry with regard to Ritchell's case on June 19, and I have searched through the transactions of the Privy Council for more than six months after that date, without finding any further mention of it, though, during that period, the Council often met two or three times a week.

Statute.' Did he mean that this heinous crime of wearing Periwigs was to be visited by the dissolution of the College or merely by the expulsion of the offending Fellows?

A new ground of offence to the Visitor, and a new occasion for his interference, occurred in 1677. Matthew Curtois, a Probationer Fellow, just on the point of admission to actuality, being at the time a Master of Arts and in Holy Orders, seems to have been guilty of an act of sexual immorality within the College walls. The Fellows, or a majority of them, very properly refused to admit him to an actual Fellowship, and thereby his Probationary Fellowship lapsed, and he lost the rights of the College. He appealed direct to the King, whether it was that there was some doubt as to his right of appeal to the Visitor, or that Morley, defeated in Ritchell's case, had counselled this mode of procedure. The King referred the matter to the Visitor, who reported that 'the proceedings were not agreeable to the Statutes of the College, but that many irregularities had been committed, which, if permitted or connived at, might tend to the violation of the discipline and government settled in the College.' Hereupon, the appeal was remitted to the Bishop's absolute determination, as 'the sole Visitor of the College, and the proper judge of any differences that might arise in it.' Morley, armed with this plenary authority, proceeded to make the utmost use of it for the humiliation of the College. In a long decision, dated Feb. 8, 1677¹, and copied, by his orders, together with the other documents, into the College Register, he decrees Curtois' restoration to his probationership, and, immediately afterwards, his admission to actuality, together with a full pecuniary indemnity for any losses he might have sustained during the period of his expulsion, on the sole condition that he should make an abject apology for his offence, and implore the Divine forgiveness, on his knees, publicly, at dinner time, in the Hall. But with this humiliation of Curtois he couples an almost equally humiliating requirement addressed to the Fellows who had taken part in his expulsion, commanding them to sign a paper 'acknowledging their fault and offence,' in not previously consulting the Visitor on the meaning of the

statute under which they acted, and begging his pardon in the most humble form of words which persons in their position could be asked to subscribe. Those that were absent were to repair to the College for the purpose, and the document was to be signed by those who were present within two days of its reception. The tone both of this document and of the one to be noticed presently is as insolent and overbearing as the pride and arrogance of office could inspire. We are glad to find that the form sent was never subscribed at all, and no form till several days after the prescribed limit, during which time probably negotiations were going on between the Visitor and the Fellows. Curtois, of course, made his acknowledgment in the form in which it was sent.

The formal determination, by which Curtois was re-instated, was followed, on the 20th of June, by another document, equally insolent and self-asserting, in which certain injunctions were promulgated by Morley in his visitatorial capacity. The injunctions were to the following effect: 1st, that, whenever there was any difference of opinion as to the meaning of a statute, even if there were only one dissentient, recourse should be had to the Visitor, for his decision; 2nd, that, in future, no Fellow, Probationer, or Scholar should be expelled unless for one of the *crimina majora*¹ enumerated in the statute, or, in case he were guilty of one of the *crimina minora*, after three admonitions and three punishments, in an ascending scale, with the intimation that, otherwise, even if the President and Fellows were unanimous in their sentence, the Visitor would, on appeal, restore him; 3rd, that, henceforth, all female bed-makers should be immediately and for ever discontinued², and males alone employed (a wise provision of the Founder, with regard to the common servants,

¹ Notorious incontinency is, however, one of the '*crimina majora*' enumerated in cap. 49. Of course, a question might be raised as to the exact meaning of the word '*notorious*.'

² Morley speaks of young women, '*illæque infimæ conditionis nec semper bonæ famæ et indolis*,' as often employed on these duties, and that as attendants not only on the senior but on the junior members of the College, and on commoners as well as members of the foundation. This practice was probably in use, at that time, in other Colleges as well as Corpus.

which he would doubtless have extended to the bed-makers, had they existed in his time). Lastly, he orders that all these injunctions shall be read aloud in the presence of the Fellows and Scholars assembled in the Hall or Chapel for the purpose (a curious incentive to youthful virtue and discipline), and entered in the Register by a Notary Public. The record remains in an enduring form and probably will remain for centuries—but not to Morley's credit or that of the times in which he lived.

This whole affair is curiously characteristic of the Restoration period. Curtois must have smiled, as he referred his cause to the King. And His Sacred Majesty, if he became personally cognisant of it, must have been glad to devolve such a business on the Visitor, while the Bishop would hardly be extreme to mark amiss vices ratified by so high a sanction and so much in vogue in fashionable society¹.

Curtois' case was soon followed by a plentiful crop of appeals or references to the Visitor, a result which seems indeed to have been invited by his strictures on the conduct of the Fellows in that matter. But the enumeration of the cases would be so tedious to the reader, and the subjects of dispute, such as the proper time of taking the B.A. Degree, the mode of reckoning seniority, the question whether a Prebend can be held with a Fellowship, &c., are now of so little interest, that I shall make

¹ An offence even more disgraceful than that of Curtois occurred in the College this same year, the two, when taken together, revealing the low state of morality and honour to which the College had now sunk. Two scholars, according to Wood (*Ath. Ox.* sub John Bradshaw), John Bradshaw and Robert Newlin, the latter a nephew of the President, broke into the chamber of one of the Senior Fellows, John Wickes, early in the morning of July 13, robbed him, and even endeavoured to murder him in bed, while asleep. 'For which fact,' says Wood, 'being both apprehended, were secured in the college for one night: in which time Newlin, by the connivance of the same President, made his escape; but Bradshaw, being committed prisoner to the Castle at Oxon, and afterwards found guilty for what he had done, at an assize held in the town hall there, was condemned to dye for the same on the 27th of the same month of July. Afterwards, being remitted to his prison, continued a whole year there, and then was reprieved.' Wood gives an account of the same event in his *Diary*, under July 13, 1677. The only material circumstances which he adds are that the two students were 'atheists' and that the instrument was a hammer, the head of which fell off, 'and so he was saved.' Bradshaw 'afterwards taught school in Kent.'

no attempt to describe them. Bp. Morley seems to have positively revelled in these nice questions of statutable interpretation, and he discusses them with evident gusto and at inordinate length. One case alone, the Cox and Hellier case, on the proper time of a Scholar's taking his B.A. degree, with various excursions into other subjects, occupies twenty-four large quarto pages in the volume¹ containing a fair copy of the principal Visitatorial decisions, and considerably more than a third of this whole volume is appropriated to Morley's compositions. In the decision, to which I have just alluded, he sometimes assumes a bantering, almost a rollicking, tone, as where he tells the Fellows that, 'although it had been better for them and for himself and for the credit of their Society, if they would or could have agreed amongst themselves, yet, seeing they would not or could not, they have done well, by coming to him, to take that course which must make them agree, whether they will or not.' He speaks, in this document, of the President as one whom 'I know to be a right good man, and apter to forgive injuries than to do any,' but, in another place, adroitly quotes the expression 'the President and his party' used in one of the communications addressed to him, remarking 'for I see you are divided into parties.' At the end, he returns, in a Postscript, to his old abominations, the 'Periwigs.' Considering that the passage was written so late as 1680², it is curious enough to be worth transcription.

'As for the clause alleged out of the Statute De Vestitu et Ornatu, though I confess it to be foreign to the business properly and principally referred unto me, yet I did think it worth the stepping a little out of my way to give you my sense of your Founder's intention and meaning in it, which was no doubt to forbid the

¹ No. 25 in my Catalogue.

² Under the date of May, 1679, Wood, in his Diary (ed. Clark, vol. ii. p. 451) has this entry: 'Is it not a shame that a Bac. of Div. of C. C. C., Henry Hill, should ride in his coloured velvet coat and perwig tied up with black ribbon about 16 May?' In a subsequent entry he says, 'Twas a hair coat, look'd like velvet' This affectation of a lay mode of dress on the part of clerics no doubt gave much scandal to sober-minded persons, and it probably betokened, in many cases, a free way of living.

wearing of hair of an exorbitant length, whether it were their own hair or a perriwig, and he would no doubt have forbid the latter by name much more than the former, had it then been in fashion, as now it is, because thereby the Clergy do much more *συσχηματίζειν* *ἑαυτοὺς τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ*, as St Paul calls it, conform themselves to the world, and the extravagant fashions of the world, by assimilating themselves to the Laity (which your Founder would not have them to do), than by wearing too long hair of their own, though he would not have them to do that neither. And certain it is that where the lesser transgression of a law is forbidden, there the greater transgression of the same law must be understood to be forbidden also. Lay your hands therefore upon your hearts, and seriously consider what you are to do in this particular. *Ego animam meam liberavi.* And yet I am not so severe as to enjoin those that wear perriwigs presently to cast them off, before their own hair is grown to a decent length, or to forbid those that are aged or sickly to wear a border of hair with a black cap, and what they will under it, to keep their heads and their necks warm, so the border of the hair be not (to use the words of the Founder) *in collo vel in fronte nimis protensa*, with which limitation I declare the wearing of such a border of hair to be no breach of the Statute.'

So attenuated had the College become at this period, and so slow was the succession on the foundation, that we read, in the University Matriculation Book, under the name of the College in the year 1678, '*Nemo hoc anno hinc matriculatus est,*' there having been only two matriculations the year before, and there being only two the year after; while, in the College Buttery Book for the academical year 1680-1, during the greater part of the time, there occur the names of only two Undergraduate Scholars, and nine Undergraduates altogether, even one of these being out of residence. On the other hand, by far the greater part of the Fellows, in addition to the President and the two Chaplains, habitually resided within the College, so that, including M.A. Scholars, there seem, at this period, to have been about 25 or 26 Doctors or Masters of Arts generally resident at a time, about 10 B.A.'s, and 8 Undergraduates. One cannot help wondering how the Senior members of the College occupied their time! Few of them probably were Students, and, some of the other Colleges

being much in the same condition, the supply of clerical and tutorial work must have been as nothing amongst so many. In this calculation I have taken no account of any Undergraduates whose names do not occur in the Buttery books, though, from comparing with them the University Matriculation books, it would seem as if there were three or four such about this time.

In the spring of 1682, the Parliament met in Oxford, which involved the presence of the Court with its attendant courtiers and their followers. Adequate accommodation could only be procured by making requisitions on some of the Colleges, and in Wood's Diary (ed. Clark, vol. ii, p. 522) we read, under Jan. 27, that king's letters were read in Convocation 'signifying that he had ordered his parliament to sit at Oxon, M. 21 March; that he would have Ch. Ch., Corp. Xti, and Merton Coll. for the use of him and his court; other colleges for his privie counsill and parliament men. And that there might be full roome made, he commands that the junior scholars depart to their homes and that the time of absence go for their degrees, as if present.' On Feb. 11 'some of the Lord Chamberlaine's servants came to view Ch. Ch., Corp. Xti, and Merton Coll. for those in the court to lodge in.' On March 14, the king and queen came to Oxford, where they were received with boisterous enthusiasm. The houses of Parliament were opened on the 21st, but, on the 28th, the king, from alarm at the vigorous action of the House of Commons, 'sending for the Speaker and Commons dissolved (without ceremony of attendance, as heralds, &c.) the parliament, to the amazement of all.' The king departed that very day, the queen the next day, and the nobility gradually disappeared during the next few days. But the 'junior scholars' of Corpus, i.e. the Bachelors and Undergraduates, who had made room for the courtiers, took advantage, as we learn from the Buttery Book, of the indulgence granted by the king's letters and prolonged their holiday for about a month after their chambers were vacated. The names of the temporary occupants do not appear in the Book.

Morley died Oct. 29, 1684, not many months before the

king, and was succeeded by Peter Mews or Meaux, formerly President of St. John's, and then Bishop of Bath and Wells—a militant prelate, who, having taken up arms for Charles the First, while a Fellow of St. John's, appeared, after he became Bishop of Winchester, and when he was over 65 years of age, in actual service for James the Second during Monmouth's rebellion. With the exception of his sanctioning a determination of the President and Fellows with regard to the mode of settling the value of a living tenable with a Fellowship, there is no record of his having intervened in the affairs of the College during Newlyn's Presidency.

The old President died, over 90 years of age, and more than 47 years from his first election to the Presidency, on March 6, 1687¹. He is buried in the ante-chapel, and in the chapel there is a monument to his memory, with the fine epitaph which follows :

M. S.
Viri Reverendi
ROBERTI NEWLIN, S.T.P.
Et Hujus Collegii
Annos ultra XLVII
Præsidis:
Qui ob fidem
Regi, Ecclesiæ, Collegio
Servatam

Annis fere XII expulsus,
Tandem Redeunte Rege,
Et Restaurata Ecclesia,
Collegio sibi reddito
restitutus,
Ad annum usque nonagesimum,
Et mensem insuper tertium
Vitam produxit.
Mortem obiit Mart. VI^o CIOIOCLXXXVII.

In or about the years 1675 and 6, the present screen and stalls were erected in the chapel, the present pavement laid down, and, at the same time, probably some alterations made for the worse, such as the removal of brasses and other monuments from the chapel, and the effacement of some of the more ancient features of the building². The vestry, frequently

¹ Wood (Life and Times, ed. Clark, vol. iii. p. 258) says his death 'happened from a soare foot which caused the toes to rot off.'

² The alterations enumerated by Wood (Hist. and Antiq. of the Colleges and Halls, Account of Corpus) are: 'the floor paved with black and white marble, the walls lined with wainscot, the roof painted and gilded, new stalls, and a screen of cedar wood set up, the inner chapel lengthened towards the west, and more room made in the outer, by taking short the east end of the Library that looked into it.' Till these changes were made, 'the inside of the chapel,' according to Wood, 'continued in that condition as the Founder left it,' a remark which

mentioned in the early accounts of the College, which seems to have been attached to the north-east side of the Chapel, may have been removed about this time. A large subscription was raised for these alterations, to which Mr. Davies, one of the Chaplains, who had originally suggested the work, contributed no less than £220.

The most noted of the fellows and scholars admitted during the second portion of Newlyn's Presidency were: Benjamin Parry, formerly of Trinity College, Dublin, and Jesus College, Oxford, appointed Greek Reader and elected Fellow in 1660, afterwards Dean of St. Patrick's and Bishop of Ossory; Thomas Turner, admitted Scholar, 1663, Newlyn's successor in the Presidency; John Pottinger, from whose interesting autobiography I quoted some pages back, admitted Scholar in 1664; and William Hallifax, admitted Scholar in 1674, Chaplain at Aleppo, who presented to the College the beautiful silver bowl inlaid with ancient coins. To this meagre, and not very distinguished list of Fellows and Scholars, I can find only one other name of sufficient mark, to be added from the other members of the College. This is that of Richard Fiddis or Fiddes, author of a *Life of Wolsey* and many other works, who is entered in the University Matriculation Book as having matriculated from C. C. C. on Oct. 21, 1687. His case, being possibly typical of several others at this and earlier periods, deserves special notice. The name nowhere occurs in the *Corpus* books, though not only are the *Buttery Books* at this period complete, but there happens to be extant a *Battel-book* for 1687-8, in which there is no trace of his name. Yet both from the

makes us deplore this seventeenth century 'restoration,' however necessary it may have been to effect repairs.

It might be inferred from the list of subscriptions given in the *Liber Benefactorum*, that the date of these alterations was 1666, the subscriptions for the Common room, which was built in or about 1666 or 7, being mixed up with those for the alterations in the chapel. But two letters in Fulman's hand-writing, dated respectively May 20 and July 20, 1675, make it certain that they must have been carried out about ten years later. See MS. 428 in the College Library. The date in Wood's *Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls* (sub C. C. C.) is, therefore, approximately right.

University Matriculation Register and from the entry in the books of University College, whither he migrated (probably on account of the advantages there offered to Yorkshiremen) on March 19, 16⁸⁹/₈₀, it is certain that he was once at Corpus. I conclude, therefore, that he must have been either one of the 'famuli Collegii,' who were entered in the books officially and not by name, or, more probably, a servitor, of which class neither the extant Buttery books, with the possible exception of that for 1648-9, nor the Battel-books take any cognisance¹.

¹ One of these Battel-books, that for 1723-4, confirms a conclusion at which we should otherwise arrive from a comparison of the University Matriculation books with the College Buttery books, namely, that, during the period from the Restoration to 1736, after which year the entries in the Matriculation and Buttery books coincide, the College occasionally filled vacant rooms with ordinary Commoners, or possibly Battelers, a class of students who, though not Servitors, were able to live more cheaply than ordinary Commoners, and whose names usually appeared only in the Battel-books. Many of the students whose names occur in the Matriculation books but not in the Buttery books, matriculated as cler. fil. or gen. fil. (cf. p. 279, n. 2), and even one or two as arm. fil., and, hence, we can hardly suppose that they were Servitors, at a time when this title implied the actual performance of menial work. Yet that some of the students at Corpus were Servitors, there can be no doubt. Several who, like Fiddes, matriculated as pleb. fil., and whose names do not occur in the Buttery books, were probably either Servitors or 'famuli Collegii.' Some actually matriculated as 'Servi,' and those who matriculated as 'pauper' or 'pauperis filius' (which, and not 'pauper,' I may here remark, in correction of my note on p. 50, was the usual designation of a poor student in the Matriculation books of the seventeenth century) must, I imagine, have almost invariably belonged to one of these classes. Between 1643 and 1693, a period of fifty years, we may count the names of twenty-two persons who were matriculated under one of these three designations. Of these, it seems from Foster's *Al. Ox.* that thirteen took Degrees, and that, of the remaining nine, three became clergymen, and two were probably members of Gray's Inn. Four failures out of the whole number would not be a large proportion, and, therefore, we should probably not be wrong in supposing that all these persons availed themselves of the privileges of an academical education. At this time, most of the 'famuli Collegii' had probably come to be persons of mature age, and hence we may fairly conclude that a large majority of these students were servitors.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REVOLUTION AND THE PERIOD OF WILLIAM THE THIRD AND ANNE.

WITH the next Presidency, that of Dr. Thomas Turner, begins what may be called the modern period of the College history. The materials, however, for the next hundred years, are, curiously enough, slighter than for the previous hundred and seventy, our two guides, Fulman and Wood, failing us at about the same time. The last date, bearing on the general history of the College, in the Fulman MSS. is 1678; Wood's Annals end in 1660, and his *Athenæ Oxonienses* are brought down, in Bliss' edition, only to 1695, the year of his death. Wood's Diaries and other autobiographical notices, now being so carefully and fully edited by Mr. Andrew Clark, under the title of *Wood's Life and Times*, to which Mr. Clark has kindly given me access, reach the same year. Moreover the hundred years intervening between the abdication of James II and the French Revolution are an eminently quiescent, and even dull, period in English history, and the history of the English Universities and Colleges, which at no period has been less distinguished or less fruitful in results, shared in the quiescence and even more than shared in the dulness.

The time of Dr. Newlyn's death was opportune in relation to the events which had been recently agitating the University. The stubborn resistance of the Fellows of Magdalen, the sympathy felt with them throughout the country, and the growing discontent with the Government, did not encourage the King or his Council to intervene in another College election, and Dr. Turner seems to have been freely elected by the Fellows without any interference from outside.

Thomas Turner came of a family of ecclesiastical dignitaries. His father, who bore the same name, had suffered much for the Royal cause during the Civil War, being forced at one time to take refuge in Wales¹, and, immediately after the Restoration, he entered into possession of the Deanery of Canterbury to which he had already been appointed, Jan. 3, 1648, by Charles the First. His elder brother, Francis Turner, formerly Fellow of New College, was Bishop of Ely, and, within three months of Dr. Thomas Turner's election to the Presidentship, had been one of the Seven Bishops committed to the Tower. The portraits, in oil, of the Seven Bishops, left by Dr. Turner to the President's Lodgings, are, doubtless, a memento of this event. Subsequently, Dr. Francis Turner refused to take the oaths to William the Third, and, according to Wood (*Ath. Ox. sub nomine*), on 'a pretended discovery of a pretended plot of the Jacobites or non-jurors,' 'withdrew and absconded.' The mother of the Turners was Margaret, daughter of Sir Francis Windebank, principal Secretary of State to Charles the First. The new president, who was a native of Bristol, born on Sept. 20², 1645, had been admitted to a Gloucestershire Scholarship, at the instance, as we have already seen, of Bishop Morley, on Oct. 6, 1663. He became Probationary Fellow on Dec. 24, 1672, and was elected President on March 13, 1687, exactly a week after Newlyn's death. Possibly the election was hurried on, to diminish the chance of any interference from the Court. Turner had already taken his D.D. Degree, and had, for some years, been Archdeacon of Essex. He was also Canon of Ely. These preferments he resigned soon after his election to the Presidency, but, about the same time, he became Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's, which offices he retained till his death, as well as sinecure Rector of Fulham. Unlike his brother, he did not refuse to take the oaths to William the Third, but,

¹ See a paper by Joshua Reynolds in the Corpus portion of the MS. J. Walker, c. 8, in the Bodleian. Dr. Turner's 'study and all his goods were plundered, never restored, nor any satisfaction made him.' Some of the books found their way to Dr. Staunton, then Vicar of Kingston on Thames. A few of these he afterwards restored to Dr. Francis Turner, when a young Fellow of New College.

² So stated in the College Register. On his monument it is given as Sept. 19.

in the Register of Admissions, there are two curious indications of his political sentiments, which he probably shared with the Fellows, or at least a majority of them. On the very day of James the Second's abdication, Dec. 11, 1688, a Scholar, Edmund Brickenden, was admitted, as if the day had been specially selected for the purpose, '*Anno Regni Domini nostri Jacobi Secundi nunc Regis Angliæ &c. Quarto.*' The word '*nunc*' had not been previously inserted in this formula, and must have been designedly introduced. This circumstance is rendered the more significant, because in the next admission (July 18, 1689) the regnal year is omitted altogether, as it is from that time forward. Thus, a practice which had been uniformly observed down to the time of William the Third, and which was then, doubtless, discontinued from a feeling of loyalty to the exiled monarch and his family, ultimately dropped out altogether from mere desuetude. These indications are confirmed, so as to leave us in no doubt, by an entry in Hearne's Diary¹ under May 7, 1708, where he classes Dr. Turner with the Bishop of London (Henry Compton), Dr. Smalridge, and other 'honest men,' meaning, thereby, of course, persons with Jacobite proclivities. On the other hand, that the College, or at least a majority of it, had, at this time, no Romish proclivities is evidenced by a curious document, in which Charles Audley, a probationer fellow of two years' standing, just on the point of his admission to actuality, enters into a bond of £100 that he will not 'in his own person pursue, obtain or impetrate, or cause to be pursued, obtained or impetrated, privily or openly, directly or indirectly, from the Pope, the Court of Rome, or from any other person or place, any dispensation, interpretation or license contrary to the oaths made by him at the time of his admission to be scholar or fellow, or to any part of the same oaths, or contrary to the ordinances or statutes of the same College, or any one of them.' This bond is dated July 1, 1689, '*Anno regni Wilhelmi et Mariæ primo,*' and seems to

¹ Ed. Doble, vol. II. p. 106. A longer notice of Turner, by Hearne, on the occasion of his death, will be quoted presently.

afford proof that Audley was suspected of secret Romanism, against which the College wished to protect itself.

Turner seems to have ruled the College well, wisely, and peaceably¹. We hear of no scandals during his Presidency, nor have we any evidence of any internal dissensions, such as were so common in the days of Newlyn. There are several appeals or references to the Visitor, but they are not on points which need have produced, or seem to have produced, any ill feeling in the College, and the friendly and considerate tone of the new Visitor, Mews, contrasts most favourably with the arrogant and blustering style of Morley. Except from these appeals or references to the Visitor, and the alterations in or additions to the College buildings, we seem to know hardly anything of the general history of the College during Turner's Presidency. We are deserted by our old authorities, Wood and Fulman, Hearne's gossip deals with books and individuals rather than with events, and it is not till the year 1748 that we have the advantage of official records in the Act-books of the Presidents.

In the year 1700 a subscription was started for the purpose of re-panelling and otherwise altering the internal arrangements of the Hall. Handsome sums, for those days, varying from three guineas to forty pounds, were subscribed by members of the College, past and present, and the President, though his name does not appear in the list, doubtless contributed liberally. The alterations were probably not all improvements, and that was certainly the case, if the 'under-drawing' of the roof, as it existed in the early years of many persons now in middle life, was executed at that time. Now, happily, the fine mediæval roof has been opened up again, and displayed in its full proportions.

In 1706, Dr. Turner, with rare munificence and much taste, set about the erection, on the site of an old cloister south

¹ In Hearne's Diary (ed. Doble, vol. i. p. 310, sub Dec. 4) there is an incidental testimony to the educational efficiency of the College in Turner's time. 'Hearne to F Cherry. Mr Hayes has entered his son (as a Gentleman-Commoner) at C. C. C. "than which, I think, he could not have pick'd out a better in the whole University."'

of the chapel, of what were once called Turner's and are now called the Fellows' buildings, including the present cloister. In point of comfort and convenience, these rooms, most of them with a study as well as bed-room annexed, and looking out on the College Garden and Christ Church Meadow, are a great advance on the older chambers in the large Quadrangle. They were completed in 1712, and Hearne, as we shall see presently, says they cost about £4000, a sum which, in the altered value of the precious metals, would, of course, now be represented by a much larger amount. It is said that they were designed by Dean Aldrich, and they certainly bear a very close resemblance to the Anatomy School at Christ Church erected about the same period.

Turner died April 29, 1714, and his death is thus recorded and his character described by Hearne¹:

'On Thursday, April 29th, 1714, died Dr Thomas Turner ST P, President of Corpus Christi in Oxford, Prebendary of Ely and Chauntor of St Paul's. He died after two o'clock in the afternoon, and left about 14,000 lbs behind him, a great deal of which he left to charitable uses. He was about 67 years of age' (really in his 69th year), 'and was looked upon as a prudent Man and a good Scholar. He is said never to have taken the Oaths' (in the margin, there is this note made subsequently: 'Tis a mistake. He took all the Oaths², as appears since his Death) 'to King William and Queen Mary and the present Queen Anne, which if so, it makes me have a much better opinion of him. I am apt to think he did not take them, because of his being brother to Dr Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, who was deprived for refusing the oaths, and because of his declining offices in the University' (including, probably,

¹ Vol. 50 p. 97, &c.

² This statement in Hearne's marginal note, so far at least as concerns the Oath of Allegiance, which, of course, must be distinguished from the subsequent Oath of Abjuration, receives some confirmation from an entry in Wood's Diary, under Aug. 9, 1689 (Wood's Life and Times, ed. Clark, vol. iii. p. 307). 'The oath of allegiance to King William was to be taken by the first of Aug. Those in Oxon that refused it were' &c. In this list Turner's name does not occur. Of course, it is possible that, as was apparently the case with some other ecclesiastics and academics, he was allowed further time for consideration; but his refusal would certainly have been notorious and could hardly have escaped the lynx-eyed curiosity of Wood.

the Vice-Chancellorship) ' &c., which required that the oaths should be tendered. He was also kind to the nonjurors, and he voluntarily offered me a Chaplainship of Corpus, and added that the Oaths should not be taken by me for qualification. But, notwithstanding that, I thought fit to decline his kind offer, and to continue as I was. He was a very good Governor and a great benefactor to his College, laying out about £4000 in a fine' (&? pile or piece) 'of Buildings on the South side, and giving them money by his Will and all his books.'

The marginal note in Hearne's Diary seems to dispose of a statement made by Mr. Bentham in his History of Ely and, after him, by Alexander Chalmers in his Biographical Dictionary¹, that 'after the Act passed in the last year of King William III, requiring the Abjuration Oaths to be taken before Aug. 1, 1702, under penalty of forfeiting all ecclesiastical preferments, Dr Turner went down from London to Oxford July 28, seemingly with full resolution not to take the Oath, but to quit all his preferments: but, on better advice, he made no resignation; knowing that, if he was legally called upon to prove his compliance with the Act, his preferments would be void in course; and so continued to act, as if he had taken the Oath: by which means he kept his preferments to his death, without ever taking it at all.' I have shewn in a note that this statement, taken, without examination, by Chalmers from Bentham, is founded on some passages in Whiston's Memoirs which stop short of positive

¹ The passage in Bentham's history, which Chalmers simply copies, is founded on some statements in Whiston's Memoirs (2nd ed. pp. 178-186), and affords a good instance of the different degrees of conviction which may be carried by a story in its original form, and when slightly twisted. Bentham and Chalmers speak as if there were no doubt that Turner never took the Abjuration Oath. But Whiston, who was Bentham's authority, as Bentham was Chalmers', makes no such statement positively, though he may wish to convey that impression. What he says is that 'Dr Turner went down from London to Oxford, July 28th, with a resolution (¬e that it is not "full resolution") not to take the oath, but to quit all his preferments,' and, in a letter to Turner himself that 'I was pretty authentically informed, that you had never taken that abjuration oath, which I have since heard confirmed from more hands than one, and those such as I believe may be depended on.' Turner, it appears, never answered Whiston's letter. Now there is not a word here inconsistent with the hypothesis that the whole story was a piece of idle gossip.

assertion, and are quite consistent with the hypothesis that they rested merely on idle gossip, as the stories which Hearne had heard appear to have done also. Turner, who seems to have had several non-juring friends and who was brother of a non-juring Bishop, suspected of plotting against the government, might not have thought himself concerned to deny them. Still less was he bound to enter on the question with Whiston, whose letter was written for the purpose of obtaining money, or other assistance, on the ground that, by denouncing Dr. Turner for not having taken the oath, he might have obtained from Bishop Patrick the Canonry at Ely which would thereby have been forfeited.

It may be noticed that, in this portion of Whiston's Memoirs, he states that the Presidency of Corpus was then worth £300 a year, and that Turner* continued Rector of Thar(Ther)-field near Royston, worth nearly £300 a year, in addition to holding Capitular appointments. We know that he had formerly been, if he was not now, Rector of Thorley in Herts, and that he was instituted to the sinecure Rectory of Fulham, soon after his election to the Presidency. We can hardly, therefore, be surprised, especially as he never married, at the large property of which, as we shall see presently, he was possessed at his death, or at the sums of money which, during his life-time, he found available for his munificent purposes. Whiston, notwithstanding his complaints with regard to his own usage, tells us that on enquiring about Dr. Turner's character, by consideration of which he intended to be guided as to whether he should, or should not, denounce him as a non-juror, he found that it 'was not only in general a good one, but that he was one of the greatest exemplars and promoters of learning, virtue, and good discipline in the University of Oxford.'

Turner is buried in the College Chapel, where, as also at Stowe Nine Churches in Northamptonshire, to be mentioned presently, a monument was erected, with a lengthy inscription, thoroughly characteristic of the time, composed by one of his executors. Edmond Chishull, formerly Fellow of the

College and at one time Chaplain at Smyrna¹. The inscriptions contain nothing remarkable except an account of the disposal of his property, which is best reserved for my notice of his Will.

The Will is dated Aug. 24, 1706, and a Codicil April 29, 1714. In the opening sentences, he says: 'As I have lived in the constant communion of the Church of England as by Law established, and would have done so, if it had not been established by human laws but prohibited or persecuted by them, so by the Grace of God I resolve stedfastly to continue and die in it.' 'The temporal estate which God has been pleased to bestow upon me in great abundance, without any seeking or much care of mine, I give and bequeath as follows.' First come a number of legacies to his relations. Then having 'pretty well satisfied' his private obligations, and 'the expectations which could reasonably' be upon him, he comes to his more public legacies. 'In the first place, I ought to think of this College, the place where I had my education and have spent the greatest and best part of my life, and may perhaps spend the remainder of it.' He then provides for the erection and completion of the Buildings which he had designed, but

¹ Amongst the old papers connected with the College, there is, in MS. 437 in the Library, an interesting letter of Chishull to Turner, dated Smyrna, Sept. 20, 1701, requesting the President to find him a successor in the Chaplaincy. He recounts the advantages of the place—a choice Library, an agreeable conversation, a diverting country, a pleasant abode, a free table, and the advantage of annually laying up, after his first settlement, the value of £100 sterling. His successor, as he cannot 'here credit our church and nation, unless he be well verst in Academical learning, so neither can he be easy to himself without a competent degree of courage, temper, and discretion.' He speaks of this and the like congregations as consisting of 'single men of uncontrolled liberty and violent inclinations, accustomed to getting and bred up in the arts of gain.' Moreover such communities are deprived of the good example of neighbouring congregations, and, 'if not exempt, are at least removed out of the reach of all ecclesiastical government.' The first circumstance must be provided against by the unblemished conversation of the incumbent, the second by his prudence and dexterity of carriage. 'Were I not sensible,' he proceeds, 'that I am too impertinent in suggesting these particulars to one who is the exactest judge both of things and persons, I would have recommended another singular qualification, and that is a skilful insight into the characters of men, guarded at the same time with a certain charity of opinion, and a resolution not to be too angry with the views of the place or age.' The chaplain was evidently expected to be accommodating.

which seem to have been not yet commenced, as well as for the enlargement of the College Library (by the larger of the two inner rooms, the smaller being probably added at a later period), leaving, for these purposes, £2000, and whatever additional sum might be necessary; the legacy to lapse, if the works are completed before his death. He also leaves to the College his whole 'Study of Books'¹, and £100 to be carried to the Tower, and 'this I do lest, unwarily, I may have wronged the College at any time when I was Bursar or Fellow or since I have been President of it, by any mistake or by spending upon any occasion more than the Founder allows, which I take to be wrong.' He also devises the rents of a certain meadow at Brill for certain College uses, changed, afterwards, by a Codicil, into a stipend for the Librarian. He bequeaths £1000 to the Dean and Canons of Ely for the purchase of land, the rental to be expended on the improvement of 'the poor Lay Singing-Men's places, which are very poor indeed,' besides a further sum of £100, for binding out some poor child as an apprentice to some honest trade, for which purpose he also leaves sums to the parishes of which he had been incumbent. There are also several legacies and annuities to the poor of Oxford, to his executors, to personal friends, and to servants, past and present. The residue of his property, which he thinks will be 'pretty considerable' (said on the monuments at Corpus and Stowe Nine Churches to have amounted to £20,000), he bequeaths to his Executors, in trust, to purchase lands or rents, to be settled upon 'the Governors and Trustees of the Corporation for the relief of poor Clergymen's Widows and Orphans,' i. e. the Corporation which, originally founded in 1655, now goes by the name of the 'Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy.' His Executors purchased, in addition to some other lands, the Manor of

¹ Dr. Turner's Collection of Books, of which a contemporary Catalogue exists in the College Library, was, for those times, a very large and valuable one, including a great number of pamphlets on various subjects, many of them now rare. The books are mainly classical or theological, the patristic and liturgical works being specially notable under the latter head. As he permitted duplicates to be disposed of, several of the books in this Catalogue are now found without his book-plate, being probably the copies which the College already possessed.

Stowe Nine Churches in Northamptonshire, where, as already stated, there is, as well as in the College Chapel, a monument, with a lengthy inscription, to his memory. The new buildings in the College, together with the addition to the Library, seem, as appears from Hearne's Diary, already quoted, to have cost about £4000, instead of about £2000, as Turner anticipated. Probably the design and expenditure grew under his hands.

Though the evidence afforded by Dr. Turner's library, especially the theological portion of it, as well as the various scattered notices we have of him, would lead us to suppose that he was a man of culture and erudition, the only publication, bearing his name, is a single sermon, preached at Whitehall on May 29, 1685. From the title-page of this Sermon we learn that he was Chaplain to James the Second, who had recently ascended the throne. Whether he occupied the same position in the Court of Charles the Second, I am not aware. The Sermon, though well composed, contains nothing remarkable (for somewhat fulsome flattery of Charles the Second could, at that time, hardly be regarded as such), except a criticism, not without acuteness, of Hobbes' position that a state of nature is a state of war. In the Bodleian Library there are some fragments of MS. sermons¹, which seem to be of a plain, practical character, and also two printed tracts, published anonymously, which are attributed to Turner. The two latter, which are contained in the same volume, are entituled respectively: 'The Christian Eucharist no proper sacrifice, In answer to a late book of Mr Johnson's intituled "The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar,"' London 1714; 'A Defence of the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of England against some modern Innovations, In a letter to a Friend,' London 1712. If these tracts were really written by Turner, they show unmistakeably that, not only was he not Romishly inclined, but that he had no sympathy with the extreme high-church developments of the Non-Jurors. The writer of both treatises, and, whatever the authorship, they

¹ Rawlinson MSS., C 626.

are probably due to the same hand¹, expressly repudiates any other sacrifice in the Eucharist than that of prayer and praise, while, in the latter treatise, the author maintains the desirability of retaining the Royal Supremacy, the sufficiency of Lay Baptism, and the declarative rather than the authoritative character of priestly absolution. Of Dr. Hickes he speaks plainly as 'zealously maintaining the Schism from our Church.'

The more noted members of the College admitted during Turner's Presidency were his two immediate successors, Basil Kennett and John Mather, of both of whom I shall speak presently; Thomas Bisse, admitted Scholar, January 12, 1693, Preacher at the Rolls and Chancellor and Prebendary of Hereford, author of several works, amongst which was 'The Beauty of Holiness in the Common Prayer,' a book at one time highly thought of and much read; John Rogers, admitted Scholar 1693, a famous preacher, and author of several theological works, relating to the Bangorian, Deistical and other controversies (he is one of the distinguished alumni of Corpus represented in the Oxford Almanac for 1758); Theophilus Leigh, admitted Scholar, 1711, who became Master of Balliol in 1726, and held that office till 1785, a period of nearly sixty years²; John Burton, admitted Scholar Oct. 22, 1713, a noted Corpus Tutor, who made a courageous but vain attempt to introduce Locke and other modern philosophical writers into the Oxford curriculum, subsequently Fellow of Eton and a voluminous writer on many topics, chiefly classical and theological; Thomas Lewis, admitted Clerk 1704, a bitter theological controversialist, but author of a learned work, entitled *Origines Hebrææ*; and Henry Hare, third Lord Coleraine, the last Baron of that name and family (though the title was revived in 1762, and again became extinct), admitted Gen-

¹ In the title-page of the former tract is written in ink the name of 'Dr T Wise.' I am not aware on what authority they are ascribed to Turner in the Catalogue.

² For some account of Theophilus Leigh's Mastership, see Mr. R. Lane Poole's excellent article on Balliol College in the *Colleges of Oxford*, pp. 51-3. He was elected Probationary Fellow of Corpus in 1717, but never became actual Fellow. He resided, however, for some time as an M.A. Probably he had come into some property which forfeited his Fellowship.

tleman-Commoner, Jan. 11, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$, who, as the result of three journeys to Italy, one of which was in the company of Dr. Conyers Middleton, bequeathed to the College the fine collection of prints, drawings, and books, connected with the art and antiquities of Italy, and specially of Rome, which are now deposited in one of the inner libraries, called the Italian Room. Some of the circumstances connected with this bequest will be more suitably mentioned after Lord Coleraine's death, which occurred at Bath on August 4, 1749. It may be noticed that the list of Gentlemen-Commoners during Dr. Turner's Presidency contains the names of many men of rank or belonging to distinguished families.

Though hardly eminent members of the College, it is worthy of record that the uncle and father of Sir Joshua Reynolds, named respectively Joshua and Samuel Reynolds, were admitted to Scholarships as natives of the Diocese of Exeter, the former on Dec. 22, 1693, the latter on May 25, 1699. With Joshua Reynolds we are already acquainted, as the correspondent of Metford in reference to the doings of the Parliamentary Visitors.

The circumstances of the election of Dr. Turner's successor were peculiar. Dr. Turner had died on April 29, and, according to Hearne¹, 'he was buried on Sunday, May 2. The Speech was spoke by Dr Tilly. On the seventh, an election of successor was held, when Mr Stephen Hurman, an honest, worthy Gent (Senior Fellow of the College) was unanimously chosen, without any previous interest. . . . Mr Hurman accepted the place, received the usual compliments upon such occasions, seemed well pleased and designed to go to the Visitor. But, early in the morning, instead of taking his journey, he resigns his Presidentship. I know not the reason of his quitting his post, though I am well acquainted with him. By virtue of this vacancy, there was to be a new choice, which happened the 15th, when Mr Basil Kennett (brother of Dr White Kennett, but of a far better character) was elected.'

¹ Vol. 52. p. 153.

In a Post-script he adds: 'I do not know but Mr. Hurman might resign upon account of the Oaths. A few years since, he resigned a good Parsonage, before a year was expired from the time of his entering upon it; I believe also because he scrupled the Oaths.'

The newly elected President, who was son of a Kentish clergyman and brother of the celebrated Dr. White Kennett, then Dean and subsequently Bishop of Peterborough, was born at Postling a village near Hythe, on Oct. 21, 1674. According to a statement in the Kennett Collection in the British Museum (Lansdowne MSS. 987, fol. 363), his early education was conducted by his elder brother, partly at the school at Bicester, partly in the private family of Sir William Glynne at Amersden or Ambrosden in Oxfordshire. When he came up to Oxford, he was originally matriculated at St. Edmund Hall, where his brother was Vice-Principal, but he was elected Scholar of Corpus, Dec. 20, 1690, and succeeded to a Probationary Fellowship in 1697. It is said that, while he was at St. Edmund Hall, his brother allowed him £40 a year, having only £80 of his own. At Corpus, besides being engaged in literary work, he acted as Tutor. He was, throughout life, a diligent student, and, in the same year in which he took his M.A. Degree (1696), he brought out his most famous book, *Romæ Antiquæ Notitia*, or the Roman Antiquities, &c., which passed through at least eighteen editions and was long the favourite manual on the subject. His other classical work *The Lives and Characters of the Ancient Grecian Poets* was less successful. He was also author of several minor theological works, such as a Paraphrase of the Psalms, and translated Puffendorf's *Law of Nature and Nations*, La Placette's *Christian Casuist*, Pascal's *Thoughts on Religion*, Rapin's *Critical Works*, &c. He belongs, therefore, to the not inconsiderable roll of literary Presidents of Corpus. For some time he had been Chaplain to the English Merchants at Leghorn (it is remarkable, by the way, how many Fellows of Corpus were Chaplains to these foreign factories, then very few in number—Pocock, Guise, Hallifax, Chishull, Kennett), but his place of residence was by no means comfortable, he was

in great danger of the inquisition, and was, at one time, obliged temporarily to quit the city. It was said, indeed, that he was suffering from the effects of slow poison, 'administered to expel heresy from such abode in Italy,' but stories of this kind can seldom be relied on. At length, his health compelled him to return home, where he arrived not long before his election to the Presidency. But he was too sickly to enjoy his office long, if at all, and, within eight months of his election, he died, of a slow fever, on Jan. 2, 1714¹. Unlike his predecessor, he was not in good circumstances, and, owing to the expenses incident to his recent election to the Presidentship and other causes, his assets were not sufficient to cover his debts, which were paid by his friends. He is said to have been a very amiable man, of exemplary integrity, generosity, and modesty¹.

Under the date of Dec. 28, 1714, Hearne² has the following entry: 'Sunday night last (Dec. 26) died Dr. Basil Kennett, President of Corpus, leaving the character behind him of a very good-natured, modest, humble, and learned man. He was of little stature, and of a weak constitution. He was above forty years old, and was too abstemious.' In a marginal note there is the correction: 'This false. He is not dead yet,

¹ Excepting the extracts from Hearne and the dates, which I have extracted from College Registers, I have taken this account of Kennett from the *Biographia Britannica*, Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*, and the Lansdowne MSS. 987 (Kennett Collection 53) fol. 363, and 989 (Kennett Coll. 55) fol. 156, &c., for both of which references I am indebted to the writer of the Article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* The latter reference is to a very long letter from Joshua Reynolds, uncle of Sir Joshua, to Bp. White Kennett, highly extolling his brother and giving an account of his career at College and elsewhere. 'I have been told,' he says, 'that the people at Leghorn would point at him, as he went along, There goes the English saint or angel.' There is one curious social detail in this letter. Kennett's entertainments, specially in the matter of wine, were on a more expensive scale than those of Dr. Turner, though the one died worth about £30,000, and the other nothing. On one occasion, when gently remonstrated with, he said there was nothing he would not spend on his friends, though, for himself, he should prefer to dine on 'a penny halfpenny commons.' But he seems to have been, altogether, imprudent in the matter of expense. In the other reference we are told that, after quitting Leghorn, 'he took a tour to Florence, Rome, Naples, and back by way of France, collecting in his travels a good treasure of books, sculptures, and other curiosities, which, when he had defrayed the charge of importation, was all his substance.'

² Vol. 53. p. 23.

though very ill.' As we have seen, he actually died on January 2 following.

In a previous passage, after the account of the election of Turner's successor, recently quoted, Hearne thus describes Kennett: 'who, though brother to Dr White Kennett, yet he is a very modest, good-natured, meek, humble man, of good principles and a very good Scholar. He is a little man and sickly, having been like to dye just before the Election.'

During Kennett's brief Presidency, was admitted (July 3, 1714) one of the most remarkable men that Corpus has ever produced. This was James Edward Oglethorpe, son of Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, Knight, born in the parish of St. James, Westminster, June 1, 1689. From his connexion with Dr. Johnson and John Wesley, as a philanthropist, specially in the character of a prison reformer, and as the founder of the American colony of Georgia, Oglethorpe will always occupy a prominent position among the notable men of the eighteenth century. He lived till extreme old age, and, shortly before his death (July 1, 1785), welcomed the first Minister of the United States, now an independent power, on his arrival in London. 'The patron of learning,' says an American admirer¹, 'the soul of honour, the embodiment of loyalty and valour, and the model of manly grace and courtesy, he died full of years and crowned with universal respect.' Oglethorpe's is an early instance, probably the first in Corpus in the case of a non-foundationer, of 'keeping the name on the books' during a prolonged period of non-residence. His name first disappears on May 3, 1717; it is re-entered on June 25, 1719, and finally disappears on Oct. 20, 1727. He seems never to have proceeded to the Degree of B.A., but, when he had for some years been Member for Haslemere, and had already obtained considerable reputation for his philanthropic efforts on behalf of imprisoned debtors, he was specially created M.A. on July 31, 1731. To him the College owes the two beautifully illuminated volumes of the French History of the Bible, now in the Library. A third volume,

¹ Dr. Charles C. Jones, in his *History of Georgia*. Boston, 1883, 2 vols. The 1st volume contains a very interesting account of Oglethorpe's career.

that containing the history of the New Testament, was confiscated by a Custom-house officer at Dartford, on the pretext that it was a 'superstitious' book, and the illuminations were cut out and sold. According to an account communicated by General Oglethorpe in 1772, and contained in one of the Volumes, the three Volumes, with other MSS., were bought, in 1720, at the sale of the effects of a great family living in Paris. 'The General was assured that the Books' (i. e. these three Volumes) 'were composed and illuminated by order of Francis the First, King of France.'

CHAPTER X.

THE GEORGIAN PERIOD.

KENNETT'S successor was John Mather. 'This morning' (says Hearne under the date of January 12, 1714) 'Mr. John Mather was elected President of Corpus. He is a very honest, good-natured, ingenious' (i.e. ingenuous) 'man, and hath published two or three sermons. He was one of the seven senior Fellows.' Under the date of July 10, 1715, Hearne again praises Mather: 'Dr. Mather preached the Act Sunday Sermon in the morning' (according to a custom obtaining at that time, and indeed till quite recently, as one of the incepting Doctors) 'on Matthew VI. 33, and made a very good discourse.' The inference from these praises, and especially from the word 'honest,' generally used by Hearne in a technical sense, is that Mather had Jacobite tendencies.

John Mather was born at Manchester on October 1, 1676, and was elected Scholar of Corpus on Dec. 22, 1693, on the same day as Joshua Reynolds, the Uncle of 'Sir Joshua.' He did not become Probationary Fellow till Dec. 18, 1704 (so slow was then the rate of succession), so that he had only been actual Fellow for just eight years, when he was elected to the Presidency. We are now in the very depths of the dulness of the eighteenth century, and, though Mather held the Presidency for over thirty-three years, little is heard, during that time, either of him or of the College. Hearne (who has now become our main authority) tells us that he was appointed Vice-Chancellor on Oct. 8, 1723, in which office he was continued, like his immediate predecessor, for the unusually long period of five years; records some gossip that his father was a Tailor in Manchester and that he had himself been a Servitor of Ch. Ch.; and notes of his Vice-Chancellor's speech in 1726 that 'he lamented the death of that great villain, Dr. Gardiner Warden of All Souls', and advised the

Magistrates of the University to put a stop, as much as they can, to Luxury.' 'Who,' asks Hearne, 'are greater Epicureans and more addicted to Luxury than most of the Heads of Houses?' These, with those already given, are the only entries of any importance with reference to Dr. Mather in the many volumes of Hearne's Diaries. Nor, in the notice of his death (April 15, 1748) in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, is there anything recorded of him except that he was for nearly forty years (a considerable overstatement) President of C. C. C. His literary remains are represented in the Bodleian Catalogue only by a single sermon, preached on May 29, 1705, and published at the request of the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Delaune). The memorial tablet in the College cloister deals in the ordinary, common-place eulogies of eighteenth-century epitaphs.

In the course of a dispute which occurred in the College, during the year 1734, with reference to the value of a living tenable with a Fellowship, some Fellow seems to have made the remark that the President's family was chargeable to the College. At the next meeting, Dr. Mather came prepared with a paper (still extant) in which, in dignified terms, he requests to be informed in what respect and to what extent his family is a charge on the College. If it be the case, he will 'then make the College satisfaction for what is past and provide against such expenses for the future; for I would have no advantages to myself, but such as have been thought reasonable when the President has had no family besides himself and his two servants' (the *Famuli Præsidis* of the old Statutes). The charge, however, was at once withdrawn, and the matter is only now interesting as shewing that there was still a prejudice against a married President and some jealousy entertained towards the presence of a family within the College.

Of the general College history during Mather's Presidency, there is really nothing to record, except that, in the year 1730, there was an appeal to Bishop Willis, which at the time excited considerable public interest, on the part of Francis Ayscough, Probationer, who had been refused admission to his actuality, no ground being alleged, and no admonition having been previously given. The case was

heard before the Visitor, assisted by his two Chancellors, at Winchester House, Chelsea, each side being represented by two Counsel. The decision was in favour of the appellant, the proceedings against him being pronounced to have been arbitrary, tending to the destruction of careful and good discipline, &c. It was ordered that he should be at once admitted to his Actual Fellowship, that the arrears should be made up to him, and that the President and those Fellows who had voted against his admission should repay to him all costs incurred by him in his appeal. What had been the definite reasons on which the President and a majority of the Fellows had acted we do not know, but there is a suspicion, from a printed statement issued at the time, that Mr Ayscough's temper and manners were not agreeable.

As to discipline, it may be remarked, as I have elsewhere observed¹, that the moral level of the period ranging from the Restoration to the accession of George the Third, or even somewhat later, is characteristically illustrated by the Register of Punishments. These, of which a record is still preserved, are no longer inflicted for the faults of boys but for the vices of men. And the punishments, especially when we take into account that the scholars were all supposed to be in training for Holy Orders, are truly surprising. Offences which would now at least involve rustication are supposed to be adequately met by a fortnight or a month's deprivation of commons, a punishment for which the hardened offender must have come to care very little. One entry excites astonishment at the slackness of the officers of justice or the impunity of academics at this time: 'Jul. 11, 1726. Ego Johannes Smith Discip. privatus sum convictu per Præsidentem et Decanum per dies quindecim, propter homicidii crimen præperpretati (*sic.* ? præparati) in Matthæum Nicholas ejusdem Collegii Commensalem², et declamationem insuper habui publice in Aula, ubi

¹ Colleges of Oxford, p. 296.

² Though the name of Nicholas does not occur in the Buttery books, it occurs in one of the very few extant Battel books of this period, that for 1723-4, together with the names of six others, evidently in the same category. Nicholas is designated in the Matriculation book as cler. fil., three of the others as gen. fil., and

veniam a Deo Opt. Max. flexis genibus per tres dies immediate sequentes rogavi.' As Nicholas afterwards became a Demy of Magdalen, and lived till 1796, this ambiguous entry must refer only to an attempted homicide, but, even so, it seems to us that this exertion of College discipline was a very poor and inadequate substitute for the intervention of the law.

An attempt was, however, made, during Mather's Presidency, to raise the standard of industry among the Scholars: 'July 17, 1741. For the better encouraging and more effectual securing of industry among the scholars, it is agreed that every Undergraduate of the Foundation, before his Grace is proposed, shall be examined publicly in such parts of learning as he is supposed to be well acquainted with, in the presence of those who, by the Statutes, are to approve or disapprove of all Candidates for their Bachelor's Degree in Arts.' This, of course, was a College examination conducted by College Officers in the College Hall. Many other Colleges had a similar institution, and, at a time when the University granted its degrees so cheaply, it was probably an effective as well as a necessary protection against continuing idle or unworthy members on the foundation.

The additions to and alterations of the College buildings are, perhaps, the most notable circumstance which occurred during this Presidency. Ingram (*Memorials of Oxford*, C. C. C. p. 11), whose accuracy may almost invariably be depended on, says that it was 'about the year 1737' that a third story was added to the north and west sides of the College, thus causing the disappearance of the characteristic chimneys and dormers which we see in Loggan's plan, and that 'some rooms on the east side of the College, adjoining Merton Grove' (which has now alas! disappeared, and given place to the hideous erection of Mr. Butterfield), 'were taken down and rebuilt for the residence of six gentlemen commoners.' Ingram's account is confirmed by the Tower Book, which, from three as pleb. fil. It is curious that one of them, Medley, was unmatriculated, and afterwards matriculated at Lincoln. In Smith's entry, some previous word, though possibly the same wrongly spelt, has been scratched out, and the word *Commensalem* written, apparently by the same hand but with different ink, in its place. I suspect that the erased word was *Battelarium*. See p. 260.

the year 173 $\frac{1}{2}$ down to 1756, contains constant entries either for extraordinary repairs or the 'New Buildings,' or for paying off the debt incurred on the same. Considerable sums were also subscribed by friends or old members of the College towards the same objects, as appears from the Liber Benefactorum, though no dates are there given. It seems somewhat remarkable that the Tudor character of the architecture should have been so well preserved in the additions to the north and west fronts of the College.

The Tower Book contains two memoranda which furnish a sad proof of the utter want of reverence not only for antiquity but even for the memory of their Founders, which characterised the Heads and Fellows of this truly dark period: 'Dec. 21, 1736. The Mitre being so much decayed and broken that it could not be mended and put together again, it was agreed to sell it and a few old battered pieces of silver, which were accordingly sold for £96 „ 16 „ 6;' 'Dec. 21, 1737. Besides the odd things sold together with the broken parts of the Mitre, there were eight small Rubies and a very ordinary Sapphire sold for £2 „ 4.' The Sapphire and Rubies had probably belonged to the Mitre.

Financially, the College was, in its corporate capacity, in an exceedingly flourishing condition during the greater part of Mather's Presidency. Considerable balances ('*excrecentiæ*') were in most years carried to the Tower, and at one time there was actually in the Tower what for those days was the very large accumulation of £2233 4s. 8d. These accumulations were used mainly for adding to or improving the College buildings, or for the purchase of College Livings, as providing for the Fellows posts in which they could marry. The money, it must be remembered, was at this time still often kept in actual coin (chiefly in guineas) in bags and chests in the Tower, which had been selected by the Founder as the place of greatest security and indeed was probably constructed for that purpose. Shortly after this period, bank-notes (bonds had long been a form of investment) begin to represent part of the accumulations, and in 1772 we have the entry: 'Taken out of the Tower all the cash, to be put out to Interest.'

At this time it will hardly be expected that we should find many men of subsequent distinction admitted to the College. Amongst those admitted during Mather's Presidency, the most notable, perhaps, was Richard Pococke, admitted Clerk 3 Feb. 172½, Bishop of Ossory, 1756, Bishop of Meath, 1765, author of *A description of the East, A tour in Ireland in 1752*, which he made on horseback (a very interesting work recently reprinted by Hodges, Figgis and Co., of Dublin), and several other books. Amongst the scholars may be mentioned Thomas Randolph, Mather's successor, admitted 1715, of whom more presently; John Hume, admitted 1721, successively Bishop of Bristol, Oxford, and Salisbury; Thomas Patten, admitted 1731, a Christian apologist; Nathaniel Forster, admitted 1733, a voluminous author in classics, theology, &c.; Timothy Neve, admitted 1737, Margaret Professor of Divinity and the second Bampton Lecturer. Of those admitted Choristers, the most eminent was Edward Bentham, admitted March 27, 1724, subsequently Fellow of Oriel, Canon of Ch. Ch., and Regius Professor of Divinity, author of several works on Theology, Logic, and Morals. Amongst the Gentlemen Commoners may be noted Jeremiah Milles, admitted Nov. 29, 1729, subsequently a famous Antiquary, Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries¹; David Hartley, admitted Apr. 1, 1747, son of

¹ This Dr. Milles is connected with a curious incident, which occurred in Oxford on Feb. 3, 1776. He was engaged in examining some of the antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum, when a Frenchman begged to accompany him. While they were together, Dr. Milles' suspicions were roused, and he tried to get rid of his companion. But the foreigner had the art to conceal himself, till Dr. Milles and other visitors had gone out, and then made away with a number of gold medals and other valuables, worth over £200. He 'got clear off with his booty,' but, after the lapse of some time, was apprehended in Ireland, indicted at the Oxford Summer Assizes in 1776, and sentenced on March 7, 1777, to five years' hard labour, in raising sand, gravel, &c., on the river Thames. The name of the culprit is given in the Minute Book of the Crown Court for the Oxford Assizes as 'John Peter Le Maitre, *alias* Maire, *alias* Mara.' It has been conjectured that this person is no other than the celebrated French Revolutionist Jean Paul Marat. See two letters contributed to the *Globe* newspaper on March 31 and April 7, 1890, by Mr. J. L. Mathews, Clerk of Assize to the Oxford Circuit, who first brought this subject to my notice, as also two other letters which appeared in the *Globe* on Feb. 28 and Apr. 3 of the same year, *Chambers' Book of Days*, Article on Marat, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. and March, 1776, and Notes

David Hartley, the famous physician and philosopher, himself Fellow of Merton up to his death in 1813, and, for some time, M.P. for Hull, a strong opponent of the American War and of the slave trade, selected as one of the Ministers plenipotentiary to conclude the definitive treaty of peace with the United States, which he signed in 1783; and, lastly, Ashton Lever, admitted Apr. 1, 1748, subsequently Sir Ashton Lever, the famous naturalist and collector, founder of the Lever Museum.

Dr. Mather died April 15, 1748, and, on April 23, Thomas Randolph, D.D., late Fellow of the College, was unanimously elected his successor.

Thomas Randolph, son of Herbert Randolph, Recorder of Canterbury, was born in that city, Aug. 30, 1701, and educated there in the King's School. On Nov. 19, 1715, being then little more than 14 years of age, he was elected to a Kentish Scholarship at Corpus, and, on Feb. 22, 172 $\frac{2}{3}$, became Probationer Fellow. He took the usual Degrees, including that of D.D., and, in comparatively early life, attracted the attention of Archbishop Potter, who became his patron. The Archbishop collated him to the united livings of Petham and Waltham in Kent, and, subsequently, to the Rectory of Saltwood, with the chapelry of Hythe annexed; Randolph having, meanwhile (1744), published a reply to a then famous book, *Christianity not founded on Argument*, which he entitled *The Christian's faith a Rational Assent*. He was elected, without his knowledge or any communication from the electors, to the Presidency of Corpus, on Dr. Mather's death, and thenceforth made Oxford his principal place of

and Queries, Sept. 24, 1839, and Sept. 16, 1860. If, however, as Mr. Mome Stephens states (*History of the French Revolution*, vol. i p. 218), Marat was appointed physician to the Body-Guard of the Comte d'Artois on June 24, 1777, the identification becomes impossible, unless we suppose either the sentence to have been remitted or the criminal to have escaped. Moreover, it appears that a man named Le Maître alias Mara 'had been for some time a teacher of drawing for tambour, and a designer of tambour waistcoats, in Oxford,' and it seems difficult to identify this man with Jean Paul Marat, 'who had been for some years a doctor practising in London, and who had published a medical pamphlet, dated (church St., Soho, on Jan. 1, 1776.' See *Academy* for Sept. 23 and Dec. 23, 1882.

residence, and the scene of his work. He preached many sermons and wrote many theological works, including *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, *Citations from the Old Testament in the New*, &c. In 1756, he became Vice-Chancellor and held the office for three years. In 1767, he was appointed by Bishop Lowth Archdeacon of Oxford, and, in 1768, unanimously elected to the Margaret Professorship of Divinity, to which a Canonry at Worcester was then attached. He died, full of years and honours, on March 24, 1783, and was buried in the College cloister, where a monument is erected to his memory. A collection of the more valuable of Dr. Randolph's works was published in 1784.

Some interesting traits of Dr. Randolph's character are given in the *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth*, father of Miss Edgeworth, published in two vols., 1820¹. I shall reserve for a few pages further on Mr. Edgeworth's pleasant account of the College in his time, but this seems to be the best place for introducing his personal anecdotes and remarks on Dr. Randolph. 'Dr. Randolph was, at that time' (Edgeworth's residence commenced Oct. 10, 1761), 'President of C. C. C. With great learning and many excellent qualities, he had some singularities which produced nothing more injurious from his friends than a smile. He had the habit of muttering upon the most trivial occasions "*Mors omnibus communis.*" One day his horse stumbled upon Maudlin bridge, and the resigned president let his bridle go, and, drawing up the waistband of his breeches as he sat bolt upright, he exclaimed before a crowded audience, "*Mors omnibus communis.*" The same simplicity of character appeared in various instances, and it was mixed with a mildness of temper, that made him generally beloved by the young students. The worthy Doctor was indulgent to us all, but to me in particular upon one occasion, where I fear that I tried his temper more than I ought to have done. The gentlemen-commoners were not

¹ My attention was first drawn to this book by the Rev. R. G. Livingstone of Pembroke College. The passages relating to Edgeworth's Oxford Life are included in the volume of *Reminiscences of Oxford*, published by the Oxford Historical Society in 1892.

obliged to attend early chapel on any days but Sunday and Thursday; I had been too frequently absent, and the president was determined to rebuke me before my companions. "Sir," said he to me, as we came out of chapel one Sunday, "You *never* attend Thursday prayers." "I do *sometimes*, Sir," I replied (Then follows the ordinary form of story: "I did not see *you* here last Thursday").' The President's anger fell immediately, and he asked young Edgeworth to drink tea that evening with him and his daughter. 'This indulgent president's good humour,' observes Mr. Edgeworth, 'made more salutary impression on the young men he governed, than has been ever effected by the morose manners of any unrelenting disciplinarian.'

During this and the next three Presidencies, we have the assistance of certain books of Acts and Proceedings kept by the Presidents, which, with such other sources of information as I can find available, will furnish the materials for the Collegiate history of the period.

The first entry of any importance is under the date of Jan. 19 &c, 1745. It is a detailed account of the disgraceful conduct of John Hampton, an M.A. Scholar of the House, in Deacon's Orders, who, calling himself Proctor for the night, had entered the house of Mr. Litchfield a printer, and brutally maltreated him and his wife. It seems that he had grossly misconducted himself on several previous occasions, including a violent attack which he had made on the Fellows who refused to sign his testimonials for Priest's Orders, and that he had been frequently but vainly admonished. The long-suffering and too tolerant College at length expelled him, but not without bringing down on themselves the usual appeal to the Visitor, who, however, supported their decision.

About the same time (under date Feb. 2 &c.), a still worse case occurred with regard to the conduct of one Henry Mitchell, a B.A. Scholar who had just been granted the grace for his M.A. Degree, at a Coffee House in Oxford. As it supervened on several other offences, he too was expelled. This case not only illustrates, like the former, the coarse manners and drunken habits of many even of the senior students of that time, but also their readiness to give false witness on behalf of one another.

Under date Dec. 8, 1749, it appears that disputations were still held in the College Hall. 'Sir' White (i. e. John White, B.A.) was, amongst other offences, punished for 'missing' them.

On July 11, 1750, this same John White was expelled for 'aiding and assisting in marrying' a Gentleman-Commoner, 'a young gentleman of good family and heir to a large estate,' to a 'young woman of low birth and mean circumstances, daughter to a man who keeps a public house' (the Lamb) 'at Wallingford;' for afterwards having her and her sisters in his rooms in College; and, moreover, for having obtained leave, under false pretences, to go down for the purposes of the marriage. It appears that White gave the young woman away. There was the almost inevitable appeal to the Visitor, resulting in a very long correspondence, still extant, between him and the President, but happily terminating in a decision favourable to the College. The Visitor, at this time, it may be noticed, was Benjamin Hoadley, one of the most just and sensible Visitors the College ever had the fortune to possess.

On Dec. 11, 1754, these records give an account of an offence of a very different kind. 'Complaint being made to the President by Dr Patten and Mr Hall, Deputy Dean, that a Picture supposed to be the picture of the Pretender's eldest Son, commonly called Prince Charles, had been for some time hung up in the Bachelors' (and Gentlemen-Commoners') Common Room, and that the College had been very much censured on that account (a letter had appeared on Dec. 10 in the Evening Advertiser), the President immediately convened a meeting of the Senior Fellows and Officers, and laid the matter before them.' The story of how the picture came to be there is a long one, and not worth repeating at length. In brief, it appears that a Mr. Bulteel, a gentleman-commoner, about five years before, had given a similar picture to the Bachelors' Common Room, that a Mr. Mason, another gentleman-commoner, had secretly cut off its head, and that, by a vote of 7 to 3, the picture had been replaced. Mr. Mason and his friends, in turn, burnt the new picture. But, meanwhile, the matter had got bruited abroad, with the usual exaggerations and perversions, such as that the Common Room was the Senior Common Room, &c. There was a general dealing out of punishments, the Gentlemen-Commoners escaping pretty easily, but the Bachelors having to beg pardon publicly, in the Hall, of the King, the University and the College, being put out of Commons for a week, and, a somewhat

grotesque addition, required to translate into Latin Archbishop Potter's Coronation Sermon. In the Register of Punishments, it is curious to find, amongst the offenders, the next President, John Cooke. Some officer of the College replied to the attack in the *Evening Advertiser*, and so this semi-ludicrous affair ended.

On Feb. 8, 1755, the College received the 'last Parcel of Lord Coleraine's Legacy.' This handsome legacy, consisting of a large and valuable collection of books, prints, and drawings, mainly artistic or antiquarian, and now contained in the 'Italian Room' leading out of the inner library, has already been mentioned in my notice of Lord Coleraine. The validity of the Will and various Codicils was disputed between the Heirs at Law and the Executrix, a Mrs. du Plessis. After long litigation, the Will was confirmed, but all Codicils, except the last, set aside. The Executrix thereupon refused to surrender the goods bequeathed to the College, but, after a bill had been filed in Chancery, the matter was compromised; the books, &c., were given up, but the whole expence of Law, Binding, &c. fell upon the College.

On July 19 of this year, the Visitor issued an injunction relieving M.A. Scholars from residence, or rather allowing leave of absence, under certain very reasonable conditions, to be granted to them by the Seniority. The reasons alleged in the Petition of the 'Disciple Masters' are noteworthy: 'The allowance of the Disciple Masters, which at the time of the foundation was a sufficient maintenance, is now, by the decrease of the value of money and other circumstances, become by no means sufficient for that purpose; the expence of residing in the University so constantly is greater than they, or others in their station, are usually able to bear; moreover, their residence deprives them at the same time of the opportunity of relieving their circumstances and of following any useful vocation.'

One cannot but look back with extreme pity on the dull and useless lives of these young men, many of them with no special avocation for literature, spent in narrow circumstances, uncongenial surroundings, and enforced idleness. If they took to drinking, excessive card playing, and loose habits, one can hardly feel much surprise, and one's wonder is that no Visitor, before Hoadley, had seen his way to abate such an utter perversion of the spirit, though it was no doubt a strict observation of the letter, of the Founder's Statutes. And

even he could not see his way to affording any relief to the Bachelors, whose idleness and other offences were, at this time, a constant source of trouble to the College authorities. In the Buttery Book of this year there are no less than seven Master Scholars¹, all, except one, of more than two years standing, and it is stated in the Petition, certainly with no exaggeration, that 'the succession to Fellowships in the said College is become exceeding slow, insomuch that there is ordinarily no probability of any disciple succeeding to a Probationary Fellowship before he be of ten or twelve years standing in the University.' There could hardly be found a more striking exemplification of the manner in which a literal adherence to the provisions of a Founder's Statutes may frustrate the main intention of his foundation, or of the necessity of supplying some machinery by which the detailed regulations of a benefaction may be adapted to the changing circumstances of successive generations.

June 11, 1756. Mr. Musgrave, an M.A. Scholar, now non-resident, having made some injurious reflexions on the Officers of the College, had been cited to appear before the President, Seniors, and Officers, and, having at length done so, was sentenced to be put out of Commons for a week, to be registered, and to ask pardon of the Society. It appears that he was compelled to return to Oxford for a week, in order to undergo the sentence of 'sitting out of Commons,' though, being an M.A., he was allowed by the Statutes, instead of sitting at a separate table, to sit 'more consueto.'

June 22, 1756. Contribution of five guineas towards the support of the University of Debretzen in Hungary.

Dec. 3, 1756. 'The President having, last year, in his Progress into Lincolnshire, discovered the house at Ropesley where our Founder was born, it was this day ordered that, with the consent of the owner of the house, Lord William Mannors, a stone should be put up in the Wall of the House with this inscription—Richard Fox,

¹ Taking the very week in which the Visitor's Injunction was issued, July 18–24, 1755, we find seven Master, nine Bachelor, and only four Undergraduate Scholars. The remaining Undergraduates (we can now speak with certainty, as, at this period, the entries in the Matriculation and Buttery books correspond) were the two Clerks, the two Choristers, and five Gentlemen Commoners. Cp. the parallel account given under the academical year 1680–1, which is even still stranger than this.

Bishop of Winchester and Founder of C. C. C. Oxford, was born in this house!'

Jan. 24, 1757. Another gross instance of the irregularities common in the College at this time. Ames, an Undergraduate Scholar, had set fire to the furniture of the Fellows' Common Room, thrust under the grate a lot of books and pamphlets, and damaged a quantity of the College Plate, &c. The room only just escaped being burnt down. He was allowed to resign, the act being 'looked on rather as a sudden impulse of madness, than the result of determined villainy.' For the same reason, he was not prosecuted.

Apr. 18, 1761. Paul Methuen, a Gentleman-Commoner, sentenced to ask pardon of the Dean publicly in the Hall, in the middle of dinner.

Feb. 27, 1772. 'It was agreed to lend £200 on Bond to the Magdalen Bridge Turnpike.' Loans of money, specially to Fellows, become frequent about this period. It would seem as if the College, from time to time, had a fair amount of spare cash, and the system of banking had not yet come in.

Nov. 27, 1772. 'It being now a time of great scarcity, and corn and all sorts of provisions being very dear,' it was agreed to give ten guineas for the relief of the poor in the city. Entries of this kind are not infrequent about this time.

Feb. 3, 1773. 'It was agreed to appoint Mr Child and Comp. our Bankers to receive our moneys in London.'

Dec. 13, 1774. It was agreed to give ten guineas towards building an episcopal church at Edinburgh.

March 5, 1776. Agreed to give ten guineas towards the relief of the distressed clergy in America.

Feb. 24, 1779. Agreed to give £100 out of the Tower Money (i.e. the reserve fund there kept) towards the great loss by Fire at Queen's College.

April 8, 1779. Mr. Modd, Chaplain of the College, convened before the President, Seniors, and Officers, and admonished

' See my note on the Founder's Birth-Place at Ropesley on pp. 27-29. The conjecture I there offer that, some time between 1705 and 1755, the College parted with this property, has been confirmed by an entry which I have subsequently noticed in the Acts and Proceedings, under Dec. 4, 1753. 'It was agreed to allow our Bayliff Mr Samuel Foster 2 Guineas for his trouble in selling our estate at Ropesley.' Truly this was not an age of sentiment or reverence! The College had sold the remains of the Founder's mitre in Dr. Mather's Presidency, and, in Dr. Randolph's, it seems to have sold his birthplace!

for his misbehaviour, drunkenness, extravagance, and other irregularities¹.

Feb. 7, 1782. Only one candidate appeared for the Bedfordshire Scholarship, and he did not even so much as attempt to compose any exercise. The Electors, as directed by Statute, proceeded to elect from another County.

Sept. 28, 1782. No Candidate appeared from the Bishopric of Durham; nor again on Jan. 3 of the following year. This failure of Candidates to appear for local Scholarships, leading to Fellowships, may have been partly due to the slowness of the succession which now prevailed, and partly to the improved performances which were now exacted in the Examinations.

Dr. Randolph died March 24, 1783. At the Funeral (April 2), an oration was made in the Chapel by Mr. Buckland, the Latin Lecturer.

The list of eminent names during Dr. Randolph's Presidency, especially as the period advances, will alone shew that the College was beginning to shake off its lethargy, to attract a more distinguished body of young men, and to be more alive to and more successful in the performance of its educational duties. Of other signs of improvement I shall speak presently.

Amongst the Scholars elected during this period (1748–1783), may be specially mentioned: Thomas Hornsby, admitted Nov. 21, 1749, an eminent astronomer and observer, who filled at Oxford the various places of Reader in Experimental Philosophy, Savilian Professor of Astronomy, first Radcliffe Observer, Sedleian Professor of Natural Philosophy, and Radcliffe Librarian; John Cooke, admitted Oct. 19, 1750, Randolph's successor in the Presidency; John Whitaker, admitted March 2, 1753, celebrated as an antiquary and writer of local histories, Author of the History of Manchester, the Life of St. Neot, the Origin of Arianism, &c.; Thomas Barnard, Bishop of Limerick, admitted the same day; William

¹ For a curious account of this Mr. Modd and his ways, see a very interesting little book lately republished by Cassell & Co.: *A Translation of Moritz's Travels in England in 1782*, p. 120, &c. Dr. Birkbeck Hill, in his edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, erroneously speaks of this Mr. Modd as a Fellow and Tutor.

Scott, admitted æt. 15, Feb. 26, 1761, subsequently Fellow of University, Camden Professor of Ancient History, Judge of the Admiralty Court, and Lord Stowell (elder brother of Lord Eldon); Walker King, admitted March 25, 1768, subsequently Bishop of Rochester, a great friend of Burke, and editor of his works (King's bust, a very beautiful work by Chantrey, is in the Common Room); Henry Becke, admitted May 5, 1769, afterwards Fellow of Oriel, Regius Professor of Modern History and Dean of Bristol, a celebrated financial critic and writer; William Lipscombe, admitted July 6, 1770, a *littérateur* and poet of some pretensions; French Laurence, admitted March 5, 1774, afterwards Regius Professor of Civil Law, a friend of Burke, and associated with Bishop King in the editing of Burke's works; Thomas Burgess¹, admitted Feb. 22, 1775, successively Bishop of St. David's and Salisbury, Founder of Lampeter College, a voluminous theological author, but best known, unfortunately, as the stubborn defender of the text of the Heavenly Witnesses (1 John v. 7) against the criticisms of Porson and Turton; George Williams, admitted Sept. 20, 1777, afterwards Professor of Botany, and long Vice-President and a leading Fellow of the College; James Griffith, admitted at the same time, afterwards Fellow and ultimately Master of University; and, lastly, Charles Abbott, admitted March 21, 1781, subsequently L. C. J. of the King's Bench and Lord Tenterden, an eminent judge and an important legal writer. Amongst the Clerks may be named Richard Laurence, subsequently Fellow of University, a younger brother of French Laurence, who is noticed above, admitted July 14, 1778, author of a famous course of Bampton Lectures delivered in 1804, afterwards Regius Professor of Hebrew, Archbishop of Cashel, and well known in connexion with

¹ Though I am anticipating the history by a few years, I may here quote a passage from a letter written by Burgess to Tyrwhitt on May 7, 1783 (Harford's *Life of Bishop Burgess*, p. 71): 'The business of tuition has so much increased upon my hands this term, by the addition of five new pupils—three of them Scholars, and two Gentlemen-Commoners—that my time is more than ever occupied.' I do not interpret this passage as shewing how soon a tutor, in those days, began to think himself overworked, but how much individual care he bestowed on his pupils.

certain critical books, such as the translation of the book of Enoch, which have now passed out of date. Amongst the Gentlemen Commoners, the most noticeable are Richard Lovell Edgeworth, admitted Oct. 10, 1761, father of Miss Edgeworth, an ingenious mechanic, and author, amongst other works, of the interesting *Memoirs*, which are so serviceable in throwing light on the condition of the College at this time; Thomas Day, admitted June 1, 1764, eminent in his time as a poet, philanthropist and pamphleteer, but best known to us as the author of *Sandford and Merton*; and Sir Richard Worsley, Bart., of Appuldercombe in the Isle of Wight, admitted April 7, 1768, subsequently known as a diplomatist, antiquary and collector, author of a *History of the Isle of Wight* and the rare '*Museum Worsleianum*'¹.

Besides this creditable, and, considering the small size of the Society, almost brilliant roll of former *alumni*, many of whom, it may be remarked, owed their reputation in after life largely to the studies which they had pursued in Oxford, there are many other indications of a brighter and better life than that which had prevailed in the College during the first half of the century. The gross acts of rowdyism and immorality at the beginning of Randolph's Presidency are truly appalling both in their character and their frequency, but, largely owing, perhaps, to the salutary severity exercised by the President and his coadjutors, the offences gradually become less gross, less frequent, and less serious, till at last, about the year 1760, the College seems to have subsided into decent order. Indeed, it would be tolerably accurate to say that it was just about this period that it was beginning to recover its pristine efficiency and reputation. Any way, we

¹ The painting of the Adoration of the Shepherds by Rubens now in the College Chapel was given by Sir Richard Worsley in 1804, the year before his death. It took the place of a copy of Guido's Annunciation by Battoni, given by Sir Christopher Willoughby of Baldon House, which was afterwards removed to Baldon Church. Ingram (*Memorials of Oxford*) says that the east window was originally blocked up to receive this latter picture.

It may here be mentioned that the Honourable Edward Bouverie, a Gentleman-Commoner admitted Nov. 2, 1778, a cousin, once removed, of the late Dr. Pusey, gave, in 1782, the iron gate, bearing the Bouverie arms, leading from the Cloister into the Garden.

have remarkable and impartial evidence as to its condition at this time, in the *Memoirs*, already referred to, of Mr. R. L. Edgeworth, the father of Miss Edgeworth. Mr. Edgeworth entered Corpus as a gentleman-commoner in 1761, his father having 'prudently removed him from Dublin.' 'Having entered C. C. C., Oxford,' he says, 'I applied assiduously not only to my studies under my excellent tutor, Mr. Russell' (father of Dr. Russell, the Head Master of Charterhouse), 'but also to the perusal of the best English writers, both in prose and verse. Scarcely a day passed without my having added to my stock of knowledge some new fact or idea; and I remember with satisfaction the pleasure I then felt from the consciousness of intellectual improvement¹.' 'I had the good fortune to make acquaintance with the young men, the most distinguished at C. C. for application, abilities, and good conduct. . . . I remember with gratitude that I was liked by my fellow-students, and I recollect with pleasure the delightful and profitable hours I passed at that University during three years of my life.' The excellent relations which subsisted between Dr. Randolph the 'indulgent president' and his undergraduates have been already noticed. It is curious to contrast the account of Mr. Edgeworth's Corpus experiences with that given by Gibbon of his Magdalen experiences some nine or ten years before this time, or with Bentham's account of his undergraduate life at Queen's, which almost coincided with that of Mr. Edgeworth at Corpus. Something, however, may, perhaps, be set down to the difference of character and temper in the men themselves.

Considering that the improvement in manners, religion, and learning was by no means universal in Oxford at this time, it would probably be highly unjust not to assign a considerable share of the credit for the condition of Corpus to the personal qualities of the President and Tutors. And Randolph, by his large connexions, both lay and ecclesiastical, had probably contributed to bring to the College a much more desirable type of young man than that which had mostly frequented it

¹ When young Edgeworth visited the Elers family at Black-bourton, he used to read Cicero and Longinus with the father.

during recent years. Any way, the latter part of Randolph's Presidency is among the brighter spots in the history of the College, and, from that time onwards, though there may have been fluctuations, its educational efficiency and reputation have never been obscured.

The vacant Presidency was filled up on April 3, 1783, by the election of Dr. John Cooke. The new President was a Hampshire Scholar, a native of Winchester, born August 23 or Sept. 3¹, 1734. He was originally matriculated at the old Hertford College, May 3, 1749, and admitted Scholar at C. C. C. on Oct. 19, 1750. He became Probationary Fellow, July 4, 1761, and, of course, not actual Fellow till two years later, thus shewing the extremely slow rate of succession of that time. He had taken his D.D. Degree the year before his election to the Presidency. In 1788, he became Vice-Chancellor of the University, and held the office for four years. We know little of Dr. Cooke's personal traits, except from the notice in Mr. Justice Coleridge's letter about the College days of Arnold, Keble, himself, and others, which is reproduced in Stanley's *Life of Arnold*: 'At the time I speak of, 1809, and thenceforward for some few years, the College was under the presidency, mild and inert, rather than paternal, of Dr. Cooke.' He seems indeed to have been one of the respectable, amiable, dignified heads of the period, without any special aptitude for literature or education. The *Gentleman's Magazine* (vol. 93. Pt. I, p. 281), under the date of Feb. 3, 1823, contains, in addition to the usual dates, the following Obituary Notice: 'He was emphatically termed the Father of the University. In religion stedfast and orthodox—in politics true to his King and country—in conduct generous and hospitable—in manners gentle though dignified, he might have been regarded as the representative of those olden times we daily hear praised, but seldom see imitated. Dr. Cooke was for many years in the Commission of the Peace for the County of Oxford; during which period, conciliating the love of the poor, and gaining the

¹ The dates vary in the two Admissions.

respect of the rich, he proved that an upright and attentive magistrate is a blessing to all around. By his death, the University has lost one of her most solid ornaments, the poor a steady friend, and the country a firm support.' It may be mentioned that Dr. Cooke was a great benefactor to the Prisoners in Oxford Castle, as appears both from the entry under Feb. 5, 1784, which follows, as also from his munificent charities during the celebration of George III's Jubilee in 1810. In addition to the Presidency, he held two livings, both in the County of Oxford, Woodeaton and Begbrooke. At the latter place, he is buried.

I shall pursue the same course in regard to this as to the last Presidency by throwing together, in the form of Annals, those events which are most notable as illustrating either the manners of the times or the history of the College.

April 28, 1783. Order given to Mr. Pears, 'an eminent builder in Oxford,' to execute, at the estimate of £453 12s. 6d., certain repairs and improvements in the President's Lodgings, including the present Dining Room, Drawing Room, and Front Staircase. But, on account of the great expenditure to which the College was, at this time, put for this and other purposes, it was resolved to pay every attention to economy, and to begin by 'totally abolishing the usually very expensive observation of Corpus Christi Day, by which it is presumed a considerable saving will be made.' It was found, however, difficult to carry out this Order, and it was modified by confining the entertainment to one course.

June 17, 1783. A Dublin M.A., Tutor to one of the Gentlemen Commoners, allowed to become a Member of the High Table and Common Room, and, at the same time, incorporated an M.A. of the University.

Same Date. An order with regard to Caution Moneys. That of Gentlemen Commoners to be raised from 15 to 30 Guineas. In the case of others, wishing to retain their names 'on the private book in the Buttery,' M.A.s or those of Superior Degrees to pay 10 guineas, others 5 guineas.

Feb. 5, 1784. Subscription to the Indigent Poor of Oxford, amounting to £6 16s. 6d. But 'a very considerable collection having been made for the Indigent Poor, the President thought it not beside the purpose of the Gentlemen of the College to expend

their charity in the service of the Prisoners, seventy-four in number, who have no means of the comforts, or indeed the necessities, of life, but from the benevolence of the Public.' Hence the sum was distributed in fuel and meat among the prisoners in the Castle.

Ap. 7, 1784. Scholarship Election for County of Bedford. No Candidate.

Jan. 10, 1785. 'The President consulted the Fellows on the best and most probable means of checking the great and enormous extravagance of the Gentlemen Commoners in the article of Battels.' It appears that they elaimed the right of having private dinners in their rooms without special leave, but it was resolved that they were under the same regulations in this respect as other members of the College. On April 5, 1791, the question had to be revived, when it was ordered that no private dinner should be served to any Under-graduate on any pretence whatever.

July 21, 1785. 'It was agreed to lend Richard Porson, M.A. of Ch. Ch. (lately incorporated from Cambridge) our MS. of Suidas,' on entering into a bond.

Sept. 13, 1785. 'The College was honoured this day with the presence of the King, Queen, Princess Royal, Princess Augusta, and Princess Elisabeth, the Princes Ernest Augustus and Adolphus, attended by Earl and Countess Harcourt, General Harcourt, Colonel Manners, and Mr. Hayes, Preceptor to the young Princes. Passing through the Quadrangle, they entered the President's Garden by the Cloyster Gate, and staid a considerable time in his house. They then proceeded through the College garden to Merton. Their Majesties were pleased to express much satisfaction at the situation of the College, and the elegance of the new building.'

January 10, 1786. Agreed that a sum not exceeding £600 shall be forthwith laid out on the College account in the Public Funds, as shall be advised by our Bankers, Messrs. Child. Other Orders of the same kind were made on January 10, 1789 and 1794. It seems indeed to have soon become the ordinary way of disposing of a balance in the hands of the College.

June 30, 1786. A Prize of the Oxford Edition of Cicero's Works was presented, with great commendation, to Charles Abbott (afterwards L. C. J. of the King's Bench and Lord Tenterden), B.A., Scholar of the House, for having obtained the English Essay Prize in that year, and the Latin Verse Prize in 1784.

January 22, 1787. Mr. Modd again convened (see entry under

April 8, 1779) on account of his scandalous life. But, in pity for his circumstances, instead of expelling him, the College forbade him to eat, drink, or sleep within the walls, as being 'one unworthy to remain under the same roof with them,' but he was still to go on performing his duties in the Chapel, and to receive the full pay of his office.

Feb. 12, 1787. It appears, from an application for exemption, that the Sermon at St. Peter's in the East prescribed by the old Statutes (Cap. 25) was still customary and enforced.

Apr. 25 and Dec. 15, 1787. We find that the examinations in College for the B.A. Degree were beginning to be dispensed with, in cases of good conduct and a satisfactory appearance at the Terminal Examinations. There are similar cases on Oct. 22, 1788, and January 26 and June 30, 1791, &c., &c. It is plain that these examinations were becoming antiquated. After a while, the dispensation became a common form. Ultimately, it dropped out altogether.

Feb. 20, 1788. Petition from the Bachelors to introduce strangers into Hall. Rejected as inconsistent with the Founder's Statutes.

April 18, 1791. Twenty guineas advanced to the Curators of the Bodleian Library, 'to be disposed of by them in the prosecution of their present very laudable efforts to enrich the said Library with valuable purchases from Foreign Sales,' &c.

Feb. 21, 1792. A grace to proceed B.A. was granted to Samuel How, 'late Chorister (or as it *now* is termed Exhibitioner) of the College.' It thus appears, as from a similar entry under Oct. 26, 1795, that the Choristers (and, doubtless, also the Clerks) had now come to be called Exhibitioners.

Feb. 22, 1792. A riot in College and outrageous attack on the apartments of one of the Senior Fellows, headed by a Gentleman Commoner recently removed from the books. The remaining offenders (six in number) were punished with heavy impositions.

Apr. 9, 1792. Mr. Modd (see two previous extracts) was at length dismissed by the President and Bursar from the office of Chaplain.

Nov. 5, 1792. Subscription of thirty guineas for the relief of the French Clergy, 'who have been necessitated to abandon their own country and take refuge in the British dominions.'

Feb. 19, 1793. Severe punishment, by total confinement to College for the remainder of Term and impositions (including public recitations of passages in Hall), of Whitfield, a Scholar, for absenting himself from College during the first five weeks of Term.

July 8, 1793. The President presented a book to Edward Copleston, with an inscription, 'in consideration of his very good appearance in the Theatre this year on delivering his Prize Composition in Latin Verse.'

Jan. 24, 1794. It was unanimously agreed to drop the future observation of Corpus Christi Day.

Ap. 14, 1794. It was agreed to contribute from the Tower £100 'towards the fund now raising throughout the kingdom for the internal defence thereof.'

Jan. 10, 1795. It appears, from an order now made, that speeches on classical authors, prescribed by the President, were still delivered in the College Hall, according to the provisions of Ch. 24 of the Old Statutes, by both Fellows and Scholars, before receiving their graces for Degrees. The order, on this day, is to the effect that they shall always be delivered in full Term.

July 20, 1795. E. Copleston elected Fellow of Oriel, æt. 19½.

July 25, 1795. H. Phillpotts elected Fellow of Magdalen, æt. 17 yrs. 2 months.

Feb. 15, 1797. John Hook, an Undergraduate Scholar, for idleness, &c., ordered, amongst other punishments, to repeat the first eight Odes of Horace, on different occasions, after dinner in Hall.

March 20, 1797. Another Scholar, John Bond, rusticated for two terms (the first recorded instance of this punishment in the College books), and set several long exercises to do in the interval, besides 'the Vacation exercise, the subject of which will be communicated to him at the usual time' (showing that this Vacation exercise was now a regular institution of the College).

Feb. 13, 1798. The sum of £150 contributed 'towards the present exigencies of the state.' (See former entry of Ap. 14, 1794.)

Oct. 19, 1798. No Candidate for the Bedfordshire Scholarship.

Jan. 28, 1801. Institution of Building Fund.

Jan. 25, 1804. Finally agreed to new-face the inner walls of the College with Windrush or Barrington stone. Subscription started, in aid of the Tower Fund, for that purpose.

Jan. 29, 1805. Agreed to subscribe, from the Tower Fund, the sum of £100 to the support of the Oxford Loyal Volunteers.

May 4, 1809. Agreed to subscribe 30 guineas towards relieving the present distressed state of the Episcopal Church in Scotland; and also 20 guineas to the relief of certain French clergy in England.

These sums to be taken from the Interest-money fund (appearing to show that the College had some scruple in dividing the interest on loans or deposits).

June 14, 1809. In granting leaves of absence, for educational work, to certain B.A. Scholars, of full academical standing for the M.A. Degree, but deterred from taking it by the now antiquated provision in the Founder's Statutes with regard to postponing it for three years after Determination, the Resolution proceeds as follows: 'We are the less scrupulous at conniving at these indulgences from the consideration of the present heavy expences of Academical Residence—far beyond all former times and very distressing to several of our young men, who are by no means competent to give into them, but yet would not willingly submit to a peculiarity of conduct among those of the same rank with themselves.' This increase of College expences seems, of late, to have been very rapid, partly, no doubt, owing to the increase of prices through the war, but partly also to the more luxurious style of living, and that, in turn, to the higher social status of those who now, for the most part, frequented the University.

July 20, 1811. John Keble elected Fellow of Oriel, æt. 19½.

Oct. 12, 1811. Mr. Vaughan Thomas this day vacated his Fellowship; but Mr. Frowd (subsequently a very eccentric Senior Fellow of the College, of whom many stories are even still extant)—the Senior Master Scholar—being out of the kingdom on board His Majesty's Fleet, no time was fixed for the election of a Probationer.

Dec. 17, 1812. Large advance of money made to the Hampshire Bailiffs, on account of the 'greatly increased expence of travelling for the purpose of collecting our rents, &c. in their respective districts.'

January 27, 1813. 'Agreed to subscribe £40, from the Interest Fund, to the relief of the suffering inhabitants of Russia.' (It would appear from this, and several previous entries of a like kind, as if the Interest on Investments were not divided, but expended on charities, or for extraordinary purposes.)

'In consequence of the increased expence in Battels,' several resolutions were passed at this meeting, affecting all members of the College under the M.A. Degree. The most notable of these Resolutions was the advance of the Caution Money of the Gentlemen Commoners from 50 guineas to the extraordinary sum of 80 guineas,

half of which was to remain in the Bursar's hands after taking the B.A. Degree.

On Aug. 24, 1813, the Visitor (Brownlow North, whose communications with the College, I may say, are marked with the most uniform courtesy and consideration) delivered an opinion that Matthew Arnold, now serving as an Army Chaplain, and, therefore, absent on the King's service, might defer his presence in Oxford for admission to his Actual Fellowship, six, eight or ten months beyond the usual time. This Matthew Arnold was an elder brother of Thomas Arnold, and died in 1820.

March 1, 1814. Forty Pounds subscribed towards the relief of the German sufferers.

May 13, 1814. Application made to the Visitor to extend the Property limitation on Fellowships and Scholarships, 'in consideration of the great decrease in the value of money and the improvement of the College revenues.' 'The present annual value of a Fellowship, with all its advantages, cannot be estimated at less than £200'; that of a Scholarship at less than £70. In compliance with this request, the Visitor, on Dec. 19, 1814, issued an Order, or permission, as he phrases it, that, henceforth, an Actual Fellowship shall be tenable with an annual income, from any of the sources enumerated in the Statutes, not exceeding £200 a year; a Probationer Fellowship with such an income not exceeding £100 a year; and a Scholarship with such an income not exceeding £80 a year. This Order is regarded by him as an extension of the Injunction, issued in 1782, in respect of Dr. Donne's case, namely that, looking to the spirit of the original Statutes, a Fellowship is tenable with any income not exceeding it in amount. It is noteworthy that an equitable and liberal construction of the Statutes was beginning to prevail at this time.

June 14, 15, 1814. Visit of the allied Sovereigns (Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, and Prince Regent of England) to Oxford. The King of Prussia was assigned to the President's Lodgings at Corpus, and slept there on Tuesday, June 14. The Emperor and King remained only one night in Oxford, 'and, on their departure, the Wednesday Evening, expressed themselves much pleased with the attentions shewn to them.' There is still an agreeable record of the King of Prussia's stay at Corpus in a beautiful porcelain vase of Berlin manufacture, bearing on one side a portrait of the King and on the other a picture of Berlin, then, comparatively, a small town.

The vase has ever since been displayed in the President's Drawing Room, and the correspondence which accompanied it, in 1818, is still preserved in the President's Bureau.

June 23, 1814. Prizes of books to T. Arnold and T. Penrose for their examinations in the Schools.

June 24, 1814. Present of books to Henry Bosanquet, a Gentleman Commoner, for his copy of congratulatory verses, delivered in the Theatre on the occasion of the visit of the Allied Sovereigns.

July 20, 1815. T. Arnold elected Fellow of Oriel, æt. 20.

Oct. 26, 1815. Order for amendment in regard to 'the careless and indecorous manner in which the Bachelors deliver their declamations in the College Hall.' The Senior in Hall is to interpose, when the exercise is improperly performed, and to require a repetition of the Declamation on some other day.

Nov. 27, 1816. Ten guineas subscribed towards erecting certain churches in Lower Canada, in connexion with the Church of England. The same donation was repeated on June 26, 1824; also five guineas given towards establishing a Theological Seminary in the Diocese of Ohio, U.S.A.

On June 18, 1817, the College commemorated its three hundredth anniversary, 1517, according to our reckoning, having been the year (though the exact day was March 4) in which it was inducted into its buildings. There was a crowded chapel service at 9.30 A.M., and a large dinner to which nearly a hundred sat down. Both the members for the University, Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, and 'the Right Hon. R. Peel, our newly elected member,' were present. Medals, in silver and bronze, were struck to commemorate the occasion, and one of these was sent to the Prince of Hardenberg, for the Prussian Royal Library. A full account of the commemoration is given in a letter printed in Jackson's Oxford Journal of June 28, 1817 (MSS. Top. D. Oxfordshire, c. 2, Nos. or Fols. 196, 197. This MS. contains a number of other papers relating to C. C. C., collected by the Rev. Vaughan Thomas).

August 18, Oct. 15, 1817. From orders of these dates with regard to the character and position of the shields, it would appear that it was about this time that the statue of the Founder was erected on the south side of the Quadrangle.

January 27, 1818. In pursuance of a petition sealed on Oct. 11 last, a Licence had been obtained from the Crown to purchase and

hold in Mortmain additional advowsons not exceeding five in number or £3000 per annum in value.

Feb. 16, 1818. A letter communicated from Dr. Copleston, Provost of Oriel, proposing an exchange of houses, belonging to Oriel, in St. Mary's parish, for certain property, belonging to Corpus, in St. John Baptist's parish, the object being to acquire space for the purpose of adding to the buildings of Oriel. Answered, that the Society would have no objection to enter into negotiation (under approbation of their Visitor) *on the principle of Exchange*. These negotiations, however, led to no result.

March 25, 1818. One hundred guineas voted from the Interest Fund for the Building and Enlarging of Churches, the President adding £25.

June 8, 1820. It appears, from a dispensation given, on account of illness, to R. A. Thorpe, that it was still customary for Scholars, on taking the B.A. Degree, to make a 'Degree Speech.' As Thorpe was excused, because he could not sufficiently apply himself to the reading requisite for the purpose, it would seem to have been a reality.

Jan. 12, 1821. Advowson of Byfield purchased for 5000 guineas.

In 1822, 'the whole business and ceremony of Determination having been now by competent authority abolished in the University,' the Visitor (Bp. Tomline) removed the restriction, which was now completely antiquated and often very vexatious, deferring the M.A. Degree of Foundationers of Corpus till after the lapse of three years from '*determination*' (a ceremony which took place in the following Lent) instead of three years from *admission* to the B.A. Degree. Their compulsory residence as B.A.s had thus been often unduly and unnecessarily prolonged. Archdeacon Phelps (Life, vol. I. p. 337) tells a characteristic story of Dr. Cooke, that, on calling, shortly after the decision was announced, on the old President, 'he said he did not know anything that could give him much more satisfaction, just as he was dropping into the grave, than to see the matter set at rest in the manner it now is.'

Feb. 3, 1823. 'Dr. John Cooke, President of this College, departed this life, having presided therein 39 yrs. 10 months.'

The list of eminent men, who entered at Corpus during Dr. Cooke's Presidency, is, considering the very small number of Undergraduates which the College was then allowed to receive,

surprising both for its size and its brilliancy. Beginning with the Scholars, we have Edward Copleston, admitted, æt. 15, May 25, 1791, subsequently Fellow and Provost of Oriel, Dean of St. Paul's and Bishop of Llandaff, perhaps the leading man in Oxford in his day, and a writer, on many subjects, of no mean pretensions; Henry Phillpotts, admitted, æt. 13½, Nov. 7, 1791, subsequently Fellow of Magdalen, æt. 17½, Dean of Chester and Bishop of Exeter, one of the most noted Bishops, controversialists and pamphleteers of his time; Willingham Franklin, admitted March 31, 1797, afterwards Fellow of Oriel, created a Judge of the Supreme Court at Madras and knighted, brother of the celebrated explorer, Sir John Franklin; George Leigh Cooke, nephew of the President, admitted July 7, 1797, Sedleian Professor of Natural Philosophy from 1810 to 1853; Godfrey Faussett, admitted the same day, afterwards Fellow of Magdalen, Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church; Thomas Edward Bridges, admitted Oct. 30, 1798, Cooke's successor in the Presidency; William Buckland, admitted May 14, 1801, long a resident Fellow of Corpus, then Canon of Ch. Ch. and Dean of Westminster, Professor, down to his death in 1856, of Mineralogy and of Geology, one of the most famous of English Geologists, and, indeed, one of the creators of the science¹; John Keble, Author of the *Christian Year*, admitted Dec. 12, 1806, æt. 14 yrs. 7 months, and elected Fellow of Oriel, æt. 19½²; John Taylor Coleridge, admitted April 21, 1809, at the then somewhat late age of 18½, subsequently Fellow of Exeter, and Justice of the King's Bench, one of the most learned and accomplished Judges of his time; Thomas Arnold, admitted Feb. 22, 1811, æt. 15 yrs. 8 months, and elected

¹ There is a large room in the Front Quadrangle, now appropriated to the purposes of an Undergraduates' Library, which was Dr. Buckland's sitting room, and fitted up by him, irrespectively of personal comfort, as a Geological Museum,—probably the earliest collection of the kind in Oxford, or perhaps in England, which was arranged on anything like scientific principles.

² The Father (John, admitted Scholar Dec. 23, 1762) and the younger brother (Thomas, admitted Scholar March 31, 1808, æt. 14 yrs. 5 months) were both Fellows of Corpus. All three were Gloucestershire Scholars, and natives of Fairford. John Keble, if not also Thomas, as is probable, came to Oxford prepared solely by his Father.

Fellow of Oriel, æt. 20, afterwards Head Master of Rugby and Regius Professor of Modern History, eminent alike as an author, a liberal theologian, and the reformer of English Public School education¹; Henry Jenkyns, admitted June 4, 1813, afterwards Fellow of Oriel, Canon of Durham, and Professor of Divinity in the University of Durham; James Norris, subsequently President, and William Phelps, Archdeacon of Carlisle, whose letters and memoirs (published in 1873) give us glimpses of the interior of the College during his Undergraduate days, both admitted Oct. 20, 1815; and, lastly, Edward Parr Greswell, admitted Jan. 30, 1816, a most laborious and disinterested Scholar, some of whose books had, at one time, considerable circulation, but who ultimately exhausted himself in the production of a huge work, entitled 'Fasti Catholici Temporis,' which found few readers, and, resembling, both in its execution and its spirit, the productions of the seventeenth rather than the nineteenth century, was doubtless 'born out of due time.' Amongst the Chaplains was John Gutch, the celebrated Oxford Antiquary, Registrar of the University, and Editor of Wood's History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford and of the Colleges and Halls. Gutch held the office of Chaplain from 1787 to 1792. It is curious that Hearne, a still more celebrated Antiquary, tells us that a Chaplaincy had been offered to himself at Corpus by Dr. Turner, but declined. Amongst the Exhibitioners (as the Clerks and Choristers had now begun to be called) may be named Edward Coleridge, admitted Feb. 21, 1818, the well-known Second Master of Eton, and three well-known clergymen, John Bartholomew, Archdeacon of Barnstaple, admitted April 21, 1809, Philip Jacob, Archdeacon of Winchester, admitted October 16, 1821, and William James Copleston, admitted March 20, 1822, afterwards Fellow of Oriel and Rector of Cromhall, Gloucestershire, a writer of some note. Amongst the Gentlemen Commoners may be mentioned the Hon. Charles James Stewart, admitted May 22, 1792, after-

¹ An elder brother of Thomas Arnold, Matthew Arnold, who has already been mentioned, was admitted Scholar, Nov. 23, 1803, afterwards became Fellow, and died in 1820.

wards Bishop of Quebec, to whom there is a memorial tablet in the Cloisters; Thomas Grimstone Estcourt, admitted April 10, 1793, Burgess for the University from 1826 to 1847, whose portrait is in the Hall; the Hon. John William Ward, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and first Earl of Dudley; George, afterwards Hon. George Pellew, Dean of Norwich, admitted March 20, 1812; the Hon. Thomas Moreton Fitzhardinge Berkeley, admitted June 23, 1814, who was *de jure* sixth Earl of Berkeley, but, out of delicacy for the reputation of his mother, nobly refused to take the title; and Hugh Usher Tighe, admitted May 17, 1819, Dean of Derry and of the Chapel Royal, Dublin.

We are peculiarly fortunate in possessing two excellent and unexceptionable sources of information as to the condition of Corpus in the later years of Dr. Cooke's Presidency. The charming account of Corpus, its studies, and its youthful society, contributed by Mr. Justice Coleridge to Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, is so well known that it might seem only to require a passing reference; but the reader will hardly grudge the trouble of reading once more the two or three pages which are most pertinent to the subject of the present book.

In a letter to Arthur Stanley, dated September, 1843¹, Sir John Coleridge says of his recently deceased friend:—

'Arnold and I, as you know' (and, as it may be added, the two Kebles, John and Thomas), 'were undergraduates of Corpus Christi, a College very small in its numbers, and humble in its buildings, but to which we and our fellow students formed an attachment never weakened in the after-course of our lives. At the time I speak of, 1809, and thenceforward for some few years, it was under the presidency, mild and inert, rather than paternal, of Dr. Cooke. His nephew, Dr. Williams, was the vice-president, and medical fellow, the only lay fellow permitted by the statutes. Retired he was in his habits, and not forward to interfere with the pursuits or studies of the young men. But I am bound to record not only his learning and good taste, but the kindness of his heart, and his readiness to assist them by advice and criticism in their compositions. When I wrote for the Latin Verse prize, in 1810, I was

¹ Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, ch. i.

much indebted to him for advice in matters of taste and Latinity, and for the pointing out many faults in my rough verses.

‘Our tutors were the present Sedleian Professor, the Rev. G. L. Cooke, and the lately deceased President, the Rev. T. Bridges. Of the former, because he is alive, I will only say that I believe no one ever attended his lectures without learning to admire his unwearied industry, patience, and good temper, and that few if any quitted his pupil room without retaining a kindly feeling towards him. The recent death of Dr. Bridges would have affected Arnold as it has me: he was a most amiable man; the affectionate earnestness of his manner, and his high tone of feeling, fitted him especially to deal with young men; he made us always desirous of pleasing him; perhaps his fault was that he was too easily pleased; I am sure that he will be long and deeply regretted in the University.

‘It was not, however, so much by the authorities of the college that Arnold’s character was affected, as by its constitution and system, and by the residents whom it was his fortune to associate with familiarly there. I shall hardly do justice to my subject, unless I state a few particulars as to the former, and what I am at liberty to mention as to the latter. Corpus is a very small establishment,—twenty fellows and twenty scholars, with four exhibitioners, form the foundation. No independent members were admitted except gentlemen commoners, and they were limited to six. Of the scholars several were bachelors, and the whole number of students actually under college tuition seldom exceeded twenty. But the scholarships, though not entirely open, were yet enough so to admit of much competition; their value, and, still more, the creditable strictness and impartiality with which the examinations were conducted (qualities at that time more rare in college elections than now), insured a number of good candidates for each vacancy, and we boasted a more than proportionate share of successful competitors for university honours. It had been generally understood (I know not whether the statutes prescribe the practice) that in the examinations a large allowance was made for youth; certain it was that we had many very young candidates, and that, of these, many remarkable for early proficiency succeeded. We were then a small society, the members rather under the usual age, and with more than the ordinary proportion of ability and scholarship; our mode of tuition was in harmony with these circumstances; not by private lectures, but in classes of such a size as excited emulation, and made us careful in the exact

and neat rendering of the original, yet not so numerous as to prevent individual attention on the tutor's part, and familar knowledge of each pupil's turn and talents. In addition to the books read in lecture, the tutor at the beginning of the term settled with each student upon some book to be read by himself in private, and prepared for the public examination at the end of term in Hall; and with this book something on paper, either an analysis of it, or remarks upon it, was expected to be produced, which insured that the book should really have been read. It has often struck me since that this whole plan, which is now I believe in common use in the University, was well devised for the tuition of young men of our age. We were not entirely set free from the leading-strings of the school; accuracy was cared for; we were accustomed to *vind voce* rendering, and *vind voce* question and answer in our lecture-room, before an audience of fellow students, whom we sufficiently respected; at the same time, the additional reading, trusted to ourselves alone, prepared us for accurate private study, and for our final exhibition in the schools.

'One result of all these circumstances was, that we lived on the most familiar terms with each other: we might be, indeed we were, somewhat boyish in manner, and in the liberties we took with each other; but our interest in literature, ancient and modern, and in all the stirring matters of that stirring time, was not boyish; we debated the classic and romantic question; we discussed poetry and history, logic and philosophy; or we fought over the Peninsular battles and the Continental campaigns with the energy of disputants personally concerned in them. Our habits were inexpensive and temperate: one break-up party was held in the junior common room at the end of each term, in which we indulged our genius more freely, and our merriment, to say the truth, was somewhat exuberant and noisy; but the authorities wisely forbore too strict an inquiry into this.

'It was one of the happy peculiarities of Corpus that the bachelor scholars were compelled to residence. (An exceedingly questionable opinion. See Resolution of the College, passed Nov. 19, 1851.) This regulation, seemingly inconvenient, but most wholesome as I cannot but think for themselves, and now unwisely relaxed, operated very beneficially on the undergraduates; with the best and the most advanced of these they associated very usefully: I speak here with grateful and affectionate remembrances of the privileges which I enjoyed in this way.'

To this long extract may be added a short notice of Arnold's relations to Dr. Buckland, as bringing into connexion, within the walls of the same small College, two of the most famous men of the beginning of this century: 'When Professor Buckland, then one of our Fellows, began his career in that science, to the advancement of which he has contributed so much, Arnold became one of his most earnest and intelligent pupils, and you know how familiarly and practically he applied geological facts, in all his later years.'

Soon after Arnold was elected Fellow of Oriel, a Scholar was elected at Corpus, in the autumn of 1815, William Whitmarsh Phelps, afterwards Archdeacon of Carlisle, whose published letters¹ contain abundant information about the social condition and studies of the College. Phelps, though a youth of the most sterling worth and of a rare simplicity of character, did not, like Arnold, possess those intellectual and social charms which captivate undergraduate society, and it is plain that he was in restricted circumstances. But he speaks enthusiastically of the friendliness, tolerance, and good-humour which pervaded the small society of undergraduates, and he is constantly recurring in terms of respect and appreciation, which bear evident marks of sincerity, to the kindness, helpfulness, and competence of the two tutors, as well as to the friendly interest shown in their juniors by the other senior members of the College. The relations were, in fact, those of a large and harmonious family. It is best, however, to let young Phelps give his early impressions of the College in his own simple words. The following extracts are taken from a letter to his Father, dated Nov. 11, 1815, soon after he had commenced residence:—

'The number of members is fifty-three², but not more than half of them are now resident. Of the twenty scholars, there are only six

¹ Life of Archdeacon Phelps, 2 vols., Hatchards, 1871.

² That is to say, of persons who either were or might be presumed to be in residence. The number is made up as follows: President, 1; Fellows, 20; Scholars, 20; Chaplains, 2; Exhibitioners (as the former Clerks and Choristers were now called), 4; Gentlemen Commoners, 6.

of us undergraduates ; the others are either B.A. or M.A., and we have nothing to do with them ; they do not attend lectures nor dine at the same table with us. But three of the exhibitioners are undergraduates and associate with us, so that we are but nine altogether. There are two tutors for our instruction ; we take turns daily to read the lessons in chapel, dine at a table by ourselves, and have a Common-room to ourselves. We (namely the nine), together with the gentlemen commoners, are divided into two classes in our studies, so that each tutor is employed at the same time. And here I should mention that this is all we have to do with the gentlemen commoners. Those who choose may absent themselves from chapel four times a week, and during their absence the junior reads for them.

'We dine at quarter-to-five. There are four tables : namely, the first for the fellows and M.A. scholars ; the second for the six gentlemen commoners ; the third for the bachelor scholars ; the fourth for the undergraduate scholars and exhibitioners. The three first tables have joints ; but we have what are called commons ; that is, allowances cut in slices. We have generally the choice of two plain dishes, roast and boiled beef, mutton, veal, and pork. When I go into the hall, I inquire what there is for dinner, and desire them to send in half a commons of what I choose, with potatoes or pickles. Then I have the other half commons hot afterwards. Then I have pastry occasionally, and cheese and celery, as I seem inclined, and a pint of beer, all excellent of their sorts.

'After dinner, as we feel disposed, we meet in our Common-room, and the quantity of wine usually drank before chapel is three bottles between eight or nine, at 5s. per bottle. There are three Common-rooms, for fellows, bachelors and commoners, and undergraduates. Each has its own cellar and a large stock of good wines. I never touch a drop but between dinner and chapel, which will be my invariable rule, except when our room gives a party to the fellows and bachelors, which will be two, if not three, times in the year. During the short time we are together, the greatest good humour and propriety reigns, and the steward of the room gives a fine for any ungentlemanly conduct, such as improper language and disputes. Indeed the Corpus men pride themselves on their behaving as gentlemen. This college is very social ; they have not much intercourse with other colleges. The generality of men read very much, even the rakes devote great part of the day to study.

'Our good old President attends chapel every evening, and as all orders of men in our society are desirous of pleasing him the evening congregation is always large. There are no parties or divisions here as at other colleges; each desires to oblige his neighbour. The fellows are not supercilious, the scholars are respectful. There is only one establishment that rivals ours in literature, which is our neighbour Oriel.

'I rise at about seven. When I am more settled I hope to rise much earlier. I just look over my lectures, or lessons, till eight, when I go to chapel, immediately after which I breakfast. We have two rolls and sufficient butter with a little cup of milk, tea-things and kettle put out for us in our rooms during chapel service, and the same in the evening. The allowance being always more than I can eat, I put by half a roll, which I am glad of at one o'clock.

'At ten we have a lecture in the Hall all together, sometimes Greek, sometimes Latin. At eleven we divide: I and my class go to Mr. Bridges, the other goes to Mr. Ellison, for Greek lecture. At one o'clock whilst the other is with Mr. Bridges, ours is with Mr. Ellison—mathematics and logic alternately. Each lecture lasts an hour; so that the three hours pressing close on each other, with such difficult books, make up what Mr. Richards senior would call "tightish work." I am occupied four hours a day in preparing the lectures, so that there are seven hours of regular good employment; and we can allow six hours to meals, chapel, and exercise; and about three will remain for private reading. But abilities were given us to improve upon, though I know they are to conform to rule. This is the discipline that makes Corpus stand so high. When I and Filleul walk together, we step out briskly from two till four. I drink tea at quarter-before-eight, never eat suppers, and am in bed generally by eleven—though I am now beyond my time, and so "good-night."

'Sunday morning. Thursday is always a holiday, and so is every Saint's day; and we have no lectures. My parties are at breakfast and tea. On which occasions, if my guest is of Corpus, he brings to my rooms his own bread, butter, and milk; and if I wish to shew him particular respect, I get a plate of cold meat, eggs, tea and coffee.'

I subjoin a few other extracts from these letters, as illustrative either of personal traits or of the character or usages of the College at that time:—

Nov. 20, 1815. 'I have been invited once to the Bachelors' Common-Room, where I found all wore black pantaloons and stockings and white waistcoats.'

May 9, 1816. 'We are going on very smoothly and comfortably here. I am very much so, certainly, and have had not the least reason to repent of having taken my name from the Common Room books; for I am now master of my own time and am not so likely to be interrupted. I am on quite as good terms with my fellow scholars as I was before. With respect to the heads of the college I am on as good terms with them as any one is, and that of course is the chief point.'

'Our old President looks as well as ever. . . . I like my new Tutor (Cornish) very well indeed, he is very able to fill his situation, and I really think he is as good a tutor as his predecessor (Ellison). His rooms are just beneath my own. I am glad he means to continue in them; for, if you recollect, I told you at Easter that I was apprehensive of his intending to take Ellison's, in which case I should have had a more noisy and troublesome neighbour. Cornish told me yesterday that as we were so near each other, he would be happy to give me any information and render me any assistance in his power, if I would at any time apply to him.'

'My lectures, I assure you, occupy so great a share of my time that my English muse is but very poorly, and the Latin does nothing at all.'

Nov. 14, 1816. To Mr. R. T. P. Pope, T.C.D.

'You desire to know something of my college. Thank God, I am very comfortably settled and would not exchange my college for any in the University; though perhaps some of our men are rather too gay for me. Yet I have nothing to do with them. Our tutors are most excellent, one of them most exquisite; it is the highest treat to hear him construe the Tragedians and quote parallel passages from Shakespeare, Milton, and the whole circle of British poets from memory. He is indeed a most elegant scholar, and no less sound. We are worked pretty hard, our lectures being rather numerous. But so much the better. Business is a pleasure under tutors who excite so much interest towards it. Since my entrance I have read *Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Electra*, *Ajax*, Aristotle's *Ethics*, four books of Herodotus, most of the speeches in Thucydides, Virgil's *Georgics*. I am now reading Tacitus, and am about to read *Æschylus*.'

The Tutor to whom Mr. Phelps here refers was, according

to Sir John Coleridge, undoubtedly Cornish (George James Cornish, a Devonshire Scholar, elected 1810, whose name often occurs in Stanley's *Life of Arnold*).

The remaining extracts are from letters to his Father :—

Oct. 17, 1818. 'I have now been a week here. . . . Everything about me seems to find its level once more, and it is with pleasure I add that everything is equally satisfactory and promising.

'I called on our Rev. old President the day after my arrival, who welcomed me in his usual hearty way. I think I never saw him looking better. Since then we have all of us been favoured with a view of his elegant vase with which the King of Prussia presented him.'

March 8, 1819. 'My tutors are unceasingly kind and attentive. Last Wednesday I dined with a company of Cornish's friends, with whom he wished me to become acquainted, as it might be of use to me hereafter. They were chiefly the younger tutors of colleges, and among them I recognised some of the brightest ornaments of the university. To be in their company for an afternoon was, I assure you, a treat indeed ; but they are so much my superiors "in wit and words and worth, action and utterance," &c., that I can hardly hope to be ever admitted to that intimacy which Cornish kindly intends. Next Wednesday I am to dine with Tucker, and do not know whom I am to meet.'

April 7, 1819. 'What delightful days we have ! My kind friend Tucker stays up till the middle of next week. I have walked with him several times since the vacation began, on which occasions he has taken me the most delightful walks and examined me in my logic as we went.'

Oct. 28, 1819. 'Whilst speaking of the friends I meet with here, I must not pass over Thomas Keble our new tutor. So frank, so friendly, and on every occasion so kind, that I could almost fancy Cornish were here again : while his judgment and abilities render him fully competent to the situation he has undertaken. How little four years ago did I think of aspiring to friendly familiarity with him, Cornish, or Tucker, whom I was in the habit of looking up to with so much respect !

'You are perfectly right in your anticipations with regard to the common-room (the Bachelors' Common-Room, to which he was now eligible). I have been suffered to pursue my own way without unpleasantness or interruption of any kind worth mentioning. My

companion Mr. — sent the common-room man to me with the books, to know if I meant to insert my name, which I declined, and have since heard nothing on the subject. He and I sit down to a comfortable dinner every day, tête-a-tête, and, whereas the other three tables in the hall are filled with guests, he and I sit at one end of a long table by ourselves, to the occasional merriment of some few, who are pleased to remark that we are rather unequally yoked. However I assure you we make it out very comfortably together, and find something to converse about pleasantly enough. We shall doubtless to-day have something to say of Prince Leopold.'

CHAPTER XI.

RECENT HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE.

DR. COOKE'S was the longest uninterrupted Presidency in the history of the College (Dr. Newlyn's having been suspended for twelve years), and his name seems to have become indissolubly associated, both inside and outside the University, with that of his Society. His successor was the Rev. Thomas Edward Bridges, a Kentish Scholar, born at St. Nicholas at Wade in the Isle of Thanet, on October 16 or 18¹, 1782. Having originally entered at University, he was admitted Scholar of Corpus, Oct. 30, 1798, and Probationary Fellow, Jan. 31, 1806. For some years, as we have seen, he acted as Tutor of the College, and it is plain, from the accounts both of Sir John Coleridge and of Archdeacon Phelps, that he was highly esteemed by his pupils. Like his predecessor, however, it does not seem that he was distinguished for his learning, nor does he seem to have engaged much in the business of the University or County. But he won the hearts of men by his kindness and amiability. The following is the obituary notice of him in the *Gentleman's Magazine*: 'Sept. 3, 1843. At Ilfracombe, Devonshire, aged 62 (a mistake by more than a year), the Rev. Thomas Edward Bridges, D.D., President of C. C. C., Oxford. He took the Degree of M.A. in 1806, and was elected President in February, 1823 (unanimously, according to the account given in the List of Promotions for 1823). Dr. Bridges was greatly esteemed for his amiable disposition and suavity of manners; as he was of rather retired habits, he held no other office in the University, and

¹ In the two admissions, the dates, as is not uncommonly the case, vary.

declined being nominated Vice-Chancellor on the last vacancy, though he was next in rotation for that dignity. His wife died on the 7th of December, 1831.' Dr. Bridges was buried in the College Chapel, where there is a monument to his memory, happily describing him as 'vir singulari simplicitate et benevolentia.'

I shall now proceed to extract the more notable Annals of the College, during Dr. Bridges' Presidency, omitting, of course, any entries of offences, though, indeed, such entries at this time are becoming rare.

Feb. 13, 1823. Thomas Edward Bridges, B.D., Fellow, elected President.

Feb. 21, 1823. The new President, having, on the previous day, been admitted by the Visitor, was received in the Chapel, and placed in his seat by Dr. Williams, Senior Fellow and Vice-President, in the presence of all the Fellows then in Town and the Rev. J. Gutch, Notary Public.

N.B. The Statutable Ceremonies (? Customary Ceremonies, for which see the account of Dr. Norris' installation in 1843) only were observed.

June 26, 1824. Ten guineas subscribed out of the Interest Money towards erecting certain Churches in Lower Canada, and Five Guineas towards the establishment of a Theological Seminary in the Diocese of Ohio, U.S.A.

Oct. 10, 1825. At a full meeting of the President and Fellows, it was resolved to discontinue the office of Steward (which had lately become vacant by the death of Sir W. E. Taunton, late Steward), and that in future Mr. Bartram be employed to transact all the business hitherto transacted by the Steward. (See also entry under Nov. 6, 1832, appointing Mr. Henry Walsh on Bartram's death. The Steward was, evidently, the old 'Clericus Computi,' who thus finally disappeared, his functions being divided amongst the College Solicitor, the Bailiff, and, at a later time, the Auditor.)

May 11, 1826. £50 subscribed to the distressed manufacturers in the North of England.

Sept. 11, 1828. £50 subscribed to King's College, London.

March 6, 1829. Grace was granted to Mr. H. White and Mr. J. Norris, Fellows of the House, to proceed to the Degree of B.D., without observing the usual form of preaching during Lent at

St. Peter's in the East. <This dispensation was granted in consequence of an alteration in the University Statutes, by which the Lent Sermons, formerly preached at St. Peter's, were enjoined to be preached at St. Mary's, the Vice-Chancellor appointing the Preachers.>

Dec. 19, 1829. Mr. Kellow, Stone Mason at Winchester, commissioned to repair the Founder's tomb for £150; Mr. Kellow having found means to procure some of the same stone as that of which the original was made.

June 3, 1830. Scheme (Copy annexed) for the application of three-fourths of the Pate Trust to the purposes of the School and Alms-houses at Cheltenham, as submitted to the Court of Chancery in pursuance of an Order made on March 13, 1830.

Feb. 12, 1831. £30 subscribed to the foundation of University Mathematical Scholarships.

May 3 and various subsequent entries, 1831. Correspondence with Mr. —, who, on election to a Probationary Fellowship, declined to take the oath, as not being in 'external communion' with the Church of England. The President and Fellows were of opinion that, by the terms of his letter, he had also forfeited the right to his Scholarship. There was an appeal to the Visitor, and a decision (May 17) in favour of the College.

June 28, 1832. The Undergraduates convened in Hall for the purpose of hearing an admonition to one of the Exhibitioners for having surreptitiously entered the College after 9 p.m. A severer punishment, previously threatened, had been remitted on his confession.

Feb. 15, 1833. £50 subscribed to the distressed Clergy in Ireland.

January 17, 1834. Death of Dr. Williams, long Vice-President of the Society. The entry expresses deep regret, respect and affection. Subsequent entry on Feb. 7, authorising the erection of a Tablet in the Cloisters at the expence of the College, the inscription to be composed by Vaughan Thomas, Dr. Williams' brother-in-law.

Ap. 22, 1834. £20 subscribed for the general improvement of the Oxford Botanic Garden.

Between Ap. 15, 1837, and Ap. 22, 1842, there were three cases of Scholarships being thrown open to all the favoured Counties and Dioceses, in failure of a duly qualified Candidate from the County in which a vacancy occurred. In one case, an appeal was made

to the Visitor by the Father of one of the rejected candidates, but dismissed.

Sept. 3, 1843. The President, the Rev. T. E. Bridges, D.D., died at Ilfracombe.

I am now approaching so near to our own times, that it would be invidious to make selections from the lists on literary grounds, and a careful perusal of the lists themselves will easily suggest to my readers those members of the College who have been distinguished for their literary productions. I shall, therefore, here confine myself to a bare enumeration of those foundation or non-foundation members of the College who have filled any distinguished official position, academical, ecclesiastical, civil, or scholastic.

Amongst the Scholars, during Dr. Bridges' Presidency, those to be thus noted are: Clement Greswell, admitted June 8, 1823, Fellow of Oriel, 1830-40; Charles Abel Heurtley, admitted Nov. 28, 1823, Bampton Lecturer, Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Ch. Ch.; John Allen Giles, admitted Nov. 26, 1824, Head Master of the City of London School, 1836-40; John William Richards, admitted Dec. 2, 1825, High Master of Manchester Grammar School, 1837-42; Steuart Adolphus Pears, admitted June 15, 1832, Head Master of Repton School, 1854-73; John Matthias Wilson, admitted same day, afterwards Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy and President of the College; Thomas Englesby Rogers, admitted May 30, 1834, Recorder of Wells and Chancellor of the Diocese of Bath and Wells; George Gresley Perry, admitted March 3, 1837, Fellow of Lincoln, and Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral; James Spencer Northcote, admitted April 15, 1837, President of Oscott (Roman Catholic) College; John Hannah, admitted May 5, 1837, Fellow of Lincoln, Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, and Archdeacon of Lewes; George Buckle, admitted Feb. 8, 1839, Fellow of Oriel and Prebendary of Wells. To these may be added three well-known Tutors of the College, namely, George Carless Swayne, admitted June 26, 1835, George Hext, admitted Sept. 23, 1836, and George Frederic de Teissier, admitted Aug. 10, 1838.

Of the Exhibitioners, restraining myself within the same limits, I may name John Douglass Giles, admitted Nov. 28, 1828, Archdeacon of Stow; Philip Antoine de Teissier, third Baron de Teissier, admitted Nov. 9, 1837, founder of an exhibition in the College; and Robert Kestell Cornish, admitted January 28, 1843, Bishop of Madagascar. Of the Gentlemen-Commoners, may be added Edward Simpson, admitted May 10, 1824, who, as Edward Hicks, sat as M.P. for Cambridge, 1879-85; Hon. John Arbuthnott, admitted June 28, 1824, ninth Viscount Arbuthnott; Henry William Dashwood (afterwards Sir H. W., Bart.), admitted Oct. 22, 1834, Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire; and Robert Gregory, admitted April 2, 1840, Dean of St. Paul's.

Dr. Bridges' successor was elected Sept. 16, 1843. It used to be a tradition in the College that the Presidency was first offered to Edward Greswell, but that he refused both this office and the Professorship of Divinity at Durham on the ground that he wished to be free to devote the whole of his life to the literary and theological works on which he was engaged. But, however this may be, the actual choice fell on James Norris, one of the Senior Fellows, a Hampshire Scholar, born at Warblington on Dec. 19, 1796. Mr. Norris had been elected Scholar, on the same day as Archdeacon Phelps, Oct. 20, 1815, and they were both also admitted together to their Probationary Fellowships, Oct. 10, 1822. The new President seems never to have taken any part in the educational work of the College, but he had successfully executed the office of Bursar, and, both before and after his election to the Presidency, he enjoyed a considerable reputation for his business capacity. As a Delegate of Estates, he had an opportunity of bringing the knowledge and experience which he had acquired in the management of the College property into the service of the University, but he declined the office of Vice-Chancellor, when it came to his turn. During his long Presidency (1843-72), the University, including his own College, passed through fundamental changes little short of revolu-

tionary, with which it was notorious that Dr. Norris had scant sympathy. When once imposed, however, whether from within or without, he loyally accepted them, with the true constitutional instinct of the Englishman, and endeavoured, to the best of his power, to base his administration on the new order of things. The result was that, with a tolerably harmonious governing body, a motive force of extraordinary power applied by Professor J. M. Wilson, then and long afterwards the leading Fellow, and the almost unfettered disposal of large revenues, the College suddenly sprang into a position of usefulness and importance which excited the astonishment of the University. But I am here anticipating the march of events by several years, and it is better that I should, as before, recite the Annals of the College, in their chronological sequence.

Sept. 21, 1843. Mr. James Norris, the new President, was received in the College Chapel by the Vice-President and Resident Fellows, and, after being presented with the insignia of his office, namely, the Fasciculus Clavium, the golden ring (i. e. the Founder's sapphire ring), and the Book of Statutes 'in usum Præsidentis,' was ushered to his seat and took the President's oath.

Dec. 31, 1846. Macmullen's resignation of his Fellowship, followed, the next day, by his profession of the Roman Catholic faith. (Richard Gell Macmullen, who had been admitted Scholar, May 30, 1828, while still under fourteen years of age, had recently acquired considerable notoriety in the University, and indeed throughout the country, owing to a lawsuit with Dr. Hampden, the Regius Professor of Divinity. It was necessary, at that time, for all Fellows of Corpus, except the Medicinæ Deputatus, to proceed to the Degree of B.D., and, when Macmullen's turn came, the Professor refused to pass his exercises on the ground that they contained distinctively Romish doctrine, thereby virtually depriving him of his Fellowship. The subjects of the exercises had been selected by the Professor himself, for the purpose, as it was held by Macmullen's friends, of forcing him into a confession of his views. There ensued an action in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, *Macmullen v. Hampden*, on the ground that the Plaintiff had sustained pecuniary loss. The decision was in favour of Macmullen, but was reversed by the Delegates of Appeals in

Congregation¹. The case does not seem to have been carried further in the University or any other Courts, but the difference appears to have been ultimately compromised by the Professor consenting to set exercises on less controverted questions. Any way, Macmullen took his B.D. Degree in 1845, and subsequently acted as one of the clergy at St. Saviour's, Leeds, described by Dr. Hook as 'a hornet's nest which he had found close to his garden gate.' He appears to have been actually 'received' into the Church of Rome on January 9, 1847.—In this account, I have chiefly followed Miss Hampden's *Life of her Father*, pp. 116-7, the *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. ix. pp. 169-182, and G. V. Cox's *Recollections of Oxford*, pp. 333-6. A story which I have heard in Oxford about a 'Mandamus' addressed to the University or the Regius Professor from the Court of Queen's Bench, commanding Macmullen to be admitted to his Degree, seems, like many 'traditions' of this kind, to have no foundation.—In the President's bureau at Corpus, there is a bundle of papers relating to Macmullen, amongst which are bitter complaints, addressed by Dr. Hook to Dr. Norris, about the conduct of Macmullen and his Oxford patrons in connexion with St. Saviour's, Leeds. Dr. Hook regrets his former hostility to the action of the Heads of Houses.)

Feb. 20, 1851. Agreed by the President and Seven Senior Fellows in College, 'that full information should be given to the Royal Commissioners as to the Corporate Revenues of the Society and the application of them; also that they, or some person appointed by them, should be permitted to peruse and copy the Statutes of the College and the Injunctions of Visitors.' (Appended is a detailed account of the previous proceedings of the College in this matter. The Royal Commission of enquiry had been issued in August, 1850. On the 19th of December, 1850, a special meeting had been held to consider the communications of the Commissioners. After considerable discussion, and an objection on the part of the President, supported by a letter from Mr. Greswell, that to give such information as required to the Visitors or to furnish them with a Copy of the Statutes and Injunctions would be to surrender the independence of the College and a violation of the oath taken by the President and Fellows, it was finally agreed that the advice of the Visitor should be asked, and two of the Fellows, Mr. Tucker, Vice-President, and Mr. J. M. Wilson, undertook to seek an interview with the Bishop

¹ The arguments at this stage are given at length, together with the Judgment, in *Notes of Cases in the Ecclesiastical and Maritime Courts*, vol. 3, Supplement, p. 1.

of Winchester. The Visitor requested a formal written statement, expressing in direct terms the doubts which it was wished he should resolve. To this statement, he replied categorically that he saw no statutable objection to furnishing the information asked for by the Commissioners under any of the heads. The President's objection being thus over-ruled by the Visitor, the Resolution of Feb. 20 was unanimously passed.)

At the same meeting, it was unanimously resolved that, in future, no *Gentlemen Commoners* should be admitted (it may be noticed parenthetically that the last of the Gentlemen-Commoners was the famous soldier, Major-General Sir Drury Curzon Lowe, K.C.B.), but that the College would, instead, receive *Commoners*, not limiting the number to six, but admitting as many as it should be found could be conveniently lodged within the College.

For about ninety years before this time, the total number of Undergraduates was almost stationary, and rarely reached 20. Thus in November 1762, there were 7 Scholars, 2 Clerks, 2 Choristers, and 5 Gentlemen-Commoners, a total of 16; in November 1770, 11 Scholars, 2 Clerks, 2 Choristers, and 3 Gentlemen-Commoners, a total of 18; in November 1792, 11 Scholars, 4 Exhibitioners (as the Clerks and Choristers were now called), and 4 Gentlemen-Commoners, a total of 19; in November 1809, 7 Scholars, 4 Exhibitioners, and 5 Gentlemen-Commoners, a total of 16; in November 1830, 11 Scholars, 4 Exhibitioners, and 8 Gentlemen-Commoners (two, it may be noted, in excess of the Statutable number, a licence which, at this time, had come to be commonly assumed), a total of 23; in November 1840, 11 Scholars, 3 Exhibitioners, and 5 Gentlemen-Commoners, a total of 19; and in November 1850, 13 Scholars, 4 Exhibitioners, and 3 Gentlemen-Commoners, a total of 20. From about 1670 to 1760, the average number of Undergraduates had generally been even smaller than this, but the Injunction of Bp. Hoadley in 1754, facilitating the non-residence of M.A. Scholars (see p. 287), had, by opening up to them new avenues in life, probably quickened the succession all along the line.

March 27, 1851. Charles Young admitted First Commoner. (But see p. 260.)

Nov. 19, 1851. Unanimously agreed not to enforce the residence of B.A. Scholars, it being better for the interests of the society not to do so.

April 27, 1852. On this day the Junior or Scholars' Common Room was, after due notice, dissolved by an order of the President and Fellows.

This measure was, no doubt, a wise one, and probably was intimately connected with the recent admission of Commoners, and the change in the character of the College which it must have been foreseen that step would entail. From a very small society, Corpus was now likely to become at least a moderate-sized one. To such a society the Governing Body of the College probably thought a Junior Common Room inappropriate; and, if the Scholars and Exhibitioners only were included, they were likely to become a clique, which would be a misfortune both to themselves and to the other members of the College.

The Junior Common Room seems to have first come into existence on Nov. 20, 1797, when James Phillott was elected the first Steward. But the real founder of the Club, though he was never Steward, seems to have been George Leigh Cooke, nephew of the President, subsequently Tutor of the College and Sedleian Professor of Natural Philosophy. In numerous copies of verses, in subsequent years, his praises were sung, under the familiar nick-name of 'The Codger,' and sometimes as 'Founder of the Room' he was regarded with more favour than the 'Founder of the College.' The 20th of November was always observed, with due conviviality, as the anniversary of the foundation, and one of the members, who had the title of Poet Laureate, composed, even if he did not also sing, a copy of verses for the occasion. Many of these copies of verses are still preserved, and amongst them is one 'written by T. Arnold, Esq., and sung by J. Cornish, Esq.'¹ in

¹ That is, George James Cornish, to whom so many of the letters in Stanley's Life of Arnold are addressed. He was Arnold's senior, as a Scholar, by eight or nine months, and by about a year in age. It should, in fairness, be remembered that Arnold was less than 17½, when he wrote these verses.

Writing, exactly seven years after this event, in 1819, to his friend, the Rev. John Tucker, long a Fellow of Corpus, Arnold says: 'This day eight years, about this time, we were assembled in the Junior Common Room, to celebrate the first

1812. The lines are respectable for a boy, but they certainly convey the idea that Arnold did well to direct his powers to history and teaching rather than to poetry. Perhaps the best lines are the following, occurring in a commemoration of the presents made to the room:—

‘Of Arnold ’tis certain he gave us a curtain,
And this wish to the giver is due:
That the present he made to his faults be a shade,
Whilst the light of his Virtues shines through.’

The last and 55th Steward of the Room was Francis Otter, late M.P. for the Louth division of Lincolnshire.

When the Junior Common Room was dissolved, and its effects dispersed, the five volumes of records, containing the ‘Statutes,’ list of Stewards and ‘Benefactors,’ accounts of the annual convivialities, copies of the verses sung on these occasions, &c., fell to the lot of Mr. Thomas Godfrey Faussett, then one of the Scholars. Through the kindness and courtesy of his widow, and at the suggestion of Mr. Robert Faussett of Ch. Ch., these volumes are now safely stored in the College Library, and will probably, at some time, be highly prized by the antiquary who is studying the collegiate life of the first half of the nineteenth century¹.

foundation of the room, and had been amused by hearing Bartholomew’s song about “Musical George” (? Cornish) and “Political Tommy” (? Arnold himself), and now, of the party then assembled, you are the only one still left in Oxford, and the rest of us are scattered over the face of the earth to our several abodes.’

¹ Since I wrote these paragraphs, an interesting paper on ‘The Junior Common Room,’ by Mr. Arthur Sidgwick, has appeared in *The Pelican Record* for March, 1892. He draws attention to the facts that ‘in 1811 dogs were apparently kept in College, all members being requested to turn them out of “the room” when they appear’; that in 1813 laxity appears to have been creeping in with respect to dress, ‘the old custom having been to come to the wines in full dress—knee-breeches, silk stockings, shoes, buckles, and the old high collar’; and that, in the wine accounts, claret is first mentioned in 1824, champagne in 1828, and whiskey in 1829, port, sherry, Madeira, Buccellas, Lisbon, and Vidonia having been the original beverages. He rightly selects the poem of Charles Blackstone, subsequently Newdigate prizeman, sung in 1846, as the best in the book. From one of the stanzas we learn the position of ‘the Room’.—

‘For at length to obviate this want there rose an “artful dodger,”
By gods above called George Leigh Cooke, by men below “the Codger”;
Who—long for this we’ll venerate his name in C. C. C., Sir—
Converted the ground floor upon the right of No. 3, Sir,
Into our Common Room’

It is a curious fact that, small as Corpus was, there were actually three distinct Common Rooms in the College: one for the M.A. Members of the Foundation; one for the Bachelors and Gentlemen-Commoners; and the third, that of which I have been speaking, the 'Junior Common Room,' for the Scholars and Exhibitioners.

March 3, 1853. Refused to nominate a certain Fellow to a living, on ground of seniority, 'the single reason being a strong conviction of his unfitness for the care of any Parish.'

June 3, 1853. Agreed to concur in the terms of the proposed statute for establishing a Latin Professorship in the University, such concurrence being 'in recognition of the claims of the University upon the public services of the Latin Lecturer of C. C. C., and being intended to effect a more complete fulfilment of the spirit of the Founder's Statutes.'

Dec. 10, 1853. Two Hants Scholarships, the performances of the Candidates being unsatisfactory, were thrown open to all the favoured counties.

Jan. 31, 1854. Letter in reply to questions issued by Lord Palmerston (then Home Secretary) on College and University Reform, and the best mode of carrying it out. Parliamentary Commission suggested by Fellows, extension of powers of Visitor by President.

May 1, 1855. General meeting of the College to discuss the new Statutes to be proposed to the University Commissioners. (It may here be mentioned that Colleges were allowed to draw up their own Statutes, subject to the approval of the Commissioners. Three Colleges only, Exeter, Lincoln and Corpus, availed themselves of this privilege. The remaining Colleges left it to the Commissioners to draw up 'Ordinances' for them.) One Fellow absented himself on the ground that it was unlawful to make any alteration in the Founder's Statutes.—A large majority of the Fellows was in favour of abolishing the clerical restriction on one-half of the Fellowships and on the Presidentship. 'The President, who had reluctantly consented to the former relaxation, positively refused to accede to the second; and, as the votes of the Fellows were adverse to his view, he subsequently addressed the Commissioners by way of protest.' Thereupon, the Commissioners (a Parliamentary Executive Commission which had been appointed to co-operate with the

Colleges, by Act of Parliament bearing date August 7, 1854) 'expressed their desire that the words in question "*Ordine Sacerdotii constitutus*" should be restored, but that other words in the Statute "*de electione Præsidentis*," which limit the eligibility to those who are or have been Fellows, should be struck out.—The President again remonstrated against this contradiction of the Founder's Will, but the Commissioners declined to withdraw their recommendation, and ultimately it was adopted.'

Various other meetings were held to consider the 'New Statutes.' Ultimately, on October 9, 1855, 'the revised Statutes, having been engrossed on parchment, were sealed with the College Seal, and transmitted to the Commissioners, who signified their approval by affixing the seal of the Commission on the same day.' See also entry under Oct. 29 and 30, 1856.

Oct. 26, 1855. Repairs of buildings of Grantham School ordered, cost not to exceed £240.

Oct. 29 and 30, 1856. College Meetings were held on these days for the purpose of making certain rules and regulations with regard to the New Statutes, which, having been referred by order of the House of Commons to the Privy Council, had received the approval of Her Majesty in Council on the 24th of June last.

Oct. 30, 1856. John Conington, formerly Fellow of University, who had been elected Professor of Latin, admitted Fellow of C. C. C. '*honoris causâ*.'

Ap. 3, 1857. First open election to a Scholarship. H. Nettleship (subsequently Professor of Latin) elected.

June 12, 1863. Prizes of books, in recognition of University classes and other distinctions, first instituted as a College regulation. (In exceptional cases they had been given before, as to Lord Tenterden, June 30, 1786; to Bp. Copleston, July 8, 1793; to T. Arnold and T. Penrose, June 23, 1814.)

June 16, 1865. The College offers to endow a Professorship of Jurisprudence. See entry under Feb. 26, 1870.

June 29, 1866. E. L. Hicks of B. N. C. elected to the first Open Fellowship.

Feb. 27, 1868. Resolutions passed in favour of abolishing clerical restrictions on the Headship and *all* the Fellowships, and of appointing a Committee to consider the duties, emoluments, &c., of the Headship.

Nov. 24, 1868. Compulsory attendance at Chapel abolished.

June 18, 1869. The Bursar (Mr. Calverley) reported the purchase of the Lee Grange Estate for £57,500. It appears from the Minute Book that the estimated net rental of this estate was then £2000. It is situate in Bucks, and is now known as the Shipton Lee Estate.

Feb. 26, 1870. Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. J. S. Maine, having been elected to the Corpus Professorship of Jurisprudence, recently founded by the College, was admitted Fellow, 'honoris causâ.'

March 1, 1870. The Rev. Edwin Palmer, late Fellow of Balliol, having been elected to the Corpus Professorship of Latin, was admitted Fellow, 'honoris causâ.'

March 19, 1870. Several applications to the Visitor to sanction changes in the Statutes for reducing number of Clerical Fellows, co-opting eminent men as Fellows, &c.

June 18, 1870. Reply of the Visitor read to the meeting, expressing his consent to all the above changes.

Ap. 29, 1871. Foundation of College Exhibitions for the encouragement of Commoners already matriculated. Regulations appended.

Same day. Professor Ruskin elected Honorary Fellow, and allowed to occupy rooms in the College.

Oct. 25, 1871. Agreed to give information to the Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Revenues of the University and Colleges (Duke of Cleveland's Commission).

Dr. Norris died April 16, 1872, and was buried in the College Cloisters, where a tablet is erected to his memory.

As we are now close upon recent times, it seems to me undesirable to attempt to make any selection of eminent or remarkable men during the Presidentship of Dr. Norris, and, à fortiori, of his two successors. The lists, however, are given complete, with academical and other distinctions appended, but without any observations or any attempt to point out literary or scientific achievement.

The Rev. John Matthias Wilson, B.D., Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy, formerly Fellow of the College, and, at the time of his election, Rector of the College Living of Byfield, Northamptonshire, was unanimously elected as Dr. Norris' successor, May 8, 1872. He was a Durham Scholar,

a native of South Shields, born Sept. 24, 1813, admitted Scholar June 15, 1832, and Probationary Fellow April 28, 1841. Mr. Wilson, though he had recently retired to Byfield, had for many years been the most influential and the best-known Fellow of the College, and the Headship seemed to devolve upon him almost as a matter of course. Though he did not lay claim to any extensive erudition, he was full of intellectual life and interests, a shrewd observer, and an acute thinker, who, to use a favourite phrase of Locke, tried to 'bottom' everything. Those who attended his lectures during the earlier years of his Professorship will recollect the extraordinary intellectual stimulus which he communicated to his pupils, and his frank out-spokenness and Northern accent supplied them with a variety of *mots*, which, not always without some embellishment, were put in the Professor's mouth. He was a most devoted son of Corpus, in which he must have spent about two-thirds of his life, but, unfortunately, soon after his election to the Presidentship, his health gave way, and, during the last few years of his life, he was largely incapacitated from taking part in the administration of the College. The very briefest notice of Professor Wilson would be imperfect, unless it recognised the prominent part he took in University Reforms, and specially in the movements which resulted in the abolition of Religious Tests and the issue of the Parliamentary Commissions of 1854 and 1877. For many years, and specially during the keenest years of party conflict (and those who took part in the conflicts of those times will never forget how keen they were), he was practically, if not nominally, the leader of the Liberal party in Oxford. The strain, no doubt, told upon his constitution, and he died somewhat prematurely, though as the result of a long illness, on Dec. 1, 1881. He was buried in the Holywell Cemetery, but is commemorated by a mural tablet in the College Cloisters.

I extract from the Minutes and other sources a few of the more important entries during Mr. Wilson's Presidency:—

Nov. 16, 1872. Agreed to petition the Visitor to accede to an alteration in the Statutes, whereby any fit person, though he be not

already a member of the Society, may be elected to the office of Bursar. The Petition was acceded to, and Mr. Alfred Stowe of Wadham College was elected Bursar on Feb. 11, 1873. On his resignation during the next year, Mr. Thomas Mosley Crowder, M.A., also of Wadham College, the late Bursar, was elected, Nov. 7, 1874.

Feb. 11, 1873. Agreed to make an annual grant of £100 to the Grantham Grammar School (one of the schools founded by Bishop Foxe) in lieu of all other payments.

Nov. 8, 1873. Henry John Stephen Smith, M.A., F.R.S., Fellow of Balliol and Savilian Professor of Geometry, was elected to a Professorial Fellowship (i.e. a Fellowship not attached to any particular Professorship, but to which Mr. Smith was eligible, in virtue of being a Professor of the University).

Nov. 6, 1875. The College expressed its willingness, 'in case the University should make Mr. Legge Professor of Chinese, to appropriate to his use the income of a Fellowship' (then £300 a year), 'so long as he shall continue to hold that office.' The Visitor approved an alteration in the Statutes to this effect, the University constituted the Professorship for Mr. Legge's life, and, on May 31, 1876, he was admitted a member of the College.

Feb. 10, 1877. Agreed to purchase, from Ch. Ch., at a price estimated at £20,300, a piece of land consisting of about 500 acres at Notgrove, called the Manor Farm.

June, 1878. Mr. Nettleship, Fellow of the College, elected third Professor of Latin.

Feb. 15, 1879. Classical Tutorship of the College accepted by Mr. Arthur Sidgwick, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and at this time Assistant Master of Rugby School. He came into residence in the following term, and on June 10, 1882, after the New Statutes had come into operation, was admitted an Official Fellow, in accordance with clause 19.

Mr. Wilson died on Dec. 1, 1881, and on Dec. 23 following the College elected, into his place, the Rev. Thomas Fowler, M.A., Fellow of Lincoln College and Professor of Logic in the University.

On May 3, 1882, Her Majesty in Council approved the New Statutes drawn up by the Parliamentary and College Commissioners,

for the government of the College. Inasmuch as one of the Fellows of the College, Professor H. Smith, was one of the Parliamentary Commissioners, the College had been represented on the Commission by only two, instead of three, Commissioners. These were Mr. Oddie and Mr. Little; the late President, owing to ill health, having declined to serve.

Jan. 31, 1883. Frederick Pollock, M.A. (afterwards Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart.), formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was admitted Official Fellow, having been previously elected to the Corpus Christi Professorship of Jurisprudence, in accordance with Clause 14 of the New Statutes. (Sir Frederick Pollock was re-admitted Fellow (after being re-elected to the Professorship) on Feb. 25, 1888.)

Aug. 23, 1883. Alterations in the Statute respecting the Dean approved by H. M. in Council.

Feb. 2, 1884. Resolved to build new rooms on the site of some old houses, the property of the College, in Merton St. and Grove St. Mr. T. G. Jackson was selected as Architect. This building was completed in 1885, and opened for the reception of students, as 'ædes annexæ' (see University Statutes, Tit. III. Sect. 1), in the Michaelmas Term of that year.

June 24, 1885. Certain alterations in the Statutes with regard to Tutors and Assistant Tutors approved by H. M. in Council.

January 12, 1891. Certain alterations in the Statutes respecting Marriage and Residence in College (Statute 24, Clause b, and Statute 78) approved by H. M. in Council.

June 28, 1892. A statute, regulating the Seniority of Fellows, approved by H. M. in Council.

APPENDIX.

A.

ON FINES AND OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE.

ONE of the most obscure subjects in the early history of the Colleges is the distribution of the Fines, and it was also one of the main occasions of dispute between the Head and Fellows or between different classes of Fellows. The 'cession' of no less than four Presidents of Corpus, Bocher, Greneway, Cole and Anyan, was more or less connected with this question. The documents, to which these few pages are an introduction, will, it is hoped, throw much contemporary light on the subject. They are selected from a batch of papers, connected with the ever-recurring dispute about the disposal of the Fines, which is preserved in MS. 437 in the College Library.

Soon after the foundation of the College, it was beset with financial difficulties from two opposite sides. Prices went up, and so the sums fixed by the Founder for commons, liveries or vests, and stipends became insufficient to supply the wants of the students. On the other hand, the value of land and agricultural products increased in, probably, a still greater ratio. The price, however, paid for the use of land had come to assume the form, not so much of an adequate annual rent, as of a small rent supplemented by large payments (fines) on the renewal of the leases or copies. Now, as the Statutes made no definite provision for the appropriation of these fines (though I can hardly question that, had the Founder anticipated the question, he would have treated them as part of the common funds of the College), a variety of questions soon arose as to the disposal, nor was the question always the same with regard to the disposal of the fines on copyholds and leases, as the President seems to have claimed a special interest in the copyholds. Thus, was the whole fine to go to the common funds of the College, or only part

of it, and, if so, what part ; and, if there was any part which was not carried to the common fund, who was entitled to it, the President, or the President and Seven Seniors, whose consent was necessary, under ordinary circumstances, ‘in traditionibus aut locationibus firmarum’¹, or the President and the whole body of actual Fellows, without whose consent the seal could not be affixed to any corporate act²? And, if either of the two latter alternatives were adopted, in what proportions were the shares to be assigned? Furthermore, in addition to the fine actually set by the College, was it lawful for the President, or for the President and certain officers, or the President and Seven Seniors, or the President and whole body of Fellows, to receive, privately, on their own account, ‘gratifications’ for their ‘good-will’? Add to all these and possibly other contentions which might be advanced, the outrageous claim which seems to have been made by some of the Presidents to retain, for their own use, the whole of the fines which they received on copyholds. But, in whatever way these questions were decided (and the practice seems to have differed considerably at different times), the general tendency was, no doubt, to sacrifice the interests of the junior and inferior members of the College, who had no votes in College Meetings,—the Probationers, the Scholars, the *Ministri Sacelli*, and the *Famuli Collegii*, to those of the President, the Seven Seniors, and the whole body of Fellows, these, again, amongst themselves, respectively faring according to the powers with which they were respectively invested and the pertinacity and skill with which they were able to wield them.

The two great epochs in the history of College property are (1) the enactments of 13, 14, and 18 Eliz., on fines of leases and reserved rents, and (2) the running out of leases and substitution of rack-rents, which became general about the middle of the present century, and put an end to the wasteful, though possibly prudent³, system of fines on renewals which had prevailed for many centuries before that time. Prior to the first of these Acts, estates, when leased at all, seem to have been usually leased for long periods, and, though Corpus was forbidden by the Founder to make long leases (Statutes, Ch. 45), it may not improbably have succeeded to some, and, even if it was not much affected by the first and second of the Acts of

¹ Stat. ch. 46.

² Stat. ch. 43.

³ The College and Cathedral estates were often leased to powerful noblemen. It is said that the late Dr. Routh deplored the coming in of the new system, because the old system of leases interested so many persons of weight and position in the protection of the College property.

Elizabeth, it was undoubtedly, like all other Colleges and similar bodies, largely indebted to the third¹. By the Act 13 Eliz. cap. 10, it is enacted that henceforth all leases, &c. of Estates made by any College or ecclesiastical body shall be granted for terms not exceeding one and twenty years or three lives, and that the accustomed yearly rent or more (the '*Reditus Antiqui*' of old College account-books) shall be reserved and payable yearly during the same term. By 14 Eliz. cap. 11, there is an exemption from the provisions of the former Act, under certain circumstances, in the case of houses, but it is provided that no house shall be leased in reversion, or without reserving the accustomed yearly rent, or without charging the Lessee with the reparations, or for a longer term than forty years at the most. Finally, by 18 Eliz. cap. 6, it is enacted that 'for the better maintenance of learning and the better relief of Scholars in the Universities,' &c., no College in either University or at Winchester or Eton shall, after the end of the present session of Parliament, make any lease of land or tithes, 'except that the one third part at the least of the old rent be reserved and paid in corn,' either in kind or value. There was a curious provision for ascertaining the money value, which even still obtains, namely, that it should be according to the highest rate at which wheat and malt were sold in the markets of Oxford, Cambridge, Winchester, and Windsor respectively, on the next market day before the rents were due. These reserved rents, settled by the price of corn, were, in contradistinction to the *Reditus Antiqui*, called 'Corn-rents' or '*reditus frumentarius*.' The Corn-rents were a variable sum, from year to year; but the 'Old Rents,' after the long leases had fallen in, and the College had come into full possession of its present property, were almost a constant sum down to the time when the system of rack-renting first began to replace that of the renewal of leases on fines. In the *Libri Magni*, down to 1855, when the old Statutes were abrogated, these *Reditus Antiqui* occupy a prominent position and a considerable space, but they had become a comparatively insignificant item in the accounts. They were always

¹ See Mr. Shadwell's article on Oriel College in *Colleges of Oxford*, pp. 119, 20. Mr. Shadwell speaks, however, as if the Act 18 of Eliz. ch. 6 covered the provisions of all the three Acts cited above. The more pertinent extracts from all these three Acts are given in Dr. Griffiths' *Enactments in Parliament* specially concerning the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

There is a curious and interesting passage in Dr. Reynolds' letter (see pp. 348-9 below) on the way in which the farms (or some of them) were managed and let during the early years of the College.

carried to 'Domus,' or, in other words, never divided amongst the individual members of the Corporation, inasmuch as they represented the original revenue of the College which could only be used for the common purposes of the foundation. Hence there was no inducement to the Governing Body of the College to attempt to increase this portion of their revenue, as it was neither capable of division amongst all the Members of the Foundation, like the Corn-Rents, nor capable of being, in large part, appropriated to themselves like the fines.

Of course, it was some time before these Statutes of Elizabeth began to have any sensible effect. The first of the Libri Magni in which there is any mention of a Corn-Rent is that of 1583-4, in which there occurs the heading 'Incrementa Redditus Frumentarii' with a list of farms and tenants, but no payments. In the Liber Magnus for 1584-5, the sum received under this head amounts to £15 8s. 1d., but it is not carried to any special account. The final statement for this year, however, is 'Et sic debent (sc. Dispensatores) £29 11s. 1½d., quam summam expenderunt, una cum £76 16s. 6½d.'¹ The latter sum, from a nameless source, must, I think, have been from fines, and was probably divided, in certain proportions (perhaps as sealing money, cp. p. 350), amongst the President and Fellows, though it may not have represented the entire sum which was taken from the tenants. Entries, similar to the last, occur, almost from year to year, as far back as the book for 1571-2. Indeed, though different in form, the final statement of the accounts seems to be of much the same character substantially as far back as the earliest Liber Magnus in which such a statement is extant, namely, that for 1525-6. The final statement in that book concludes with the words: 'et debent xxvi^{li} v^s ix^d ob., quam summam adduxerunt ad turrin, et supra ista xxxiiii^s ii^d ob., et recesserunt quieti.' I imagine that the balance of the yearly accounts was always carried to the tower, and that this additional sum ('una cum' or 'supra ista') was in some way divided, probably being derived from fines and regarded as standing outside the ordinary accounts. The 'cista finium' (which belonged to the College and was applied to corporate objects), with its receipts and disbursements, first appears in the accounts in the Liber Magnus of 1585-6, but there can be no doubt from Reynolds' Letter to Bp. Bilson (see pp. 349-50) that it had existed long before this date.

¹ The next year (1585-6) this sum, in addition to the balance on the General Account, amounts to £155 14s. 11½d.

When the Corn-Rents had once become a recognised item in the College accounts, the process of augmenting the statutable allowances for commons out of the general funds of the College, which seems to have prevailed previously, was superseded by devoting these rents to the object for which the Statute of 18 Eliz. had designed them, namely, 'the use of the relief of the Commons and diett of the said Colleges.' Though the expression 'pro convictu Studentium ampliore' does not occur till the account for 1591-2, still, I think, there can be no doubt that the Corn-Rents were appropriated, from the first, either in the way of dividends or of improved commons. In the year just mentioned, there occur, in the final account, the two items 'pro incremento redditus frumenti' £153 18s. 6½*d.* and £11 11s. 0½*d.* 'pro convictu Studentium ampliore.' The former item perhaps points to a dividend, in some fixed proportion, amongst all the members of the College, and the latter to an improvement of the commons¹. In 1594-5, the Corn-Rent reached £229 18s. 10*d.*, and, from the way in which it is spoken of in the final account, 'Unde allocatur respectu incrementi redditus frumenti,' it looks as if it were used as a Dividend. In 1595-6², the Corn-Rent amounted to £372 18s. 1½*d.*, and is distributed between two items,—'pro expensis pro incremento redditus frumentarii' £286 10s. 2*d.* (which perhaps represents a Dividend), and £86 8s., 'quæ pars excrescens de redditu frumenti allocatur istis (sc. Dispensatoribus) pro ampliori convictu studentium et inhabitantium' (which may be a grant in improvement of the Commons). In 1596-7, the Corn-Rents amounted to £482 16s. 11½*d.*, of which £414 5s. 1½*d.* was expended 'pro decrementis' in simila avenacea, in pane, potu, vino, reliquoque convictu, et in sale, ligno, et carbonibus, and £68 11s. 10*d.* 'pro ampliore convictu studentium.' Here it looks as if the latter sum represented dividends and the former improvements in the way of living and comforts. The next year, 1597-8, the Corn-Rents amount to £731 16s. 9½*d.*, of which £359 8s. 3½*d.* was assigned 'pro decrementis' &c., and the remainder 'pro ampliore convictu studentium.' During many of the following years the decrements nearly swallow up, and sometimes more than swallow up, the whole of the corn-rents, leaving little

¹ Or it may be vice versa, a supposition which would be more consistent with the entries from 1596-7 onwards. What is plain is that the Corn-rent was used for two distinct purposes.

² In this year's accounts, £97 12s. 7*d.* appears as expended on a new buttery, or, as it is elsewhere described, cellar (probably both).

³ The word 'decrements' is explained below, p. 354.

'pro ampliore convictu studentium.' In the accounts for 1622-3, it is actually stated that £509 1s. 0d. was paid by the Bursars 'in *pecuniis*¹ divisis inter alumnos omnium ordinum.' The 'Divisio inter alumnos pro convictu ampliore' is henceforth a large and increasing sum, and was evidently a money payment. In 1660-1, it amounted to £884 15s. 6d. The deduction for Decrements, having gradually dwindled down to almost nothing, disappears altogether in 1680-1. In 1699-1700, the whole of the Corn-Rent, with a small deduction for the poor, which had now become common and varied from year to year, was distributed under the head of 'Divisio inter alumnos super quatuor Schemata².' It amounted this year to £1088 5s., but this was an exceptional year, for, the next year, it dropped to £695 os. 8d., and was distributed under the old designation of 'Divisio inter alumnos pro convictu ampliore.' In 1759-60, the Division 'Super quatuor Schemata' amounted to £713 2s.; in 1809-10, during the time of high prices, caused by the French war, to £1987 14s.; in 1829-30, to £1735 6s. 9d.; and in 1854-5, under the influence of Free Trade, it declined to £1461 12s.³

The entries under the 'Cista Finium' in the earlier Libri Magni are evidently no guide to the sums actually received by members of the Foundation under this head. Dr. Reynolds, as we shall see presently, speaks of about £1000 received as fines on the renewal of leases and copyholds, in the year 1597-8, whereas the sum credited to the 'Cista finium,' which also included sales of timber and other windfalls, is only about £229. After this time, however, whether in consequence of fresh regulations, or simply in virtue of the increase in the value of land, the College share of the fines seems to have

¹ The word is underlined in the original.

² This is simply an equivalent expression for 'Div. inter alum. pro convictu ampliore.' The quatuor schemata, at least in later years, were quarterly lists of the weekly expences of each person in College, and thus afforded evidence of residence. In earlier years, they may have been the same or they may have been the quarterly accounts of the allowances. The allowances for the four quarters, which were evidently a distribution of the corn-rents, were plainly based on relative position in College, and probably, in earlier times, partly on the amount of residence during the quarter. Excepting for the years 1773 and 1780, I find no books earlier than 1850 containing an account of the payments made to individual members of the Foundation. These payments do not appear in the Libri Magni.

³ The loss from running out the leases was balanced by an allowance of 25 per cent. from the rack-rents. 1854-5 was the last year in which the old statutes were in force. Under the new statutes of 1855, the accounts were much simplified, and the various separate allowances, which had hitherto obtained, were now merged in fixed stipends.

risen rapidly. Thus, in 1600-1, it amounted to about £320; in 1604-5, to about £400; in 1607-8, to about £630; in 1615-6, to about £650; in 1637-8, to about £600; in 1652-3, to about £750; in 1665-6, to about £875; in 1697-8, to about £845; in 1729-30, to about £1045; in 1760-1, to about £1281; in 1792-3, to about £1740; in 1809-10, to about £2742; in 1829-30, to about £2639; in 1854-5, to about £2130¹. There are, of course, fluctuations, and sometimes a decline instead of an advance. As nearly as I can calculate from the payments towards the close of the period during which the old statutes were still in force, the sum divided from fines, sales of timber, &c., among the President and Fellows was about double the corporate share of the College². At that time the President received four times the share of a Senior Fellow, and the proportion of a Senior Fellow to a Junior (if both were M.A.'s and in Priest's orders, and if a Junior Fellow were not a College officer) was as 22:20, being based on the addition of the statutable allowances for vests to those for stipends. A probationer, scholar, minister sacelli, or famulus Collegii received nothing out of the fines, except incidentally out of the College portion of them, through the 'Montague Vests' of which I shall speak presently. So far as the Fellows were concerned (and probably the President) this division of the non-corporate share of the fines was in accordance with a decision or counsel of Bp. Bilson, apparently not now extant, but evidently alluded to in a letter written by him to the President and Fellows on Jan. 16, 160½³.

But what became of the corporate share of the fines? Together with the 'redditus antiqui,' they formed a fund against which all the statutable charges of the College were carried—commons, stipends, vests, expenditure on the College buildings and estates, &c., the residue each year being carried to the Tower as a reserve fund, for the purpose of defending suits at law, and, if the opportunity offered, of increasing the College possessions⁴. But, as we have seen, the allowances for Commons seem to have been, from time

¹ For the exceptionally large sum to which the fines amounted in 1819-20, see p. 341.

² From the books of 1850-5, containing the details of the payments made to Members of the Foundation, it appears that, on the average, a sum considerably more than one half of the receipts of the President or a Fellow came from the Fines.

³ See below, pp. 353-4.

⁴ Old Statutes, chs. 40, 43.

to time, in some degree adjusted to the rise in prices, and, under the Visitorship of Bishop Montague (1616–1618), this principle received still wider application: (a) by increasing, in 1617, the stipends of the College Officers and Lecturers, providing that, in those years when they were so increased, 100 marks were carried to the tower¹; (β) by a concession, with the same proviso, which had been granted in the previous year, of far more importance in its ultimate results on the pecuniary interests of the members of the Foundation. This allowance was known, in subsequent years, as the Montague vest². The original document, by which the ‘Montague vest,’ or, at least, the single ‘Montague vest,’ was established, runs as follows:—

Feb. 5, 1616 (< $\frac{6}{7}3, thereby to have the students of his College known from others, and for that purpose hath allowed a sum of mony yearly to be payd to every man by the Bursars, which mony (tho then sufficient) will not now serve to effect that which he appoints, and because there is yearly carryd up to our common treasury such monys as in our consciences we thinke due to ourselves, which being divided would serve for that purpose, we the President, the senior fellows and officers, by the direction and appointment of the right reverend Father in God James Ld. Bp. of Winton, our honorable Visitor, doe ordain and decree that there be yearly a sufficient allowance (more than they had before) made to the students of$

¹ This Order was made Jan. 5, 1617. The details are given under Anyan’s Presidency. A copy of it, as well as of the next document, is to be found in MS. 437 in the College Library.

² It is, perhaps, superfluous to state that the ‘Montague Vest’ was a money allowance, as, at this time, no doubt, was also the original ‘vest’ or ‘livery.’ Indeed, even in the original Statutes (see ch. 38) as drawn up by the Founder, it was left to the discretion of the President and Seniors to substitute a money payment for the actual piece of cloth, and this discretion was probably soon exercised.

³ See Statutes, ch. 38: ‘Ut igitur nostri monitorem habeant simul et testem fraternæ inter se concordix, omnibus nostri Collegii de panno unius prope coloris, . . . pro vestibus exterioribus, togas appellant, una cum capitiis pro graduatis, . . . volumus singulis annis in omne ævum provideri.’ The gown and hood were, of course, much more substantial articles of clothing at that time than the present. The Cambridge Colleges still have different colours for their gowns. In Oxford, they are now uniformly black.

all orders to buy them gowns of the same colour, in this manner (viz. to the)

President £5.	Scholars undergraduates (i.e. undergraduate Scholars) and Clerks 30s.
7 Seniors, officers, and public readers £3.	Choristers 25s.
Masters which are fellows 50s	Clerk of the accounts and President's 2 servants 20s.
————— probationers or scholars 40s.	Manciple, 2 Cooks, Butler and Porter 13s 4d.
Chaplains, if they be Masters of Arts 40s.	
————— otherwise 33s. 4d.	
Bachelors, whether probationers, fellows, or scholars 33s. 4d.	

This decree I allow and approve of, soe long as you may yearly carry up to the increase of the Common Treasury an hundred marks at the least. Ja: Winton.

The decree is signed, amongst others, by Tho. Anyan, Pr.; Sebastian Benefield, V.P.; Brian Twine, Gr. Lect.; Thomas Jackson; and Henry Jackson.

The College acted on this decree in the accounts of that very year 1616-7, as well as in those of 1617-8, but, curiously enough, the proportions between the various orders of students do not correspond with those specified in the decree. If, however, we look at the Liber Magnus of 1619-20, we shall find this apparent anomaly explained by the fact that a new item, that of 'Terræ emptæ,' is included under the allowance for Vests. By comparing the items under that head in these three books, there can be no doubt that, in the accounts for 1616-7 and 1617-8, the allowance for 'Vests' includes (1) the old statutable allowance, (2) the new allowance sanctioned by Bp. Montague, (3) the rents for 'Terræ emptæ,' i.e. new lands or houses bought, in accordance with the Founder's intentions, out of the accumulations of the Tower Fund. These rents, like the 'Montague Vest,' seem to have been distributed, in certain proportions, amongst all members of the Foundation. The first year, the sum carried to the Tower was over £206, being largely in excess of the minimum of 100 marks prescribed by the Visitor, as a condition of his concession. A principle, to be hereafter largely extended, was thus established, by which, with due regard to the reserve fund and the gradual augmentation of the College property, the various members of the Foundation could obtain for themselves some proportion of the surplus of the corporate revenues. Nor was it, like the large proportion of the fines somewhat surreptitiously taken by the President and Fellows, in their individual capacity,

open to the charge of injustice. For all the members of the Foundation, from the highest to the lowest, in their several degrees, shared proportionally in the benefit.

There were many years at this period, in which the revenues could not afford even a single 'Montague vest,' and it was not, so far as I can ascertain, till 1649-50 that a double 'Montague vest' was allowed. In that year, the College share of the fines alone amounted to £1207, £205 was carried to the Tower, and the 'Divisio pro ampliori convictu' from the Corn-rents amounted to the then large sum of £1113. There were also double Montague Vests in the years 1671-2, 1672-3, 1673-4, 1677-8, and 1683-4, a proof of the prosperity of those years, as every Montague Vest implied a sum of at least two-thirds that amount carried to the Tower, and the sum thus carried was often, at this period, much larger than the Decree enjoined. The 'double vest' undoubtedly involved a liberal reading of the Decree of 1614, but the meaning attached to the Decree was not more elastic than probably Bp. Montague, and certainly the Founder, would have allowed, had they been cognisant of the facts and the changed circumstances of the time. In the year 1678, it appears as if some objection had been taken to the increase of the allowance, for in MS. 437 there is preserved a paper, evidently original, signed by Newlin, the President, and sixteen Fellows, amongst whom was Turner, the next President, to the effect that they 'doe conceive that the double livery now agreed to' (the date is Dec. 23) 'is consonant to our Founder's Statutes, as interpreted by the Rt. Rev. Father in God Bishop Montague, formerly our Visitor, and doe hereby promise that (if hereafter it shall appear otherwise) we will ourselves refund and cause all others that shall receive it to make restitution to the College.' But if the Montague Vest might be doubled, why should it not be trebled, quadrupled, or multiplied to any extent, provided that the proportional sum (usually about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the entire allowance) was carried to the Tower? Accordingly we find, in 1686-7, a 'Vestis triplex Montacuti,' and a similar entry is repeated in 1696-7, 1720-1, 1722-3, till, in 1726-7, it becomes 'quadruplex.' And so, as the accounts proceed, a fresh multiple¹ occasionally appears, till, at last, in 1820, it is multiplied

¹ Sometimes, in order to obtain the full benefit of the 'Montague Vest,' so far as permissible by the Decree, it is multiplied by $\frac{1}{2}$. Thus, in 1829-30, we have the entry '10 $\frac{1}{2}$ Vest. Mont. £1081 10s. 0d.' In later years, in fact, it became the common practice, when the College expences and other allowances had been deducted from the Old Rents and the College share of the Fines &c., to divide the

16 times, the whole charge being £1670, and the sum earned to the Tower £1187. In that year, the College share of the Fines¹ being enormously large (£4050), the value of the Montague Vest, I believe, culminated, as it did also in 1825, but, in most years during the last half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, it constituted a substantial addition to the income of the various members of the Foundation. Its history² is interesting and typical, as shewing the ingenious devices (perfectly innocent and justifiable) to which men who are bound by antiquated regulations are often driven to resort, in order to carry out the spirit of the rules at the expence of the letter. But, when such devices become common, surely the time has arrived, when the antiquated regulations ought to give place to their modern equivalents.

It is plain that there must often have been large accumulations of money in the Tower Fund. What became of them? For the purposes of a reserve fund, to meet emergencies and possible lawsuits, it was desirable to keep a considerable balance. But, even when these objects had been amply secured, there must often have been a large disposable surplus. This contingency had been foreseen by the Founder, who had provided (Stat. ch. 43) that the accumulations in the Tower might be employed '*pro possessionibus amplioribus, si oporteat, acquirendis.*' The College probably began, as soon as its surplus revenues permitted, to act on this direction or suggestion of its Founder, and Beam Hall, the picturesque old house opposite the College³, seems to have been one of its earliest purchases. But I have not noticed, in the *Libri Magni*, any express

approximate balance between the Montague Vests and the Tower Fund in the ratio of about 3 to 2.

¹ The President and Actual Fellows would divide about twice this sum amongst themselves, so that the Fines including, however, sales of timber and other windfalls, would amount, this year, to above £12,000. The share of the President and Fellows, as distinct from the College, does not appear in the *Liber Magnus*, but, from the division books of 1850-5, it seems to have been about double that which appears in the *Cista Finium* and is carried to the College account.

² An almost exact parallel to the Montague Vest may be found in the history of All Souls. See Mr. Oman's very interesting article on All Souls in the Colleges of Oxford, pp. 220, 1. Abp. Abbott, in 1629, did for All Souls what Bp. Montague, in 1614, had done for Corpus. And the subsequent developments of the change were the same in both cases.

³ It was at Beam (or Biham) Hall that Drs. John Fell, Richard Allestree, and John Dolben met for the purpose of reading the Anglican Liturgy during the time of the Commonwealth. See Wood's *Annals*, under date of December, 1648, and pp. 215-6 of this work.

mention of the revenues derived from the 'terræ emptæ,' as they were called, till the financial year 1619-20, when, as already stated, they are mixed up with the statutable payment for Vests. The designation of the item is 'Vestes omnium ordinum, tam ex allocatione fundatoris, quam e terris emptis.' The annual rents of the 'terræ emptæ' seem, at that time, to have amounted to about £39, and to have been divided, in certain proportions, amongst all the members of the foundation. The same rule of division obtained till the enactment of the New Statutes in 1855, but, at this time, the annual rents accruing from the 'terræ emptæ' amounted to about £730.

As the condition of the Colleges under the original statutes of their Founders has now almost become ancient history, it may be of some interest to my readers, if I present in a tabular form¹ the

1	President.	Senior Fellow.	Junior Fellow.	Under-graduate Scholar.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Division. Quarter 1 (the old 'Divisio pro convictu ampliore,' no longer dependent on residence)	20 17 9	6 11 11	7 11 7	
		Besides deductions from Battels, when resident.		Deductions from Battels, amounting to about £21
2	25 9 11	5 7 2	4 9 4	
3	20 7 6	7 16 6	6 17 3	
4	25 19 3	7 5 2	5 17 10	
Commons (the allowances of Stat. ch. 31, considerably increased, and depending on residence)	15 3 4	5 8 7	4 5 3	2 10 9
Cobb's Share (i.e. share of Cobb's Benefaction)	1 16 8	5 3		
Linen and Candle Money (i.e. allowance in lieu of linen and candles)	52 10 0			
Stable (i.e. allowance in lieu of horses allowed by old Statutes)	105 0 0			
Capons (some payment from a farm)	9 0			
Mrs. Mather's Legacy	50 0 0			
Terræ Emptæ	41 8 0	13 16 0	13 16 0	9 4 0
Vests (including both Statutable and Montague Vests)	35 0 0	21 0 0	17 10 0	10 10 6
Fines. Lady Day	287 5 8	71 16 5	68 11 1	
Michaelmas	539 0 0	134 15 0	128 12 6	
Famuli (i.e. allowance for what the President's two servants would otherwise have received)	88 10 8			
Total (exclusive of house or rooms, and, in the case of Scholars, of a large deduction from their Tuition Fees)	1308 17 9	274 2 0	257 10 10	43 5 3

allowances made to members of the Foundation (I have selected the President, a Senior Fellow, a Junior Fellow, and an Undergraduate Scholar) during the financial year 1854-5, the last year in which the old statutes continued to be in force (see table on previous page). Where no sum is attached to an item, it may be understood that no payment was made to that member of the Foundation under this head.

I have thought it desirable to give, at some length, these explanations of the finances of the College, while it was governed by the original Statutes, and either these explanations may be regarded as information preliminary to the documents which follow, or the documents, which have in some respects an unique interest, especially with regard to the history of the distribution of fines, may be regarded as illustrations of the preceding account.

Document 1. (Copy in Fulman's handwriting.)

The arbitrament of the right honourable Lords, the Earle of Essex and the Lord Buckhurst, betweene the president and fellowes of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxon.

Junii 18. 1593. At Nonesuch.

In a controversie betweene Mr Doctor Cole president and the fellowes of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxeford, touching the fines of leases and copy holde landes of the said Colledge, to whom they shall justly appertaine (Forasmuch as the fellowes have charged the said president of great wronge done to the Colledge by converting the fines of copy holdes to his owne private use), the matter being heard and examined by the rt. hon. Lordes, the Earle of Essex and the Lord Buckhurst, and both parties submitting themselves to the arbitrement of the said Lords, it is awarded and agreed as followeth :

1. Of the fines of copy hold landes the president to have a sixt part, and the colledge the other five.
2. Of the fines of the leases, the colledge to have a tenth part, and the fellowes the other nine, allowing to the president out of that as much as two fellowes.
3. One of the fellowes, chosen by the major part, to go with the president and to joine with him as well in surveing as letting of the colledge land holden by copy.

Provided alwaies these aforesaid orders and agreement do not prejudice any right or title that the colledge, president, or fellowes shall or may at any tme hereafter find just occasion to challenge,

but that it be so understood as an agreement and conclusion of arbitrement, put downe by the Lordes, and assented unto by the said president and fellowes testifieing their accord by their owne handwritings. And moreover, if the said president be found and detected, contrary to the meaning of the said agreement, to take any further gaine underhand for such fines of leases or coppinghold landes, that then all such gaines shall be challenged by the fellowes in the colledge behalfe and theirs, and yeelded by the said president.

Essex.

T. Buckurst.

William Cole president, followed by the signatures of seventeen fellows, probably all the actual fellows, including Zachary Hooker, John Spencer and Sebastian Benfield.

Document 2. A copy of Dr. Raynolds (President of C. C. C.) letter of Appeal to the Bp. of Winchester, touching the fines in C. C. C. Oxon.

Right Reverend, my humble duty remembred. Unlesse our worthy founder, your predecessor of blessed memory, had both wisely foreseen that there might fall out a difference of opinions between the President and the Fellows, about the true meaning of somewhat in our statutes, and ordeyned accordingly that we should request your Lordship's interpretation of such points in question, binding us to submitt ourselves thereto, it would grieve me more that I am occasioned to dissent from them, tho in a matter touching all their own commodity, and therefore giving me the juster cause to have their conceits suspected. But since the thing I stand for is against my own private proffitt too, so that I am forced in a sort to dissent from myselfe also, and not from them alone, I hope your grave judgement will acquitt and clear me from note of just blame, accounting my dissention (as in truth it doth) to spring from care of duty that I owe to God, the witnesse of my thoughts and respects herein.

The Parcell <part> of my oth, whereupon our doubts do arise, is this : omnia et singula bona et catalla dicti collegii in commodum et utilitatem ejusdem Sociorum¹ et Discipulorum prædictorum, prout necessitas evidens exegerit, et statuta et ordinationes prædicti Reverendi Patris Fundatoris in hac parte dictaverint, administrabo procuraboque, et faciam utiliter et fideliter dispensari et in omnibus administrari ; et ea quæ residua fuerint et excreverint in quadam

¹ In the original copy of the Statutes signed by the Founder, the word is 'Sociorumque.'

cista ad hoc ordinata conservabo, et faciam ad incrementum dicti Collegii et commodum fideliter conservari. For, whereas, by the last agreement made between my predecessor and the Fellows, it was ordered that of fines for leases there should nine parts be divided among the fellows with the President, the 10th allotted to the college, and Fines for copyholds should be divided into 6 parts, whereof the President to have one, the College the other five, This (without any offence of those noble Personages, who in their Arbitriment did, with a most honorable and safe regard of justice, leave liberty so to doe by a speciall proviso) I think that clause of mine oth bindeth me in conscience not to yeeld unto.

First of all, because it manifestly intendeth I shud take care there might be residua et excrescentia (as our statutes shew further) to be carried into the tower at the end of the year, for purchasing of more lands if need be and bearing the charge of suits in law. Wherefore, since the last year there was nothing left to be carried thither, while yet the Fines for leases grew near to £500, so as the College had £50 thereof; well nigh, as our accounts testify, and above the same sum it had for fines of copyholds¹; nor the former year neither, when fines belike, of the one sort especially, were great, tho not so great as the last year: nay the former so much was spent above the revenues that this year there remaineth almost £30 to be substracted from our receipts for the discharging thereof and making all even. It seemeth that this year, in which it is not probable that there will be received so much for fines of either sort as was the last, there must more than a tenth part of leases in all reason come to the College's part, to the intent that somewhat may remaine to be layd up for the publick benefitt and behoof of the College, all expences discharged.

Secondly. For that, altho 2 thirds or halfe or less peradventure of the fines would serve sufficiently such common use as our Founder

¹ It is very difficult to reconcile this statement, which refers to the year 1597-8, with the accounts in the Liber Magnus, and similarly with regard to the previous year. The sum total in the Cista finium, which, besides fines, included sales of timber and underwood, and other wind-falls, amounted, for the financial year 1597-8, only to £228 17s. 11½d. But, if the award of Lords Essex and Buckhurst had been adhered to, the College ought, according to Reynolds' statement, to have received for fines alone $\frac{1}{3}$ of £500 (= 50) + $\frac{2}{3}$ of £500 (= 416½) = £466 13s. 4d. It seems pretty clear, therefore, that the award of 1593 was not adhered to, and that part of the sum which ought to have come to the College stuck to the fingers of individual members of the foundation.

specifyeth, the first and chiefest point, which there my oth implyeth, it mentioneth afterward, that they shud be disposed to the commodity both of the Fellows and Scholars ; not of the President and Fellows only, but of the Scholars¹ too, according to the præscript of the Founder's Statutes. His statutes doe provide for all these in common by severall proportions, diet, wages, and liverys. The charge of diett is so much increased since his time (a mutton, for examples sake, which then cost 2^s grown now to 10^s or more) that each shud have little of that our Founder intentions, unlesse in change of prices that which then cost a penny might be allowed four scholars, tho now it cost 5^d or 6^d, and likewise others for that rate. Whereupon, our Ancestors observing our Founders words [*Volumus semper nostris esse quod satisfaciat*] allowed (so far as they saw the worth of our Lands increasing also would maintain) that quantity of meat to every one² which he did, even before the Statute of Corn Rent was made, whereby her Majestys gracious goodnesse to our College hath now supplied those wants better. It may be that our Lands, being well husbanded, would in time inable us likewise to yield, that wages to buy necessarys and mony given for liverys might be encreased likewise proportionably to all, as our duty is. But our Founders Volumus alleged, touching that, requireth us to extend it to those the mean while as we may to all, not to the Fellows and President alone, which is plain by that he

¹ The word 'Scholars' is here used in the modern sense, as = the 'Discipuli' not the 'Scholares ad biennium probationis' of the Old Statutes. It may be noticed that, in the printed copy of the Old Statutes published by the Oxford Commissioners in 1853, the words 'et Discipulorum' do not occur, but there is no doubt as to their being included in the Original Statutes signed by the Founder, the exact words being 'ejusdem Sociorumque et Discipulorum prædictorum.'

² That the allowance for 'Commons' increased as prices went up is plain from a comparison of the charges for 'convictus' in the Libri Magni. Thus, in the first Liber Magnus preserved, that for 1520-1, the charge for 'convictus per totum annum' is £75 7s. 1d., though, perhaps, at this time the College had not yet its full complement of members. In the next in date, that for 1525-6, the charge is £96 15s. 11½d. In 1533-4, it is £128 7s. 11½d. In 1554-5, it is £143 17s. 7½d.; in 1559-60, £177 12s. 3½d.; in 1575-6, the year in which the Act of the 18th of Elisabeth was passed, £211 4s. 1d.; in 1585-6, £210 12s. 2½d., no change in the allowances, probably, having been made during this decade, or indeed till the year 1596-7, when it suddenly rises to £294 3s. 6½d., after which and the following year it declines. In 1591-2, there is, for the first time, the entry 'pro convictu studentium ampliore,' but the sum, thus accounted for, is only £11 11s. 0½d. On this item, however, on the corn-rents generally, and on the objects to which they were assigned, I have already spoken in the introductory remarks to these documents.

willeth [Si quis negligens sit, ut detrita utatur veste et sordida, cogatur ex suo stipendio et pretio vestis emere sibi vestem suæ personæ congruam et decentem &c.] For (if) a Mr. of Art being but a Scholar (in our Founders opposition of scholars unto fellows) or Probationer offend in wanting a decent gown and hood, we cannot constrain him to buy a decent one ex pretio vestis, yt is but 13^s 4^d, scarce ex stipendio neither, if stipendium mean not the same that pretium vestis, but his wages rather, tho 26^s 8^d his wages for the whole year be added thereunto and nothing left him to buy ought else, noe not to pay for his battles. Wherefore, since for my own part I see not how I may take a penny of the College Goods more than my £10 wages, four nobles for Living, unless it be upon this ground of voluntas Legislatoris, the volumus of our Founder, which he otherwise expresseth by the word Intentio, saying nolentes quod per aliquam consuetudinem abusum vel actum aliquem quemcunque intentioni aut verbis ipsorum Statutorum nostrorum et ordinationum in aliquo derogetur; the oth in my opinion bindeth me to see that our scholars alsoe towards the mending of their wages and Liverys have part of fines proportionably, so far as we are able to supply the mesure of that our Founder intended.

Thirdly. The same reason by consequent inforceth like regard to be had of Ministri Sacelli et famuli Collegii, tho not expressly mentioned as Socii et Discipuli, because our Statute of Liverys concerneth them as well as others. Nay our Founder this way seemeth to have had more regard of the servants than of any of us; forasmuch as, appointing in what degrees our public burthens shud decreas, if our goods and revenues decrease, which God forbid, he sayeth [Si major adhuc urgeat necessitas, vestes Presidentis et Sociorum ac cæterorum quorumcunque nostri Collegii, etiam famulorum, si ea conditione vel ipsi vel alii conducì possint, per nos concessæ et designatæ vel integre vel quantum necessitas Collegii tunc postulaverint auferentur]. Howbeit, seeing otherwise he sheweth not like affection to these as to fellows and scholars, but termeth both ministros et famulos conductitios. and thereupon sayth of their wages Quod si Præsidentis cum aliquo istorum conductitiorum minoris quam assignavimus convenire poterit, id ei licere decernimus et declaramus: where contrarywise he esteemed the scholars as his children, and counteth not their wages as hire or price of service, noe more than he doth the fellows, nor suffereth either in like sort to be diminished. I suppose the proportion, which before I mentioned, according to our Founders

meaning and intent alloweth lesser rate of increase to them than it doth to others, and that ¹ like circumstances are to be considered with the same consequences ², it ought perhaps concerning any of the former be either in the statutes quoted ², or else where semblably observed.

Now against these reasons persuading me, that I may not assent to such dividing of fines as late was used, two things are opposed. 1, The one, that fines are not meant in our Founders words [omnia et singula bona et catalla dicti Collegii]; 2, the other, that by custome the President and Fellows alone have enjoyed them. The former of which two, if I cud think it true, were much for my good, or for my wealth rather, for then I might challenge to myself the whole fines for copyholds ³, or take as much at least (the noblemens arbitrement not binding me to the contrary) as by secret contract I cud any way gett ; yea, beside the 6th part of that which openly the Fellow keeping court with me shud agree of as a moderate fine fitt for the college to take. And in fines for leases I might receive likewise underhand as much besides the two parts I have by agreement with the Fellows, as my negative voyce being if not greater yet equall force with their negative ⁴, would profit the Tenants to give me. But allbeit fines perhaps were not taken in our Founders time, I say perhaps, because it may be they were at least for copyholds, which are more easily rented, and what if ancient court rolls prove it, as indeed they doe? but tho for leases they were not taken in his time, when Farmes were lett stock'd with corn and with catell, as his words insinuate ⁵, and glad, as I have heard, if so they might find

¹ There is a blank space left between 'that' and 'like,' as if the copyist could not make out the intervening word. If it could be supplied, we might perhaps be able to construe this involved sentence.

² At these two places there is a comma in the copy.

³ As Bocher and Greneway, and probably Anyan afterwards, seem to have done. Cp. the Visitor's reply to this letter.

⁴ Shewing that, at least in renewal of leases, if not in other matters, the President claimed a veto, concurrent with that of the Seniors or, in certain cases, whole body of Fellows.

⁵ Reynolds' statement about Farms being 'lett stock'd' &c. will be noted with interest, but I can find no passage in the Founder's Statutes in which such a custom seems to be 'insinuated.' If Reynolds' account be accurate, and it seems to rest on hearsay from people of that time as well as the supposed insinuation in the Founder's statutes, this quasi-métayer system must have prevailed amongst the tenants of Corpus at a later period than was common in England. It seems, if not first to have come into existence, at least first to have become common, in the middle of the 14th century, after the Great Plague, and to have continued to the

tenants¹, yett as the profit arising by stock in such letting were reconned inter redditus et proventus collegii, so when, the worth of land increasing, they were lett otherwise, and fines, with lesse hazard of change and more commodiousnesse, were had instead thereof, they must be reconned likewise proventus collegii in my judgment, chiefly since our Founder accounteth reditus Collegii not only those which came from Lands that were given by himself or others, but also which should be afterwards procured and gotten de bonis ejusdem, as fines playnly are by letting the college lands. And of all such redditus, proventus, possessiones, bona mobilia et immobilia, whatsoever is ment by chattells mentioned in my oth; he sayth if they suffice not to bear all the burthens expressed in the statutes, then such and such allowances shall be withdrawn from the company, yea at length the number of scholars be deminished, ascending from the Junior even to the Senior, all, if need be, and afterward the probationers also, with some of the fellows to the number of 8, so that, if fines be not comprised intra omnia et singula bona Collegii, the President and a few fellows may live well in a good state and plenty, when in the mean season the College shall goe to rack and ruin, the company most cast out and deprived of all benefitt, a thing absurd in my eyes. Add hereto the judgement of our predecessors confirmed by perpetuall practice till this day. For a chest, which they had under the Presidents and Bursars custody call'd cista Finium², doth evidently argue that fines, the principall kind of extraordinary receipts, which came in then and by that occasion

middle of the 15th century, though, no doubt, in some parts of the country, it lasted later. Professor Rogers (*History of Agriculture and Prices*, vol. i pp. 24, 5) thus describes the system: 'The stock was let on the land, either in whole or part, the rents being in money or corn. The tenant, on the expiry of his lease, was bound to return the same amount of seed corn and of live and dead stock as he received, or their estimated value.' Elsewhere (vol. iv. p. 1) he says: 'The system of stock and land tenure rarely continues for more than 60 years after it is first introduced on any particular estate.' On the subject generally, see Professor Rogers' *History of Prices*, vol. i. pp. 24, 5, and 667-77 (ch. 28); iv. pp. 1, 2: and Pollock's *Land Laws*, 2nd ed., pp. 136, 7, where the author seems to be referring to an earlier period.

¹ 'I infer from such facts' (liberal allowances for losses, &c.), 'as I do from the persistently low rents of the 16th century, that it was easier for a tenant to find a landlord, than for a landlord to find a tenant.' Rogers, vol. iv p. 63.

² The first of the *Libri Magni*, in which I find any mention of a *Cista Finium*, is that for 1585-6, but evidently it existed before this time (see Text). Besides a share of the fines, it also included, in whole or in part, the proceeds of timber-sales and other wind-falls.

gave the chest this name, did in their opinion belong to the college. And when in Dr Cole's time, some 25 years since, we shewed him that, by statute, the mony layd in there shud be payd the Bursars, and that within 2 days still after the return from progresse, whereas before that time (how long we know not) but under him and Mr Greenway the President receiving¹ fines, heryotts, mony for wood sales, &c., did after his return, when he thought convenient, will the Bursars to bring him the fine book (so he termed it), and, writing in the fine book the sums which he acknowledged that he had received, did putt the mony into the chest, delivering them the chest locked: he yeilding thereto, the officers with him in the² order taken for all such receipts retayned the former name, calling the Indenture appointed to that use *Indentura pro cista Finium*, the receipts *recepta pro cista Finium*, the charges therein supported *expensa pro cista finium*, and after the same sort for the names of things untill this present we doe as appeareth by our accounts.

The other objection touching custom suffereth that reply which, when Apollo's oracle answered the Athenians, *Religiones eas esse tenendas, quæ essent in more majorum*, they were fayn to make, saying *Morem Majorum esse sæpe mutatum*. And in what sense by Law *Consuetudo is optima Legum interpres*, the custom neerest our Founders time the Lawmakers confirmeth that the fines for leases are the Colleges: For amongst the 1st records³, I find records thereof after certain years, in which there is noe mention of ought imparted thence to others, at length sometimes is noted how much beside the fine the tenants gave for sealing mony. And this name of sealing mony yt reteyned, which the fellows covenanted to have for themselves⁴, yelding the President 2 parts in it (the fine still being due and acknowledged all due unto the College, to which the fine book and indentures *pro cista finium* shew it was payd) untill about 20 years since or somewhat less, when certain leases being renewed by the Statutes of the Relme did bring in increase of rent corn, the commodity whereof the College had by our agreement⁵, because

¹ It is plain from this statement that the President received the fines &c. in person. Hence the opportunity for peculation with which four of the early Presidents, rightly or wrongly, are charged.

² Here, and again presently, small blanks are left in the copy.

³ The records, to which Reynolds is here alluding, are not extant.

⁴ The consent of the whole body of Fellows was necessary to affixing the seal. See Statutes, ch. 43.

⁵ The meaning of this involved sentence is that the new corn-rents relieved the College from the necessity of gradually augmenting the allowances for

it (i.e. the College) defrayed the decrements¹ before, which now this ought to do, we thought that in Leu to recompense hereof (since the Parliament's purpose was to better our state) we might lawfully take part of the fine for ourselves, and so in processe of time making sealing mony and it all one took help thereof, not marking that by the reason which moved us thereto the Scholars shud have had their part proportionably, as well as the Fellows: seeing that the said statute of the realme² willeth that mony coming of the increase of rent corne to be expended to the use of the reliefs of the commons and diett of the College, and by nor fraud nor color lett nor sold away from the profit of the fellows and scholars in the same. Here, by litle and litle afterward, the custom of taking the whole fines except the College sixth part did spring some six or 7 years agoe or litle more. Sure 11 years since, when myselfe was fellow, it was not a custom; which yett, as new as it is and disagreeable to reason, I would uphold gladly (so loth I am to innovat chiefly with their dislike, whose love I greatly wish), were it not that our Founders Statutes (which mine oth doth bind me to observe) ordeyned that noe custom shud derogate from the meaning of the statutes in any thing.

(The rest of the letter is unimportant for the present purpose.)

Dated at C. C. C. in Oxon, the 7th of August 1599.

Document 3.

An answer of the Bp. of Winton to the foregoing letter of Dr. Reynolds.

To my loving friends the President and Fellows of Cor. Xti Coll. in Oxford. Salutem et gratiam in omnium Salvatore. Where you consulted me about the pitching of fines for leases of farms and grants of copyhold land belonging to your College, and dividing the same to uses publick and private: I have entred into the consideration thereof and find the order, which I now sett down and require you to observe, to be most agreable not only with Law and Reason, but also with the intention and ordinances of your Founder.

Commons, and hence a portion of the Fines, which formerly went to the 'Cista Finium' for the common uses of the College, was set free for distribution amongst the President and Fellows; but Reynolds contends that the other members of the Foundation ought also to have had the advantage of it.

¹ See further on, p. 354.

² The reference, of course, is to the 18th of Eliz. ch. 6, a portion of which is printed in Dr. Griffiths' *Enactments in Parliament*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1869. The words which follow are quoted from the Statute itself.

1st. In all your publick and collegiat assemblys for any such purpose, you shall, with the common consent of the President for the time being¹ and the most part of the Fellows interested in the sealing of such grants, appoint and sett a fine to the use of the college, which being so collegiately agreed on must be counted *Inter debita* and so *Inter bona Collegii*, and not converted or divided to any private mens uses, but only to such publick purposes as the rest of your college goods by your statutes are and ought to be.—Yett weighing the different prices of things in our time from that wherein your Founder lived, and the convenient maintenance of your places and studys, which your Founder with his allowances intended to support in some proportion, I doe not by this forbid but that as well the President as the Fellows may privately expect and receive from such as renewe their Leases moderate gratifications before you seale their Grants, so as you neither decrease your common fine too much, nor wring your Tenants in such sort for your private gain that it grow offensive to the State and slanderous to your College : in either of which cases your private demands and desires may and will be restrained and punished. 2ndly. For copyhold Lands, I thinke it great reason that the President alone, who is the perpetuall governor of such Tenants and Tenures, shud have the choice of the Persons to whom such grants shall be made, the fine thereof to be reasonably rated with the consent of the Fellows² whom the rest appoint for the time to ride the circuit with the President. And the Fine so rated with both their consents, and entred on the court-rolls, to be, as the former is, accounted *inter debita* and so *inter bona Collegii*, and not to be converted or divided to any private uses, but only to the publick good of the College. And in case they who have interest therein dissent about the reasonable and moderat taxation of fines, either of leases or copyholds, to the colleges use, if they cannot accord in convenient time (which I rather wish and advise), it shall be lawfull either for the President or for the Fellows, with the knowledge of either part, to consult the Bp. of Winchester for the time being, lest by the continuall disagreement and contention the publick state of your college shud be decayed, the courses of your studys hindered, and the best

¹ Probably the consent both of the President and of a majority of the Fellows would be necessary to the setting of these fines.

² ? as to whether the s in Fellows is not erased. See the award of Lords Essex and Buckhurst.

of your Lands and livings layed open to the spoil of such as will easily seeke after them. So wishing you peace and concord, as one of the best treasures that can maintain and uphold your foundation, I committ you to God. From my house at Waltham this first of October (1599, the date of Reynolds' letter).

Your loving Friend and Well-willer

THO. WINTON. (Bp. Bilson.)

Document 4. The Summe of the Bishop of Winchesters answer delivered unto me by word of mouth, Septemb. 2, touching our doubtes of statute referred to his judgement.

1. that the fines agreed upon collegiately are the goodes of the College.

2. that the custom of dividing them, as of late they were, the College to have the 10th parte, he marvelleth whence it sprunge, and seeth not how it may be warranted.

3. that we must moderate the fines which we soe agree on, lest the publick state of the college grow to (too) wealthe; and that the president in private may agree for himselfe, the fellows for themselves, what the tenants shall give them beside the fine. But this to be kept to ourselves as a secret¹.

4. that ther is another statute, as he observed in reading over my letters, whereby the Schollers and Servants may be relieved.

JO RAINOLDS.

This document is endorsed 1600. Sept. 2. If this date be the correct one (but?), it would seem as if the Visitor's decision had not settled the matter, and indeed there are indications in the subsequent papers that some of the points were raised again. But the notes of the conversation seem to fit in best with the supposition that the interview took place previously to the decision, as recorded above, which can hardly have been delayed till Oct. 1, 1600. In that case, the date both of the conversation and of Bp. Bilson's letter would be 1599. There follow other papers, including a draft copy of the case of the Fellows, but they are of less interest than those just extracted, and would unduly swell this part of my volume. A long letter from the Visitor to the President and Fellows, dated January 16, 1601 (1601), seems to presuppose some injunction or

¹ Possibly, or even probably, the Visitor here had in view the spoilers to whom he alludes in his letter, and the secret was to be kept from the public rather than from their colleagues.

advice between the decision of Oct. 1, 1599 and the date of this letter. Two passages, having reference to the questions already discussed, may be quoted from it, as of special importance:—

1st. 'In the dividing of fines, or part thereof, according to the proportion of the wages and liveries mentioned in your Statutes, I meant wages and liveries allowed to each one as being a fellowe, not as being a Reader; for soe much as every mans consent as a fellowe, not as a Reader, giveth him an interest in the division.' This passage is specially interesting to the College antiquary, because the distribution of fines as amongst the Fellows (i. e. exclusive of the President), in the proportion of the several statutable allowances to the different grades of Fellows, for stipends and liveries combined, was maintained intact till the Original Statutes were abrogated in 1855.

2nd. 'Lastly, for the sixt part of fines allotted to beare the decrements of your College, which otherwise the fellowes were to discharge out of their private receipts; I meant by decrements all suche publick charges of wood and other provisions for diete, as the Founder necessarilie imposeth on your Fellowes to bear, when they amount above the rate of his allowance.' This passage gives us an idea of the way in which the word decrements was used at this time. Of course, it literally means 'diminutions' or 'deductions.' As a College term, it seems to be used for deductions from the money-allowances of any member of the foundation, on account of articles of consumption not recognised as due to him by statute or custom. Thus, Bp. Bilson specifies wood, and, in the *Libri Magni* just before this time (e.g. 1597–8), we find wood and coal included in the 'decrements' which the Bursars deducted from the corn-rents¹. Salt and wine, &c., are also included. At an earlier period, 1566–7, though not under the name of 'decrements,' we find the Bursars paying £14 for spices (*pro aromaticis speciebus*); similarly, in 1567–8, £14, and, in 1568–9, £21 os. 8d. The word 'decrements' has descended to our own day, and is still used, in the accounts of some Colleges, to designate small charges for vinegar, pepper, salt, mustard, &c., whether imposed on foundationers or non-foundationers. At Magdalen it includes the use of plate, and at Merton the use of crockery and articles employed for cleaning the rooms.

¹ In the old Statutes, ch. 31, *ad fin.*, only £4 is allowed for wood and coal, and that is to be consumed in the kitchen.

B.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CHAPEL ACCOUNTS DURING THE TIMES
OF RELIGIOUS CHANGES.

⟨The Libri Magni begin at the commencement of Michaelmas Term and are generally dated not, as the Buttery Books are, by the year in which they begin but by the year in which they end, i. e. the year in which the Bursars made up their accounts.⟩

1546-7. Ult. Henr. VIII, 1 Edw. VI.

¹ Pro thure per totum annum. 3^s 8^d.

Pro oleo sancto. 4^d.

Pro filo ad emendationem caparum. 3^d.

Pro reparationibus caparum. 18^d.

Pro ligatione Antiphonalis. 7^s.

Id. 7^s.

Mulier lavanti xviii corpores. 12^d.

Pro missali. 6^s 8^d.

Pro novo testamento anglice. 3^s.

? 1547-8, 2 Ed. VI, dated secundâ manu at end of book².

⟨? 1553-4, ult. Edw. VI, 1 Mar.⟩

For a boke off comen prayers. 4^s 4^d.

To Galbrand³ for 2 antipho and 3 grayles £3 ,, 6 ,, 8.

For settinge uppe the altars and dressynge the church : 22^s 8^d.

For hears ⟨i. e. candelabra⟩ for the altars. 5^s.

For mending the organs 12^d.

For frankincense ⟨bis⟩.

1547-8, 2 Edw. VI, dated (? secunda manu) on first page.

Pro emendatione candlabri magni fracti. 3^d.

Pro thure per totum annum 3^s 10^d.

Pro oleo sancto. 4^d.

Pro emendatione caparum. 7^d.

Lotrici lavanti 18 corpores clothes 12^d.

¹ The items (which are, of course, only selected where there is something noteworthy) are given in the order in which they occur in the books, i.e. probably the chronological order of the payments.

² I give the date as endorsed on the Book. But it is evidently not the right one, and, from the order of the payments, I think the book must mark the transition from Edw. VI to Mary, 1553-4.

³ i. e. Garbrand Herks, a Dutch bookseller in Oxford.

1548-9.

Pro thure per totum annum. 3^s 6^d.

Pro vino cretico 25^s 2^d.

Pro oleo sancto 4^d.

Pro emendatione libri missalis 4^d.

1549-50. <No charges for frankincense, holy oil, or the like.>

¹For singyng breade <wafers> 4^d.

Several small charges for mammesey <Malmesey wine>.

For mammesey from London 26^s 4^d.

For 6 psalters 14^s.

For 3 English psalters 4^s.

For the Communion Table 7^s.

1551-2. <Book for preceding year missing.>

For synging bread. 6^d.

For a comunyon boke 3^s 4^d.

For singing bread 5^d.

For a nother <sic> comen boke of prayers 5^s.

For 6 psalters. 14^s.

For candells per totum annum 12^d.

1552-3.

In pane oblato in fest. natal. 12^d.

<Charges for the same object on the Feasts of the Annunciation, St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael. There is no charge for 'singing-bread' this year. But may not pan. obl. have been only another name for the same thing, indeed the Latin equivalent for 'obleys'?>

For franck ensens <frankincense> 2 pound. 12^d.

For a pound of red wax 7^d.

The 21 day of July for 20 gallens and a pynt of mamlemesey 20^s 1^d.

The 23 day of October, 20 gallens, a pottell, and a pynt. 20^s 8¹/₄^d.

For a new vessell 20^s.

There are large charges for wax and making it into candles, throughout this year.

¹ 'Singing-bread' was the ordinary term for the 'wafers' used in 'singing' (or saying) mass. It was also employed for the wafers used in sealing, which were often of the same kind. The wafer-bread survived long after the Reformation, as an alternative for the usual wheaten bread, which 'sufficeth,' and, indeed, in the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth in 1599, it is actually enjoined. In Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, there is much information on the subject of the bread used in the Eucharist. See 1st ed., pp. 740-6, 749-50 (2nd ed., pp. 845-853, 887-8).

Pro oleo sancto. 4^d.

Pro vino cretico in termino Trinitatis. 20^s.

For 6 psalms in English 12^s.

For a great Bible 15^s 8^d.

For the boke of Communion. 5^s.

1553-4. See above under book wrongly ascribed to 1547-8, and, as I conceive, belonging to this year.

1554-5.

For singinge Breade y^e first Quarter 21^d.

For holye oil 4^d.

For singinge bredde 2^s 6^d.

For mendinge the best blewe Cope 3^s 4^d.

For mendinge the Coops at Midsummer 2^s.

For 6 lib. of Frankensense 2^s.

〈The writing in this book is peculiarly illegible.〉

1558-9, ult. Ph. & Mar., 1 Eliz.

For mending copes 3^s 4^d.

For singing bredd 2^s.

For a Communion Booke 6^s.

For seven pounds of Frankincense 2^s 4^d.

1559-60.

In primis for two communion books. 6^s 8^d.

For bredd and wyne at Easter. 4^d.

„ „ 1st Sunday in August. 4^d.

To the Masons for takyng downe of the High Alter. 12^d.

To the Carpenter for covering the Aulters 11^s 〈? boarding the floor or wall or both〉.

To Knolle for carrying the stones oute of the Church 4^d.

1560-1.

Singing bredd 1½^d.

1561-2.

For Bredd and wyne at Twelftyde. 4^d.

For the table of Commandements. 10^d.

For a table to serche the Service oute. 6^d.

For redeming of certen church stuffe that Mr. Turnbull pledged at Johan Hylles. 10^s.

For the redemyng of other vestments that be allso pledged at Joyner's. 40^s.

One item mentions the 'vestrie doore.'

1562-3.

For paper to pricke sonyg. 4^d.For a book for Wednesday Service. 6^d.

1565-6.

Bread and wine at Easter, Assention daye and Whitsunday. 2^s 8^d.Do. 1^o die Augusti. Item Octobris et Novembris. xix^d.

1572-3.

For the ten commandements. 2^s.For a frame for the ten commandements. 2^s 6^d.Wine for a communion on al Soules daie. 20^d.

1584-5.

A carpet for the communion table. 17^s.

1587-8.

A communion table bought at London. 26^s 8^d.

1631-2.

Jan. 14. Payd to Mr White for a latine prayer booke and a lat. testament and for binding them together with the singing psalmes. 4^s 4^d.

Feb. 8 for frankincense 6^d.

1632-3.

Jan. 20. For frankinsense for the vestery¹. 1^s 6^d.

Mar. 2. For two Cussons, fringe for four, &c., £1 ,, 19 ,, 0.

1634-5.

Jan. 30. For Frankincense and other perfumes for the Chappell. 2^s 6^d.

March 24. For a white damaske Communion cloth. £3 ,, 5 ,, 0.

Nov. 1. For waxe candles £9 ,, 0 ,, 0 (a much larger payment than the ordinary one).

1635-6.

March 26, 1636. To Mr (? W)anling for 66 pieces of painted glasse in the Chappell and Hall at 4^s the piece, ut patet per billam². £13 ,, 4 ,, 0.

July 8. For purple silke to mend the chappell hangings. 2^s.

¹ This and other entries, both before and after, make it plain that there was a vestry in the College before the unfortunate alterations of the Chapel in 1675-6. It seems to have opened out of the north-east end of the Chapel, and traces of the door connecting it with the Chapel still exist. For an account of these alterations, see pp. 258-9.

² Was this painted glass removed during the Parliamentary régime, or when the Chapel and Hall were 'restored,' in 1675-6 and 1700 respectively?

Aug. 23. For the Rayle before the Communion table. £4,, 10,, 0.

Sept. 11. To the woman for washing the Chappell and Vestry and for herbes at the King's coming. 1^s.

Sept. 24. For altering the Communion Table. 3^s 6^d.

1636-7.

Aug. 19, 1637. For a chest of Miter round and revayled with lapt and pendants to put in the vestments belonging to the Chappell¹. £4,, 10.

1638-9.

Nov. 3, 1638. For Franckincense and Cloves. 8^d.

For a chaffing (chafing) dish for the vestry for perfumes. 1^s 0^d.

Apr. 12, 1639. For Hollye and baie at Christmas. 1^s.

1639-40.

May 2, 1640. Paid to Richard Hall for mending the Copes, ut valet per Bill. 19^s 9^d.

There is nothing remarkable in the entries in the *Libri Magni* during the Commonwealth period, except their paucity. But see the curious order about the Clerks, Aug. 11, 1653, given on p. 228.

In the *Liber Magnus* for 1660-1, under the head of *In Camera et Domo Præsidentis* (the President, at that time, occupied both a house and his old lodgings in the College), there occurs the entry:

July 2 (1661). For the President's surplice £4,, 0,, 0.

C.

EXTRACTS FROM THE 'REGISTERS OF PUNISHMENTS.'

The first extant entry is dated 1641, without day or month; the last but one March 23, 1785, the last of all being undated, though evidently belonging to about the same period. The entries are all in the handwriting of the offenders, or some one of them, and often

¹ 'Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., has kindly supplied me with the following information with regard to this somewhat enigmatical entry: that the chest was a 'Cope box,' 'vestments' being here used for Copes, that 'mitre' in joiner's language = a corner, and the Cope-box, its shape being usually that of a quadrant of a circle, would fit into a corner, that the 'lapt and pendants' were probably contrivances of some kind, either of wood, cloth, or linen, to keep out the dust; that 'revayled' is only a synonyme for 'veiled.'

betray signs of unwilling penmanship. I have not, as a rule, repeated entries of the same period, where there is no material difference either in the offence or the punishment. It will be noticed that there is hardly any record of a punishment of which deprivation of commons does not form part, so that it is plain that the Register was kept mainly for the information of the Bursars.

I have already explained what deprivation of commons involved. But I may here give the *ipsissima verba* of the Statute: 'Decernentes, præterea, et declarantes ut quicumque nostri Collegii per convictus subtractionem ad tempus puniti sint non in oppido sed in aula nostri Collegii, Baccalaurei videlicet in artibus et non graduati soli vel cum aliis punitis, cæteri vero Magistri more consueto, interea discumbant et comedant, deque bonis propriis continuo, vel saltem in fine termini, Dispensatoribus pro eodem satisfaciant et solvant Et hujusmodi correctiones, una cum causa et illius puniti nomine, in Decanorum registro per manum ejusdem puniti statim scribantur.' Cap. 51.

1641. Privati sumus convictu secunda vice. Johannes Lambe. Tho. Drury. Johannes Sparke. Johannes Tooke: quod abfuerimus a precibus matutinis. (All these were B.A.s or of B.A. standing.)

Privati sumus convictu per septimanam. Gulielmus Clayton. Johannes Sparke. Johannes Lambe. Johannes Tooke. Tho. Drury. Tho. Sutton: quod comam nimis protensam habuerimus.

Term. 2^{do}. Ego Johannes Tooke privatus sum convictu ad dignam emendationem ('till I mend my manners'), quod irreverenter et immodeste me gesserim in Aula, et quod bis abfuerim a disputationibus Baccalaureorum.

Ego Josephus Barker privatus sum convictu per septimanam, quod irreverenter me gesserim coram decano, inter disputandum.

April 22. Ego Johannes Tooke privatus sum convictu per septimanam, quod deprehensus fuerim vix sobrius satis: et punitus etiam ut in bibliotheca per unum mensem a precibus matutinis ad vespertinas usque sedulo studiis incumbam.

Term. 3^o. Ego Thomas Sutton privatus sum convictu per septimanam, quod in oratione aliquos calumnia affecerim.

Ego Thomas Sutton privatus sum convictu per diem prima vice, quod absens fuerim a prælectione humanitatis.

Term. 4^o. Ego Nicholaus Byrch privatus sum convictu per septimanam, quoniam abfuerim a disputationibus theologicis data opera (i. e. purposely), et cum pro more opponere debuisssem.

Ego Johannes Tooke privatus sum convictu per mensem, quod ingressus sum domum ubi victualia venduntur, compotandi causa.

1649. Ego Ricardus Warre privatus sum convictu per triduum propter inobedientiam.

Ego Andreas Wandrick privatus sum convictu per unum diem, quia abfui a Disputationibus, cum essem primus opponens.

Ego Daniel Reyner privatus sum convictu per triduum, quia, cum essem impositor, non tradidi Decano nomina absentium a precibus et disputationibus.

Ego Franciscus Nelson privatus sum convictu usque ad dignam emendationem propter absentiam a precibus et inobedientiam maxime pertinacem erga Vice-præsidem et unum Decanum. (The offence of persistent disobedience is a common one at this period.)

Ego Nath. Anderson privatus sum convictu per unum diem, quia profectus sum absque venia. (This punishment was inflicted simply for going out of College without leave, which was required except for certain exempted places. See p. 53.)

Ego Edvardus Disney privatus sum convictu per quindenam eo quod deservire in aula recusarim. (Two other punishments for the same offence immediately follow.)

Ego Johannes Paris privatus sum convictu usque ad dignam emendationem eo quod jussui Decani non obtemperavi.

Term. 2^o, 1651. Ego Gulielmus Foord privatus sum convictu per septimanam, propter absentiam a Collegio tempore prandendi et cœnandi per aliquos dies sine venia.

Ego Gulielmus Foord privatus sum convictu per triduum, quoniam exivi e collegio per tres mille passus non petita venia.

Ego Edmundus Dickinson privatus sum convictu per triduum quod jussus non ministravi in aula. (These repeated punishments for refusing to wait in Hall seem to shew that a sense of degradation was at this time beginning to attach to the service.)

Term. 4^o. Ego Gulielmus Foord privatus sum convictu per septimanam eo quod tempore nocturno sine toga circiter horam decimam in oppido obambularim, atque insuper punitus ut mensis proxime sequentis spatio ex Aristotelis Ethicis ad Nicomachum omnia notatu digna græce excerperem.

Ego Johannes Lisle privatus sum convictu per septimanam eo quod tempore nocturno sine toga circiter horam decimam in oppido obambulavi, atque insuper punitus ut, mensis proxime sequentis

spatio, Burgersdicii Log. omnes definitiones et divisiones et synoptice scriptis et memoriæ mandarem.

Ego Noah Web privatus sum convictu per septimanam quod explosi bombardum in cubiculum condiscipuli per fenestram.

Term. 2, 1652. Nos privati sumus convictu per septimanam eo quod peregrinos (? out-College men) cum tumultu publicam in Aulam excepimus venia non impetrata. Franciscus Nelson. Gul. Foord. Guilielmus Garner (Gardiner). Johannes Lisle. Andreas Wandrick.

Ego Edvardus Fowler (afterwards Bishop of Gloucester) privatus sum convictu usque ad dignam emendationem, eo quod Alumnos ædis christi, pane projecto, in tumultum provocavi.

Nos privati sumus convictu usque ad dignam emendationem, quod, jussi a præsidente (Dr. Staunton, the 'intruded President'), nudato capite non sedimus. Franciscus Nelson. W. Gardyner. Johannes Paris. Johannes L'isle.

1653. Term. 1. Ego Joannes Martine privatus sum convictu usque ad dignam emendationem, quia anglice locutus sum et clamorem ac strepitum in aula edidi.

Ego Thom. Harrison privatus sum convictu per septimanam, eo quod ingressus sum in panarium, venia non impetrata.

Ego Gulielmus Foord punitus sum per quindenæ proxime sequentis spatium, ut in Bibliotheca omnia notatu digna ex Ruvio (Rubius) de anima excerptam.

Ego Nicolaus Page privatus sum convictu per septimanam, eo quod ingressus sum in potarium venia non impetrata.

Term. 2^{do}. Nos privati sumus convictu per diem, eo quod Anglice loquuti sumus in Aula. Guil. Foord. Joh. Lisle. And. Wandrick. Joh. Paris. Joh. Martine. Thomas Johnson.

Ego Johannes Lisle privatus sum convictu per diem propter absentiam a precibus et a concione.

Nos privati sumus convictu per septimanam eo quod globulos niveos in aula projecimus et quod causam dedimus suspicionis majorum criminum. Edm. Dickinson. Pe. Glubb.

Term. 3^o. Ego Guil. Foord punitus sum ut in Bibliotheca per unum mensem sedulo studiis incumbam, a precibus matutinis ad vespertinas: eo quod peregrinos habui non petita venia, et cum illis tumultum excitavi. (It is remarkable that this punishment does not include deprivation of commons.)

Ego Nicolaus Page privatus sum convictu per septimanam, et punitus etiam ut in Bibliotheca per unum mensem sedulo studiis

incumbam a precibus matutinis ad vespertinas, eo quod abfuerim a disputationibus cum Impositor essem, et potarium ingressus essem non petita venia.

Ego Nicolaus Page privatus sum convictu per unum mensem, eo quod deprehensus fui a Procuratore minus sobrius, et punitus etiam ut in Bibliotheca per unum mensem sedulo studiis incumbam.

Term. 4th. Ego Petrus Glubb privatus sum convictu usque ad dignam emendationem, eo quod immorigerum me gesserim coram Vice-Præside.

This list of punishments during the early period of the Commonwealth (which omits cases that are only repetitions or variations of the same offence and the same punishment) appears to extend over four or five years, and then abruptly terminates, we do not know why. It bears testimony to a strict and vigorous administration of the College, and shews that the President and Fellows, though Puritans, executed their Founder's statutes with at least as much fidelity as their predecessors. And, notwithstanding the grave irregularities of a few ill-conditioned students, one cannot help being struck with the trivial and boyish character of some of the offences. Moreover, in estimating the general condition of the College we must bear in mind that, at this period, owing to its almost entire re-constitution by the Parliamentary Visitors, it had probably a larger population of B.A.s and Undergraduates than at any other time in its history till the reception of Commoners forty years ago. Of these, there are several who make no appearance at all in the Register of Punishments, and of them, and even of some of those whose appearance is only for light offences, it may reasonably be assumed that, in their general habits, they were well-conducted and studious youths.

The next batch of entries extends from 1670 to 1687. As I proceed, the number of extracts may be conveniently diminished.

Aug. 10, 1670. Ego Radulphus Bell privatus sum convictu per septimanam, quod extraneos admisi ad pernoctandum in Collegio contra formam Statuti.

Nov. 19, 1675. Ego Ric. Taylor privatus sum convictu per quindenam, quod abfui a precibus 4^a vice.

Ego Guil. Creed privatus sum convictu per septimanam ob computationem et egressum e collegio sine venia vel petita vel concessa, prima vice. (Four other cases, exactly the same, occur apparently at the same time.)

Ego Gul. Boys privatus sum convictu, propter percussione[m] discipuli. Ego Carolus Audley, &c., as in last case.

Ego Thomas Johnson privatus sum convictu usque ad dignam emendationem, propter verba pertinacia et irreverentia erga Seniore[m] Decanum, 1^{ma} vice.

June 1, 1698. Ego Ro. Burton increpatus fui a Logicæ Lectore, et rejectus a classe disputantium usque dum uberius in Logicalibus proficiam, propter pravam in studiis dialecticis negligentiam, propter crassam in opponendo et respondendo ignorantiam, necnon propter impudentiam eo usque provectam, ut non solum Logicæ Lectorem sed etiam ipsam Logicam contemptui publice habuerim. (One wonders whether he had read Locke's attack on the Syllogism, Essay, Bk. IV. Ch. 17.)

There is a gap in the records of Punishments between 1698 and 1724, from which year the list is continued in the same book down to about 1786. The general character of the offences, as compared with those recorded in the earlier books, has now materially changed, and, as I have said elsewhere (p. 279), the offences punished are now rather the vices of men than the faults of boys. I give a few typical instances of the entries.

Jul. 11, 1726. For the attempted homicide by John Smith, see pp. 279, 80.

Jan. 28, 1726(7). Ego Jacobus Tarsey A.B. C. C. C. socius propter rixas cum oppidanis intempesta nocte per ebrietatem initas, et publicæ pacis perturbationem, flexis genibus publice pœnitentiam sum professus, et de emendatione morum a Præsidente et sociis secunda vice admonitus sum, convictu insuper privatus usque dum iis satisfecerim. There is a similar entry on the same day by John Smith, for whom see above. This rowdyism in the streets seems to have been a not uncommon feature of this period.

May 11, 1730. Ego R. Hutchins A.M. C. C. C. Discip. admonitus fui coram Præsidente, Vice-Præsidente, uno Decano, Dispensatoribus, et uno Socio ut Collegio satisfacerem pro Extraordinario victu (Batellas vocant) per duos annos non soluto.

May 30, 1730. Ego Gul. Nicholas A.B. discipulus C. C. C. (there is the same entry for J. Jubb) privatus sum convictu per septimanam a Præside et Decano propter rixas cum oppidanis intempesta nocte initas, et graves percussiones servi cujusdam extranei et pernoctationem. Insuper admonitus fui a prædictis de emendatione morum.

⟨Notice the extraordinary leniency of the punishment for this offence, which would now undoubtedly be met by rustication for two or more terms.⟩

Jan. 28, 1730(1). Ego Gul. Osmer convictu privatus sum per unum diem propterea quod Decano notorie per mendacia fraudem fecerim, illique immorigerum me præstiterim. Insuper admonitus sum de morum honestate servanda profectumque in studiis faciendo. (This William Osmer, who had been admitted Scholar April 20, 1728, æt. 12, and was now not yet 15, figures largely in the Register of Punishments. On July 2, 1731, he was punished, by a week's deprivation of commons, 'propter notorium in sermone quotidiano juramenti usum'; on July 29 following, similarly 'eo quod in Coll. Ball. pernockerim'; on Feb. 12, 1731, similarly 'quia duos malæ famæ viros in Cubiculo multa nocte compotantes exceperim et quod usus fuerim execrandis inter confabulandum juramentis'; on Feb. 19 following, similarly with the addition of an 'exercitium mihi impositum,' 'quia poenæ superius memoratæ meipsum non submiserim, et quia idem mendacium tribus diversis temporibus coram Præsidente iteravi, asserens me sedisse in aula convictu privatum die Veneris, cum ab aula prorsus abfuerim per aliquot septimanas' (a fact which does not seem to have been previously discovered); on May 24, 1732, by a week's deprivation of commons and an admonition, 'quia adolescentes quosdam multa nocte in Cubiculo acceperim compotantes et strepitum excitantes, et quia falso nomine simulato Præsidi et Decano fraudem facere sim conatus'; on Nov. 1, 1732, by a day's deprivation of commons, 'quia ab aula antea admonitus abfuerim, et venia non impetrata ab aula discesserim'; and on Feb. 9, 1733, by deprivation of commons for fifteen days 'propter pernockerationem et absentiam a Collegio, item quia sub falso egressus prætextu per repetita mendacia Præsidi et Decano fraudem facere sim conatus.' The farce of admonitions seems to have been discontinued. We cannot help pitying this poor boy who, at the tender age of twelve, had been plunged into an atmosphere so charged with vice and temptation. About a year before the last offence (March 28, 1732), he had been pronounced by the College officers 'ineptus et inhabilis qui promoveretur ad Gradum B.A.,' and, as his name occurs neither in the list of Oxford Graduates nor in that of Probationary Fellows, it may be concluded that he never took his Degree, and left the College without a Fellowship and with his prospects in life probably ruined.⟩

June 15, 1732. Ego J. Jubb privatus sum convictu per mensem, propter Pernoctationem et propter Absentiam a Collegio, venia non impetrata, atque insuper admonitus fui de emendatione morum. <There are, at this period, numerous cases of punishment for spending the night out of College, and the leniency which they were dealt with seems to me truly surprising¹, especially when we recollect that the College was a nursery of Christian ministers.>

Nov. 1, 1732. Ego J. Jubb convictu privatus sum per septimanam eo quod rogante Gul. Wells (cujus societatem vitare jam antea fueram admonitus) ad adolescentis cujusdam mihi non noti cameram mane, exinde ad popinam pransurus, inde (plus quam par erat potus) ad alteram famæ non integræ Popinam profectus sum: a Prandio interim et Divinis Officiis abfui. Propter hæc delicta frustra admonitus septimana sequente una cum adolescentibus quibusdam venatum ivi; ab Aula iterum et Divinis Officiis abfui. <Jubb's friend Wm. Wells (they were both Lincolnshire scholars, Jubb from Lissington, Wells from Grantham) was punished similarly, for the same offence with the addition of profane swearing.>

March 19, 1733. Ego J. Jubb A.B. convictu privatus sum per quindenam, eo quod cum veniam proficiscendi impetrassem, ægrotæ matris visendæ prætextu usus, Londinum petii atque ibi commoratus fui. Insuper admonitus fui de moribus emendandis.

Nov. 29, 1734. Ego Abraham Atkins, propter rixas pugnasque intempesta nocte in Coll. S. Trin. per ebrietatem initas, convictu privatus fui per septimanam.

July 11, 1735. Ego Tho. Patten convictu carere <i.e. probably condemned to dine at a separate table off bread and water, according to the provisions of Stat. cap. 50> a Vice-præsidente jussus, in aulam veni victum mecum apportans, nec nisi iterum monenti parebam: et insuper prandii tempore indecore me gessi, spretæ poenæ ostendens indicia.

Dec. 2, 1735. Ego Ben. Wilding convictu privatus sum per septimanam, quoniam intra Collegii limites tumultum nocturnum excitaverim, neque a Decano correptus destiterim; imo de crastino adeo non me submiserim, ut decanum maledictis et contumeliis

¹ We must recollect, however, that rustication was a punishment which did not then exist, that expulsion was a punishment which was very difficult to inflict without a violation of the statutes, and that corporal chastisement, which had probably kept down offences of this kind at an earlier period, had now gone out of fashion.

ultra proscindere, et coram ipso Præsidente inepte garrere haud veritus fuerim.

Jan. 8, 1738. Ego Benj. Wilding convictu privatus sum per septimanam, quia exercitium ineptum et valde petulans attuli Decano, et ab eo coram officiariis arcessitus repetitas eorum Injunctiones sprevi, et non nisi altera vice coram eisdem delatus eorundem auctoritati me tandem submisi.

Oct. 14, 1738. Ego Petrus Peckard convictu privatus fui per quindenam propter ebrietatem et repetitas execrationes et concitatos intempestiva nocte per Collegii atria tumultus.

Nov. 1, 1738. Ego Petrus Peckard convictu privatus sum per mensem, necnon crimen in aula, flexis genibus, ter publice confessus sum, propter quod cum infami mulercula in cubiculum meum noctu inducta a Decano deprehensus fui.

Sept. 10, 1739. Ego Car. Hall convictu privatus fui per quindenam et crimen in aula publice confessus sum, eo quod inebriatus in sacello inter divina officia tumultuatus fuerim. (A similar entry on the same day is made with regard to Peter Peckard, except that, as an old offender, he is 'put out of commons' for a month.)

Jan. 18, 1748. Ego Gulielm. Harrison A.B. convictu privatus fui per mensem, eo quod Petrum Henly Commensalem, nullo injuriæ prætextu accensus, vehementer percussi, deinde ipsi etiam Decano cum, ne amplius percuterem, vetaret, inaudita audacia vim minasque haud veritus sum intentare. Hæc in aula flexis genibus publice confessus sum Et insuper admonitus, &c.

Feb. 17, 1748. Ego Gul. Harrison A.B. iterum convictu privatus fui per mensem, quod Pœnas audaciæ supra memoratæ indignatus, eo Impudentiæ processerim, ut Scriptum, quo crimen fateri jussus sum, insulsum, petulans, et contumeliosum Decano attulerim, inveterata exhibens indicia contumaciæ. Et insuper admonitus, &c.

June 19, 1750. Ego Georgius Beaver A.B. judicio Præsidentis, Vice-Præsidentis, et unius Decani convictu privatus sum per mensem, eo quod, solennem orationem habere jussus in Festo Corporis Christi in honorem Fundatoris et Collegii, in multa vizorum illustrium frequentia, comparationes odiosas et verba invidiosa et contumeliosa contra officarios et socios, et contra Regimen et Statuta Collegii, pro oratione effuderim; et insuper tertia vice admonitus fui de reverentia debita erga Officiarios reliquosque Seniores præstanda.

Dec. 20, 1754. Nos convictu privati sumus per septimanam, quod effigiem quandam, quæ Pseudo-principem Carolum repræsentare

credebatur, in Camera Baccalaureorum communi appendi jussimus, unde non leve Scandalum Collegio et universæ Academiæ obortum est. Et ab iisdem admoniti sumus ut Deum timeamus, Regem optimum honoremus.

Ed. Simons. Gul. Finden. S. Musgrave. John Cooke (subsequently President). Arnoldus Carter. (An account of this affair is given on pp. 286, 7.)

Mai. 26, 1758. Ego Samuel Weller A.B. convictu privatus sum per septimanam propter ebrietatem, et speciatim quod ebrius in Festo Corporis Christi in sacello tumultuatus fuerim. Insuper admonitus, &c.

Mar. 29, 1765. Five students deprived of commons for a week, and admonished, 'propter commessationes ad noctem intempestivam intra Collegium productas, et propter strepitus indecoros, et eo quod a Decanis increpatus eorum monitis non obtemperaverim.'

Jun. 19, 1767. A student deprived of commons for fifteen days and admonished 'eo quod in popina quadam cum oppidano rixatus fuerim, et paucis post diebus eidem oppidano in vico publico obvius illum pugnis male mulctaverim.'

Towards the end of the period, the entries become more and more sparse, as if the punishment of 'registering' was going out of fashion. The last but one is dated March 23, 1785, the offence being persistent neglect to bring up the accustomed vacation exercise. The last of all, which is undated, but is evidently that of a Bachelor, is for having been absent, without leave, for the Michaelmas Term.

As noticed elsewhere (p. 292), the Register of Punishments bears witness, both from the diminishing frequency and the diminishing gravity of the offences recorded, to the great improvement in the morals and discipline of the College effected during Dr. Randolph's Presidency. But it must be acknowledged that, from the Restoration of Charles the Second to the close of the entries, these registers of punishments bear painful testimony to the coarseness of manners and laxity of life which, not in Oxford only but throughout the country, were distinctive of the period. The reign of George the Second probably marks the nadir both of attainment and discipline in the English Universities, or at least in Oxford.

D.

LISTS OF GREEK AND LATIN READERS AND
MEDICINÆ DEPUTATI.

There are considerable difficulties connected with the earlier history of the Greek and Latin Readers, Lecturers, or Professors, as they may indifferently be called. These I have already discussed, so far as is necessary for the purposes of this work, on pp. 87-89, to which I must ask the reader to refer back in explanation of some of the entries in the following lists. I have taken, as the basis of the lists, a small MS. of Fulman, inserted in vol. x. of his MSS., fol. 195, 196, which seems to be correct so far as it goes, but which, in accordance with a characteristic of his, noticed by Wood (see p. 198 above), is imperfect. I have inserted other entries within angular brackets, and have also continued it down to the year 1700, before which time these Readerships had probably entirely lost their distinctive character of Public Lectureships or Professorships.

GREEK READERS.

(John Clement (Clemens) is definitely said by Harpsfield, whose authority there is no reason to question, to have given lectures in Greek at Corpus. See p. 88. But whether his appointment was permanent or not, and whether he could be truly called a Corpus Reader, we have no means of ascertaining.)

(Thomas Lupset 'succeeded Clement in 1520, and seems to have lectured in both tongues, as Clement may have done also' (p. 88). Cp. Wood's Annals, vol. ii. pt. 2. p. 838. Unfortunately, the earlier Libri Magni, or year-books of accounts, are wanting, or they might have thrown some light on these and kindred questions.)

'David Edwards', 1521.

John Dunne, 1531.

Edward Wotton², 1524.

Thomas Cater, 1533.

¹ ? Was he ever more than, first, substitute, then assistant.

² I have already (pp. 58, 85) alluded to the difficulties connected with the order of these two names. David Edwards was elected 'Disciple' (Scholar) on Aug. 9, 1517, being then only 15 years of age. He would, therefore, be only 19, if he began to lecture in Michaelmas Term, 1521. Edward Wotton was constituted by the Founder 'socio compar,' in a letter (still preserved in the Register), dated Jan. 2, 1524, with permission to travel in Italy for three years, mainly for the purpose of studying Greek. After this time, he was to return to the College and lecture in

John Shepreve, 1534.	Noel Spark, 1634.
George Etheridge, 1543.	⟨John Rosewell, Apr. 25, 1659.
John Morwen, 1545.	Nathaniel Mew, Nov. 3, 1659⟩ ⁶ .
Henry Wotton, 1556 ¹ .	Benjamin Parry, 1660 ⁶ .
George Rudd, 1563 ² .	John Beale, 1670.
John Reynalds ⟨sic⟩, 1572.	William Winkley, 1672.
John Spenser, 1578 ³ .	Samuel Barton, 1676.
Henry Parry, 1588.	Henry Parkhurst, 1681.
⟨Thomas Cole, Sept. 14, 1594⟩ ⁴ .	Arthur Parsons, 1681.
Christopher Membry, 1600.	⟨John Manship, 1690.
Brian Twine, 1614.	Dr. John Kircheval, 1697⟩ ⁷ .
Anthony Clopton, 1618.	

HUMANITY, LATIN, OR RHETORIC READERS, AS
THEY WERE VARIOUSLY CALLED.

⟨Joannes Ludovicus Vivès. Though Fulman does not include him in his Catalogue, on account, probably, of the absence of any

Greek, Latin, or both, as might be the more convenient to the College. Now the most reasonable supposition seems to be that Edwards simply lectured as Wotton's substitute, and was not definitely appointed to the office of Greek Reader. And this supposition is amply borne out by an examination of the Libri Magni. The first of these books extant is that for 1521-2 (i. e. Oct. 1521 to Oct. 1522), and there, under the head of 'Stipendia Lectorum in Græcis et Logicis,' occur the entries 'Solutio pro Wottono, £5' (the statutable stipend for a Reader), and 'pro Edwardo, 26^s 8^d.' The next Liber Magnus extant, that for 1526 (probably 1525-6), contains the entries 'Doctori Utton (i. e. Wotton) £10' and 'Magistro Edwards, 20^s,' a small payment, probably, for assistance in elementary work, after Wotton's return. The celebrated Nicholas Udall, at the same time, receives 40^s. In the book for 1528 (? 1527-8), the third book extant, Wotton, who had now completed his 'quinquennium' of service, received 15^s, Udall 15^s, Done (Dunne) 25^s, and Edwards 38^s 9^d. Then, as now, probably, Colleges often made special arrangements with additional lecturers, and the books shew that, in some cases, the payments depended on the exact number of lectures delivered (for instance, a logic lecture was paid at the rate of 1^s 3^d). In the book for 1530, Edwards' name disappears, and it is plain that, during the whole time of his service, he was never treated on the footing of a full Reader.

¹ Elected from Ch. Ch. to be Greek Reader.

² Elected from Trinity to be Greek Reader. ³ Elected, though neither a Fellow nor Scholar (see pp. 143-4), but already a member of the College, to be Greek Reader.

⁴ The admission is regularly entered in the Register. I do not, therefore, understand the entry in Fulman's MS., 'Cole, 1600.' It is interpolated between two other names, and seems to have been written from memory.

⁵ These names may have been omitted by Fulman, because the Readers were admitted during the Commonwealth. ⁶ Elected from Jesus Coll. to be Greek Reader.

⁷ Added, by another hand.

documentary evidence of his appointment, I cannot doubt that, in some capacity or other, he lectured at Corpus, and was at some time an inmate of the College. See pp. 85, 87-89, and my note at the beginning of the transcript of Hegge's Catalogue.)

⟨Lupset, and possibly Clement before him. See p. 88.⟩

⟨Possibly Edward Wotton. We have just seen that he was to be prepared to lecture in both tongues, if convenient to the College, and the allowance of £10 (the combined stipends of the Readers of Greek and Latin), assigned to him in 1526, is, at least, some indication that he actually did so.⟩

⟨'Udal, 1526' is crossed out by Fulman, the smallness of the stipend paid to him being, possibly, regarded as an argument against his having held the office of a recognised Reader.⟩

⟨William⟩ Hygden, 1539. ⟨This is the first year in which a payment to a Reader of Humanity appears in the extant Libri Magni, but that for 1538 is wanting. It is possible that provision for the teaching of elegant Latin was made at a cheaper rate, by employing some of the younger Fellows, or that Claymond may have paid the Reader privately. For his relation to these Readerships, see p. 92.⟩

James Curtop, 1540.

William Good, 1555.

John Juell, 1548.

John Dolber, 1557.

⟨Giles (Ægidius) George is styled Human. Lect. in Hegge's Catalogue, but without date. There seems to be some confusion with regard to the Latin Readers at this time. No less than four names, three of which are consecutive, occur on the same page of Hegge, for all of whom this title is claimed. Good, Dolber, and Laurence are recognised by Fulman, George and Good by Hegge. Laurence's name alone occurs in the Register; Laurence, Dolber, and Good all occur in the Libri Magni.⟩

William Mug, 1558.

John Belle, Jan. 30, 1564¹.

John Laurence, Jan. 15, 1567.

Edmund Reynalds, Oct. 11, 1566.

¹ This John Belle is somewhat of an enigma. His name is entered by himself in the Register as Lector Humanitatis, and the words 'electus pro comitatu surrey' have been added, also by himself, afterwards, meaning that, though not a native of the County of Surrey, he was to count as a Surrey Fellow. In the Index in the Fulman MS., though not in Fulman's own hand-writing, he is stated to be of Somerset. He does not occur in Hegge's Catalogue, and is there evidently confounded with James Bell (admitted Disciple in 1548), who is wrongly described as Lect. Hum. In the Libri Magni from 1563 to 1566, both inclusive, payments are made to him in the capacity both of Fellow and of Reader. His name is

Simon Trip, Aug. 6, 1568.	Nicholas Horsman cessit ⁵ .
Roger Charnock, 1572.	John Paris, ob. Sept. 30, 1669 ⁶ .
George Hanson, Nov. 13, 1576.	1669. Theodore Fletcher cessit.
<Nicholas Morice ¹ .>	1672. Tho. Paris cess.
Nicolas Eveleigh, Oct. 21, 1588 ² .	1675. Hug. Barrow cess. Dec. 7.
Thomas Cranmer, Apr. 7, 1592.	1682. George Reynell, ob. Jun.
Sebastian Benefield, Jul. 28, 1599.	26, 1687.
Thomas Holt, Dec. 31, 1616.	1687. Will. Creed, adm. Jun. 27.
<James Holt, Nov. 8, 1630 ³ .>	<John Manship, 1697 ⁷ .>
Thomas Greaves, 1636 ⁴ .	

The Latin Readership was restored to its original character as an University Lectureship, under the title of the Corpus Christi Professorship of Latin, in the revised College Statutes, which received the assent of H.M. in Council, June 24, 1856. The holders of the office, up to the present time, have been Professors John Conington, Edwin Palmer, and Henry Nettleship.

MEDICINÆ DEPUTATI.

In Ch. 25 of the Original Statutes, all M.A. Fellows of the College are required to assume Holy Orders 'intra annum post necessariam suam regentiam completam,' 'præter eum qui studio medicinæ est deputatus.' As this place alone, therefore, was tenable for any length of time by a layman, it was often an object of great solicitude, as in the familiar instance of Locke with regard to a similar position at Ch. Ch. Probably the 'medicinæ deputati' were originally expected to attend to the medical needs of the other inmates of the College, and an interesting example of this exercise of their profession has already come before us in the account of Dr. Jackson (p. 185). The following list of the holders of this office or place has been extracted by me from the Register and other sources, and it seems to be tolerably complete.

variously spelt Bellie, Belly, or Belley, though by himself, in the Register, it is spelt Belle. He is, no doubt, identical with the Mr. Belly, referred to on p. 111 of this work, and probably with the John Belly, Fellow, and afterwards Provost, of Oriel, whose name occurs in Foster's Alumn. Ox. ¹ Hegge's Catalogue.

His name occurs as Latin Reader in the Libri Magni from 1579 to 88 inclusive.

² Spelt Ively in Hegge's Cat.

³ Entered in Register.

⁴ July 6 in

Register. ⁵ Elected May 6, 1659. Register of Commonwealth period.

⁶ Admitted Jan. 21, 1663.

⁷ In another hand.

R. Hieronymus Raynolds, Feb. 14, 155 ⁸ ¹ .	R. John Norton, Dec. 11, 1579.
R. James Tonge, Nov. 3, 1566.	R. George Sellar, May 31, 1589.
R. John Pottle, Feb. 3, 157 ⁵ ⁸ .	John Chennell or Cheynell ² .
	R. Stephen Bridges, Nov. 5, 1630.

The following names have been collected by me from other documents in the custody of the President :—

James Hyde ³ .	William Creed, June 23, 1696.
Josiah Lane ⁴ .	Thomas Healy, June 8, 1723.
Norton Bold, July 18, 1661.	John Hardress, March 18, 173 ⁵ ⁸ .
William Drury, March 3, 167 ⁹ ¹ .	Thomas Crawley, Oct. 23, 1740.
John Shephard, Jan. 28, 167 ² ⁸ .	William Vivian, Nov. 11, 1754.
Phineas Ellwood, Nov. 27, 1675.	George Williams, Dec. 24, 1788.
Arthur Parsons ⁵ .	Frederick Holme, June 1, 1837 ⁶ .

E.


‘A WICKED ITALIAN BOKE.’ See p. 118.

The identification of this book or author (for it might be either) has caused me much trouble and perplexity. About the word ‘Jacke’ there is no doubt. The difficulty entirely turns on the second word, of which Dr. Kitchin, Dean of Winchester, has kindly made a facsimile, thus :—

Jacke maucher

At first we read the word as most probably manher, but, on a careful re-examination of the MS., the Dean thinks that reading must be abandoned, and that the true reading must be either *maicher*, *maither*, *mouther* or *moucher*. If we adopt the reading *ou*, we must suppose the first stroke of the *u* to come so close up to the *o* as to produce

¹ It seems that he was previously a ‘divine.’ See p. 112. ² Probably Med. Dep. about 1597, as may be inferred from Vaughan’s Life of Jackson, prefixed to the Clarendon Press Ed. of Jackson’s Works, vol. i. p. xli. ³ No date. Hyde was admitted Disc. in 1632. ⁴ No date, but probably about 1654. ⁵ No date. He was admitted Disc. Ap. 20, 1674. ⁶ Mr. Holme was, after a vacancy of over three years, the immediate successor of Dr. Williams. He died himself in 1849, and had no successor.

an apparent *a*. To the reading *l*, the Dean objects that, in this MS., the *l* would be through the line, thus , but, in many places,

the MS. is so badly written that it would be difficult to lay down an universal rule with regard to the formation of the letters, and, in MSS. of this period, the two letters *c* and *l* are often almost indistinguishable. Mr. F. Adams (to whom, as well as to the Dean, I must express my great obligations for the trouble he has taken in this matter) urges the objections to *maicher* and *maither* that 'they are not Italian looking, and are scarcely mended by the addition of an end-vowel; if translated forms, they are blundered, as they yield no meaning.' These objections appear to me so valid, that I think we have to choose between 'moucher' (which apparently agrees best with the MS.) and 'mouter' (which, even if it could not be reconciled with the MS., might easily be a mistake of the scribe, in copying either from his own rough notes or from the Articles of Charge). If we suppose the reference to be to Boccaccio, either of these words can easily be explained as a contemptuous designation. To take 'mouter' first. 'The Italian *boccaccia*' (to quote from Mr. Adams' communication to Notes and Queries, of Aug. 20, 1892, pp. 151, 2) 'is a pejorative form of *bocca*, a mouth, equivalent to the modern colloquial English "ugly mug," and is therefore of very offensive meaning. To any one possessing a knowledge of Latin and Italian, the name Boccaccio (Bocace or Bocas) must always have brought to mind Lat. *bucca*, the original of Ital. *bocca*, Fr. *bouche*. Bucca, however, not only had the popular meaning of mouth, but was employed figuratively by Roman writers in the sense of "declaimer," "bawler," or, as we may say, "mouter". Cp. Juvenal xi. 34. The contemptuous associations of the word would also be increased by another of its secondary meanings, as 'a parasite, one who stuffs out his cheeks in eating.' The word 'moucher,' though it has now dropped out of use, has, in old English, the meaning of a 'glutton,' and 'Jacke Moucher' might be rendered Jack 'Gobble-guts,' a contemptuous appellation still in use in North Lincolnshire (see Peacock's Glossary). There is abundant authority for the use of the words 'mouch' and 'moucher,' in the sense of to 'eat greedily' and 'a greedy eater.' Thus, to refer to authorities for which I am indebted to Mr. Adams, Halliwell notes mouch as a Lincolnshire word (he ought to have said South Lincolnshire, for Mr. Peacock informs me that it is not used in this sense in

North Lincolnshire), meaning 'to eat greedily'; Rider, in the edition of 1627, explains it as 'to take up all'; Littleton, as 'to eat up all, ingurgitare'; and Levins (*Manipulus Vocabulorum*, published in 1570) renders 'a moucher, manduco,' i.e. a glutton¹. 'The mouth,' says Mr. Adams, 'is that which eats; hence in mediæval Latin *bucca* meant a servant, i.e. "eater." *Boccaccia*² denoted a large mouth as well as an ugly one. So the Italian and the Latin meanings seem in *moucher* to be fused together—big mouth, big eater.' 'Jack the Glutton must then be Giovanni Boccacci or John of the Big Mouth.'

On this evidence I must leave my readers to form their own judgment, but, cogent as it is, it would be more conclusive if anything like a contemporary instance could be found of an undoubted application to Boccaccio of either of these words.

¹ In Stratmann's *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Bradley, *mouchen* is explained to 'munch (?), eat.'

² In the *Della Crusca Vocabolario* (ed. Manuzzi) one of the meanings given of 'Boccaccia' is: 'dicesi anche di Colui che parla in modo dissoluto et scorretto,' i.e. of a lewd and 'improper' talker, a meaning which might easily pass into that of a buffoon or jester, or teller of stories. May not 'mouther' be a translation of the word in this sense, and, when applied to Boccaccio, involve a play on the two words Boccaccio and Boccaccia? Mr. Adams, who thinks that my suggestion has an important bearing on the question between 'mouther' and 'moucher,' has sent me the following apposite quotation from *Piers the Plowman* (Early English Text Society), B text, *passus* iv, ll. 114, 5:

'Til lordes and ladies · louien alle treuthe,
And haten al harlotrye · to heren it or to mouthen it.'



HEGGE'S CATALOGUE
OF THE
PRESIDENTS, FELLOWS, SCHOLARS,
AND CHAPLAINS.
WITH ADDITIONS AND CONTINUATIONS.

CATALOGUS
ADMISSORUM
IN COLLEGIUM
CORPORIS CHRISTI.

vel

Apum Examina quotquot
prodierunt ex Alveario
Reverendi in Christo
patris Richardi
Fox Winton:
Episcopi.

. .

.

CATALOGUS PRÆSIDENTIUM

COL. CORPORIS CHRISTI OXON.¹

1517.	Jul. 4.	JOHANNES CLAYMUNDUS. <Mar. 5, 1516.>
1537.	Nov. 26.	ROBERTUS MORWENT.
1558.	Nov. 26.	GULIELMUS CHEDSEY <admissus Sept. 15>.
1559.	Dec. 15.	GULIELMUS BUTCHER.
1561.	Jan. 3.	THOMAS GREENWAY.
1568.	Jul. 19.	GULIELMUS COLE.
1598.	Dec. 14.	JOHANNES REYNOLDS.
1607.	Jun. 9.	JOHANNES SPENSER.
1614.	Jun. 1.	THOMAS ANYAN.
1629.	Mai. 1.	JOHANNES HOLT.
1630.	Feb. 17.	THOMAS JACKSON.
1640.	Oct. 9.	ROBERTUS NEWLIN.
1648.	Mai. 22.	EDMUNDUS STAUNTON—Auct. Parl.
1660.	Jul. 31.	ROBERTUS NEWLIN readmiss.
1687.	Mar. 13.	THOMAS TURNER.
1714.	Mai. 15.	BASILIVS KENNETT.
1714.	Jan. 12.	JOHANNES MATHER.
1748.	Apr. 23.	THOMAS RANDOLPH.
1783.	Apr. 3.	JOHANNES COOKE.
1823.	Feb. 13.	THOMAS EDVARDUS BRIDGES.
1843.	Sep. 16.	JACOBUS NORRIS.
1872.	Mai. 8.	JOHANNES MATTHIAS WILSON.
1881.	Dec. 23.	THOMAS FOWLER.

¹ The dates from Turner onwards are those of election ; those previous to Turner are usually the dates of taking the oath, which ceremony was performed in the College after admission by the Visitor. In the case of Claymund, I do not understand the date of July 4. He was placed in corporal possession of the College, and thereby became President, on March 5, 1514. The date affixed to Cheadsey's name is probably copied, by mistake, from the date above. He was admitted on Sept. 15.

- Ludov. Vives**¹. *Hisp. Lect. Human.* (John Louis Vivès, born at Valentia in Spain, 1492. Vide p. 58.) A.W. Ath.
- Mar. 5.* **Joh. Garthe.** Dunelm. Dispensator. Soc.
- Mar. 5.* **Tho. Fox.** Lond. Soc.
- Mar. 5.* **Rob. Trigonwell** (Treguilion). Ex. Soc.
- Mar. 5.* **Galfridus Ley**². Dunelm.
- Mar. 5.* **Rob. Holle** (Hoole). Linc. Soc.
- Mar. 5.* **Rob. Greenwent** (No other notice of him.)
- Mar. 5.* **Nic. Crutoher** (or **Kratzer**, b. at Munich 1487. See note on L. Vivès above, and p. 85). A.W. Ath. sub Kratcher.
- 1517.** *Jul. 4.* **Joh. Widall.** Lanc.
- Jul. 4.* **Joh. Barlow.** Essex. Disc.
- Jul. 4.* **Ric. Bolney.** Kent. Disc. Sch. 1519.
- Jul. 4.* **Kenelmus Dene.** Glouc. Disc. Sch. 1519.
- Jul. 4.* **Ric. Cora(e)m.** Lanc. Disc. Sch. 1519.
- Aug. 9.* **Ric. Weston.** Lond. Sch.
- Aug. 9.* **Tho. Garret.** Linc.
- Aug. 9.* **Gul. Warmington.** Middlesex. Disc. Sch. 1519.
- Aug. 9.* **Rob. Warmington.** Middlesex. Disc. Sch. 1522.
- Aug. 9.* **David Edwards.** 15 yrs³ Northamp. Disc. Schol. 1522. (pp. 85, 369-70).
- Aug. 9.* **Sy(1)lvester Genens.** Sur.
- Oct. 21.* **Anth. Barker.** Ber. Sch. 1519.

¹ There does not seem to be extant any contemporary documentary evidence either connecting L. Vives and Kratzer with this particular date or even shewing that they were ever Fellows. Yet they are mentioned (see p. 88, by so early an author as Harpsfeld, *Hist. Eccl.*, p. 644, in connexion with the College (as a Winchester school-boy he attended the Founder's funeral), and Fulman (Wood MSS in Bodleian, D, 9) says, 'Ludovicus Vivès lodged in C. C. C., and, by Tradition, was Humanistic Reader to the Coll. but not mentioned in the Register, nor did he stay long at Oxf.' Wood, both in the *Antiq.* and the *Athenæ*, calls them both 'Fellows,' and, in the latter book, refers their admission to July 4, 1517, but probably he is simply following Hegge's Catalogue. The story of 'Vives his bees' is told in Wood's *Antiq.* sub C. C. C. (See p. 71 of this book.) In the Bodleian MS, D, 9, quoted above, Fulman, criticising Wood's account of C. C. C., says, 'for my part, I think they' (i. e. the C. C. C. lectures) 'were the same' as the Wolsey lectures: 'for Wolsey's readers were there lodged, till he had built his Coll., and Lud. Vives was one of them.' For the statement that the King, Queen, and Court, together with the Founder and 'almost all the whole number of Academians,' attended Vivès' first lecture in C. C. C. Hall, 'with great content and admiration,' see A. Wood's *City of Oxford*, Clarke's ed., vol. i. p. 541. But Wood cites no authority, and it is difficult, if the account be true, to explain his silence in the *Annals*—It is possible that Hegge's bold inclusion of Vivès and Kratzer in the first list of Members of the Foundation may have had some justification, either traditional or documentary, in respect to Bishop Foxe's acts, which was not known to later antiquaries.

² Probably Disc., as in Fulman MSS, vol. 11, there is the entry, 'Galfrid Ley, Dunelm. Soc. 1523, Feb. 14.' But there is no corresponding entry in the Register.

³ The age is only given where there is some special reason. See note 1, p. 380. It is sometimes impossible to give the exact age in the earlier entries, either because the number of years only is stated without any further specification, or because the day and month or the saint's day specified is not distinguished as past or future, as in the present instance.

Oct. 21. **Edw. Marten.** Sur. Sch. 1520.

Oct. 21. **Gul. Boys.** Gloc.

1518.¹ *Apr.* 6. **Simon Atk(i)yn.** Dev. Sch. 1519.

1519. *Jun.* 9. **Hen. Wi(y)lliams.** Herf. Sch.

Jun. 9. **Joh. Hi(y)nde.** Middlesex. Sch.

Jul. 2. **Ric. Corren.** Lanc. Scholaris, idem qui supr. Discip. <July 4, 1517.>

1520. *Jun.* 12. **Matt. Whittals <Whythals>.** Kent. Sch.

Jun. 18. **Joh.** <The surname is completely erased, but John Atkinson is written in the margin.>

Jun. 18. **Gul. Wye.** Gloc. Sch. 1523.

Jun. 18. **Edm. Atkinson.** Dunelm.

Jun. 18. **Hen. Mann.** Lanc. <Prior of Shene in Surrey. Afterwards Dean of Chester and Bishop of Man.>

Jun. 18. **Ric. Bower.** Hertf.

Jun. 18. **Tho. Crombooke.** Gloc.

Jun. 18. **Joh. Bolday.** Som. Sch. 1524.

Jun. 18. **Nic. Owdall <Udall>.** Hampt. Sch. 1524. <Head Master of Eton, pp. 86, 370.> A.W. Ath.

Jan. 2. **Edw. Wotton.** <According to Wood, b. in Oxford.> Soc. Compar. Assumpt. <pp. 86, 369-71.> A.W. Ath.

1522. *Jun.* 1. **Ric. Patys².** Ox. Sch. <p. 86.> A.W. Ath.

Jun. 1. **Dav. Edwards.** Northamp. Sch. <Already admitted Disc. Aug. 9, 1517.>

Jun. 1. **Joh. Helyar.** Hampt. Sch. A.W. Ath.

Dec. 22. **Roland Huddilston.** Lond.

Dec. 22. **Joh. Plumtree.** Nott.

Dec. 22. **Gul. Welden.** Northumb. Sch.

1523. *Feb.* 14 <Historical year>. **Reginald Poole³.** Soc. Cardinalis, et Cantuariensis Archiep̄us.

Feb. 14. **Joh. Fox⁴.** Lond. Soc. Archidiacon de Surrey.

¹ Brian Twyne (Collectanea, MS. 280 in C. C. C. Library, fol. 214 b, 231 a) says that HenryWyllys was one of the early Fellows and should appear under this year. But his name does not occur, as a Fellow, in the Register, and both in Hegge's list and that of Allen (MS. 280, fol. 232 b) it occurs first in the list of Chaplains.

² Mr. C. L. Eastlake, Keeper of the National Gallery, regards one of the figures in Holbein's celebrated picture of the Ambassadors as representing this Pate, Pates, or Patys, who, before he was raised to the Episcopate, was employed in several embassies by Henry VIII. If the other figure be, as Mr. Eastlake conjectures, Sir Hugh Askew, the combined surnames make 'Pate-askew,' of which words the distorted skull, which forms so curious an accessory in the picture, may be 'a punning symbol, in keeping with the quaint humour of the sixteenth century.' See Mr. Eastlake's letter to the Times, Dec. 8, 1891.

³ In the Register, the name and some words following are obliterated. Reginaldus Polle has been subsequently inserted. Reginaldus Poole is written in another hand in the margin, and, in a third hand, D^o Reginaldus Polle. R. Pole is said to have been born, in 1500, at Stoverton or Stourton Castle in Staffordshire.

⁴ There was a John Fox Archdeacon of Surrey (date not determined), and a John Fox Archdeacon of Winchester ('nearly related to Bp. Foxe,' according to A. Wood, Fasti) in 1519. Were they the same? If so, both Pole and Fox held high ecclesiastical preferment at the time of their admission to their Fellowships.

- Aug. 14 (Eccl. year). **Joh Dunne**. Ex. Sch.
 1524. Jul. 2. **Joh. Dyott**. Dorc. Sch. Assumpt. 1525.
 Jul. 2. **Chris. Roper**. Kent.
 Jul. 2. **Tho. Lymell**. Shrop.
 Jul. 2. **Tho. Goyge**. Winton. (i. e. Hants.). Sch. elect. 1526.
 Hi omnes non electi, sed assumpti ad instantias magnatum a Fundatore (i. e. all down to and including Goyge).
 Sep. 3. **Joh. Rhodes**. Linc. Sch. Prob. elect.
 1525. Aug. 5. **Joh. Gybbys**. Gloc. Sch. Prob. elect.
 Aug. 5. **Rob. Savage**. War. Sch. Prob. Assumpt.
 1526. Mar. 1. **Joh. Edwards**. Som. Sch.
 1527. Mar. 17. **Joh. Gybryshe**. Cicestren. 20 y. (As to age, cp. other cases, given under R. Hooker, 1573.)
 Mar. 17. **Tho. Cater**. Ox.
 Mar. 17. **Gul. Shallook**. Linc.
 Mar. 17. **Chris. Lincott**. Ber.
 Mar. 17. **Gul. Smith**. Lanc. Sch. 1531.
 Mar. 17. **Gul. Phylpott**. Sur.
 Mar. 17. **Rog. Peers**. Som.
 Mar. 17. **Alex. Scoot**. Dev.
 Mar. 17. **Hen. Stanert**. Dunelm.
 1528. Jun. 16. **Tho. Slatter**. Dev. Sch. Hoc anno obiit Ri. Fox F. (Oct. 5.)
 Jun. 16. **Joh. Standish**. Lanc. Sch. A.W. Ath.
 Jun. 16. **Jac. Marble**. Hert. Sch. Assumpt. non electus. (Instituted by the Founder 'ad instantiam magnatum')
 Jun. 16. **Tho. Huchi(y)nson**. Ox. Sch.
 Jun. 16. **Joh. Shepery (Shepreve)**. Ber. Sch. (p. 79.) A.W. Ath.
 Jun. 16. **Gul. Phi(y)lpott**. Hampt. Sch.
 Jun. 16. **Hen Stafford**. Dunelm. Sch.
 Jun. 16. **Gul. Skri(y)ven**. Bed. 14.
 Jun. 16. **Jac. Stud**. Lond.
 Jun. 16. **Edw. Plankney**. Linc. Sch. 1531. 14.
 Jun. 16. **Jac. Brookes**. Southampt. (Broke in Register.) Sch. 1531. (p. 86.) Episc. Gloc. A.W. Ath.
 Jun. 16. **Ric. Hooper**. Gloc.
 Jun. 16. **Leonard Ardren**. Ox. Sch. 1532.
 Jun. 16. **Geo. Stremer**. Dev. Sch. 1531.
 Jun. 16. **Rog. Morwent**. Gloc. Sch. 1532.
 Mar. 16. **Gul. Chedsey**. Som. Sch. 1531. Pr. 1558. A.W. Ath.
 Mar. 16. **Gul. Allway**. Dev.
 1530. Sep. 28. **Gul. Clifton**. Kent.
 Sep. 28. **Joh. Master**. Som.
 Sep. 28. **Art. Cooke**. Hampt.
 Sep. 28. **Clemens Perott**. Ox.
 Sep. 28. **Joh. Glover**. Sur. Sch. 1534.
 Sep. 28. **Ric. Fisher**. Hampt. Sch. 1534.
 Sep. 28. **Geo. Grisold**. Wig.

- Sep.* 28. **Gul. Hygdon.** Linc. Sch. 1533.
1532. *Apr.* 27. **Joh. Garret.** Linc. Sch. 1536.
Apr. 27. **Hugo Goode** (<Gode>). Som. Sch. 1534.
Apr. 27. **Gul. Hamond.** Sur. 14 y. 4 m.
Apr. 27. **Hugo Turnbull.** Linc. Sch. 1536.
Apr. 27. **Ric. Martial.** Kent. Sch. 1538. Decan. *Ædis* Chr. Ox.
Jun. 7. **Tho. Erley.** Dev.
Jul. 24. **Jac. Curtopp**¹. Kent. Sch. 1534. <Canon of Ch. Ch. and Dean of Peterborough.>
Jul. 28. **Edm. Marvi**(y)n. Hampt. Sch. 1536.
Aug. 6. **Hen. Ryley.** Lanc. Sch. 1536.
Sep. 26. **Ric. Pate.** Gloc. <Founder of Cheltenham Grammar School. See pp. 34-5.>
1533. *Feb.* 17 <Eccl. year>. **Joh. Gale.** Dev.
Feb. 17. **Gul. Bulkley.** Bed.
Feb. 17. **Ric. Bartew.** <Bertie. Vide p. 86.> Hampt.
1534. *Mar.* 26. **Gerv. Linch.** Kent. Sch. 1537.
Oct. 7. **Gul. Taylour.** Dun. Sch.
Nov. 11. **Gul. Butcher** (<Boucher, Reg.>). Som. Sch. 1539. Pr. 1559.
Nov. 11. **Geo. Ederich.** Ox. Sch. 1538. <George Etheridge, Reg. Prof. Greek.>
Nov. 11. **Joh. Lane.** Hampt.
1535. *Feb.* 23 <Historical year>. **Joh. Morwen.** Dev. Græcæ linguæ lector cuius quædam opuscula Græce et Latine propria manu scripta habentur in Bibliotheca Bodleana. Hegge. A.W. Ath.
<Eccl. year.> *Apr.* 12. **Jac. Hill** (<Hylle, Reg.>). Bed.
Apr. 12. **Car. Bulkley.** Hampt.
1536. *Jan.* 22 <Historical year>. **Hen. Walshe.** Wig. Sch. 1543.
Jan. 22. **Ric. Bowre.** Lanc.
Aug. 3 <Eccl. year>. **Rodolph. Robinson.** Linc. Sch. 1542. <Mentioned as a translator of More's Utopia, &c. A.W. Ath.>
Jan. <no day given>. **Joh. Procter.** Som. A.W. Ath.
Jan. **Rob. Bound** (<or Bownde>). Dor. Sch. 1537.
Jan. 26. **Tho. Greenway** (<or Greneway>). Hampt. Sch. 1541. Pr. 1561.

ROBERTUS MORWENT.

Secundus Præses. 1537. Nov. 26.

- 1537.** *Dec.* 1. **Joh. Guning** (<or Gunnynge>). Som.
Dec. 1. **Joh. Fowler.** Gloc. Sch. 1541.
Dec. 1. **Gul. Bowghton.** Kent. Sch. 1540.

¹ Curtopp was an adherent and friend of Peter Martyr, and a patron of Jewel, but he reverted to the Romish religion in the time of Mary. He wrote an *Oratio Panegyrica*, addressed to Henry VIII, in 1544. There is a curious story, connecting his death with a dream of Jewel, told in *Humfrey's Life of Jewel*, p. 31.

- Dec. 1. Gul. Mylton. Hampt.
 1538. Apr. 26. Rog. Welden. (Northumberland.) Sch. 1542.
 Apr. 26. Rob. Tyndar. Wilton. 13 10. Sch. 1543.
 Mai. 7. Florentinus Elys. Ox.
 Mai. 7. Gul. Peter. Dev. 13 10.
 Feb. 21. Ric. Heyward. Kent. Sch. 1544.
 (1539.) Mar. 26. Anth. Dysney. Linc.
 Mar. 26. Rob. Nebb. Hampt.
 Jul. 12. Joh. Moryng. Dev. Sch.
 Aug. 19. Egidius Lawrence. Gloc. (Fellow of All Souls. Reg.
 Prof. Greek. Archdeacon of Wilts.)
 Aug. 19. Joh. Jewel (Juell)¹. Dev. Sch. 1542. (pp. 91-8.)
 A.W. Ath.
 Dec. 20. Joh. Freeman. Gloc. Sch.
 1540. Mai. 11. Ric. Edwards. Som. Sch. 1544. (p. 101.) A.W. Ath.
 Mai. 11. Gul. Pannell. Som.
 1541. Mar. 29. Joh. Lybi(y)n. Som. Sch. 1547.
 Mar. 29. Tho. Ogle (Ogull. Reg.). Linc.
 Mar. 29. Chris. Edmunds. Ox. 14 2.
 Mai. 6. Ric. Peter. Dev. Sch. 1546.
 Jul. 16. Ric. Cooke. Hampt.
 Aug. 19. Anth. Pollard. Sur.
 Aug. 19. Gul. Bullman. Som.
 Aug. 19. Chris. M(y)chell. Lanc. 14. Sch. 1545.
 Nov. 4. Justinianus Lancaster. Hampt. Sch. 1545.
 1542. Mai. 24. Chris. Madewell. Linc.
 Mai. 24. Franc. Ashley. Dunelm. Co. Durham. 14. Sch. 1547.
 Oct. 10. Edw. Maske. Kent.
 Oct. 10. Erasmus Prin. Gloc. 14 4.
 Dec. 31. Tho. Elder. Bed.
 1543. Mai. 12. Joh. Batt. Dev.
 Mai. 12. Tho. Plumtree. Linc.
 Aug. 17. Walt Read. Gloc. 14.
 1544. Mai. 9. Joh. Cooke. Hampt.
 Aug. 13. Leon. Banolph. Kent. (Spelt Randolphe in margin of
 Reg., and Randle in admission as Sch.) Sch. 1547.
 Aug. 13. Joh. Jones. Ox. 14 2. Sch. 1549.
 Dec. 13. Rob. Linch (Lynche). Kent. 13 1½.
 [1544]. Mai. 4. Gul. Gerrell. Wilton.
 Jul. 28. Gul. Cole. Linc. Sch. (Probably born at Grantham. See
 p. 124.) Præses 1568. Dec. Linc. A.W. Ath. An. Antiq.
 Jul. 28. Joh. Bold. Lanc. Sch. 1548.
 Jul. 28. Gul. Heron. Dunelm. Co. Durham.

¹ Jewel, according to Lawrence Humfrey, was born May 24, 1522, and was, therefore, about 17 yrs. 3 months old at his admission at C.C.C. In the Register, he is described as 17 when admitted Disc., 'circiter diem Simonis et Judæ' (Oct. 28), but whether past or to come is not stated. In the form of his admission as Sch., he is described as 21, 'circiter diem vicesimum mensis Maii prox.'

- Jul.* 28. **Ric. Bechinsauil.** Hampt.
Aug. 25. **Egidius George.** Gloc. Sch. 1548. <p. 371.>
Feb. 26. **Gul. Good.** Som. Sch. 1548. Hum. Lector. A. W. Ath.
Feb. 26. **Joh. Laurence.** Som. Sch. 1548.
1548. *Aug.* 6. **Geo. Phetiplace.** Bed. 14 4. Sch. 1550.
Aug. 6. **Joh. Dolber.** Dev. Sch. 1549.
Oct. 19. **Ric. Allen.** Gloc. Sch.
1547. *Apr.* 2. **Tho. Thacham.** Gloc. Sch.
Nov. 7. **Gilb. Marsant.** Hampt. 13 6.
Nov. 7. **Gul. Talbot.** Dor.
Dec. 17. **Ric. Hall.** Hampt. 13 4.
Jun. <? Jan.> 17. **Gul. Girle.** Wilton.
Jun. <? Jan.> 22. **Rob. Keye.** Wilton.
Jun. <? Jan.> 22. **Tho. Ki(or y)rton.** Gloc. Sch. 1550.
Jun. <? Jan.> 22. **Pet. Umphres (or Humphres).** Ox.
Jun. <? Jan.> 22. **Walt. Curson.** Ox. Sch. 1551.
Mar. 21. **Edw. Kingesmel.** Hampt. Sch.
Mar. 21. **Edw. Gilford.** Kent.
Mar. 21. **Joh. Ryve.** Dev. Sch. 1554.
1548. *Apr.* 21. **Jac. Bell.** Som. Sch. 1551. <One of the first Fellows of Trinity. Confounded with John Bell, who was admitted Lect. Hum. Jan. 30, 1562, q. v.> A. W. Ath.
Apr. 21. **Edw. Boughton.** Kent. Sch. 1551.
Apr. 21. **Jasper Turnbull.** Linc.
Jun. 15. **Hieron. Reynolds.** Dev. Sch. 1556. <pp. 110-113.> A. W. Ath.
Jun. 15. **Joh. Esden.** Kent. Sch. 1557. <Spelt Ersden.>
1549. *Aug.* 27. **Tho. Thomson (Tomson).** Dunelm.
Aug. 27. **Geo. Cartwright.** Nott. Admissus in Discipulum mandato Delegatorum Domini Regis Edw. 6. <pp. 99, 100.>
Jan. 10. **Gul. Nayler.** Linc. Sch. 1552.
Mar. 12. **Joh. Hodges.** Gloc.
Mar. 12. **Nich. Grey.** Dev.
1550. *Jun.* 23. **Anth. Mervin.** Hampt.
Nov. 25. **Gul. Walden.** Ber.
Nov. 25. **Joh. Jones.** Gloc. Sch. 1554.
Nov. 25. **Chris. Gill.** Som. Sch. 1552.
Nov. 25. **Edw. Anne.** Ox. <pp. 96-7.>
1551. *Apr.* 13. **Geo. Parke.** Linc.
Oct. 12. **Tho. Basset.** Hampt. Sch. 1552.
Oct. 12. **Rob. Hicford.** Gloc. Sch. 1552.
Oct. 12. **Gul. Mugg.** Kent. Sch. 1553.
Oct. 12. **Rog. Prin.** Gloc.
<*Feb.* 20. **Jasper Turnbull**¹. Linc. Sch. 1555.>

¹ This Jasper Turnbull, who corresponds with the one admitted Sch. in 1555, is evidently different from the one admitted Disc. in 1548, unless there is some mistake in one of the entries.

- Feb. 20.* **Rob. Harrison**¹. Lanc. (p. 125.)
Feb. 20. **Tho. Payne.** Dor. Sch. 1554.
Feb. 20. **Tho. James.** Som.
Feb. 20. **Hen. Bedell.** Ox.
(Feb. 20. **Reg. Braye.** Bed.)
1552 *Jul. 30.* **Alex. Dunnet.** Hampt.
Jul. 30. **Joh. Holwell.** Dev. 14 4.
Sep. 29. **Steph. White.** Sur. Sch. 1552.
1553(2). *Mar. 24.* **Marcus Courl.** Hampt. Sch. 1554.
Mar. 24. **Walt. Ringwood.** Hampt. (Admitted Sch. as Walt.
 Kingswood, Mar. 3, 1555.)
Mar. 24. **Gul. Phelps.** Som. Sch. 1557.
Mar. 24. **Gul. Gressop.** Ber (i.e. Dioc. Sarum.) Sch. 1558.
Aug. 23. **Nic. Heyward.** Kent. Sch. 1557.
Aug. 23. **Ric. Sanders** (or **Saunders**). Gloc.
Aug. 23. **Edw. Hopkinson.** Linc. Sch. 1554.
Aug. 23. **Andreas Kingsme(y)ll.** Hampt. 14 1. A.W. Ath.
1554. *Jun. 9.* **Gul. Absolon.** Kent. Sch. 1556.
Jun. 9. **Joh. Brooks** (Brokes). Wig. Sch. 1555.
Jun. 9. **Tho. Sampole** (St. Paul). Linc.
Jun. 9. **Joh. Angell.** Gloc.
Jun. 9. **Joh. Bond** (Bounde. Reg.). Linc. 14 2½. Sch. 1557.
Jul. 31. **Jac. Fenn.** Som. Sch. 1558.
Jul. 31. **Joh. David.** Dev.
Feb. 16. **Walt. Roche.** Dev. Sch. 1558.
Feb. 16. **Anth. Molynax.** Lanc.
Feb. 16. **Gul. Shepreve.** Ber. (i.e. Dioc. Sarum.) 14. Sch. 1558.
 A.W. Ath.
1555. *Mai. 18.* **Peroiv. Wall.** Dunelm. Sch. 1556.
Mai. 18. **Geo. Huet.** Bed. 13 9.
Aug. 31. **Hen. Townrow.** Lanc.
Mar. 3. **Ric. Phelps.** Ox.
1556. *Jun. 26.* **Joh. Scolard.** Hampt. Sch. 1558.
Jun. 26. **Edm. Thomas.** Hampt.
Aug. 14. **Hen. Wotton.** Proc. Univ. Græcæ linguæ Lector. (Of
 Ch. Ch. On being elected Greek Reader and Fellow of
 C. C. C., he was, by the Statutes, obliged to resign the
 Proctorship.)
Sep. 28. **Gul. Clerck.** Hampt. 14. Sch. 1559.
Sep. 28. **Joh. Lightfoot.** Gloc.
Jan. 8. **Milo Windesore.** Hampt. Sch. 1560. (pp. 101, 126.)
 A.W. Ath.
1557. *Jul. 31.* **Joh. Lancaster.** Som.
Aug. 17. **Edm. Reynolds.** Dev. Sch. 1559. (pp. 76, 126, 159-60.)

¹ There is a Robert Harrison admitted Sch. May 5, 1554, and then said to be 16 years of age. Is there some mistake in one entry or the other, or are they different persons?

Aug. 17. **Lauren. Twine.** Kent.
Aug. 17. **Tho. Chaff.** Dev.
Aug. 17. **Rog. Johnson.** Bed. 14 4. Sch. 1560.
Nov. 5. **Radulphus Wood.** Gloc. Sch. 1558.
Jan. 28. **Milo Leigh.** Lanc. 14 4.
Jan. 28. **Joh. Hall.** Linc.
1558. *Jun.* 9. **Jac. Tonge.** Kent. Sch. 1560.
Aug. 20. **Geo. Harris.** Gloc.
Aug. 20. **Edw. Bowden.** Dunelm. Co. Durham. Sch. 1561.

GULIELMUS CHEDSEY.

Tertius Præses. 1558. <Sep. 15.>

1558. *Jan.* 24. **Rog. Jaques.** Hampt. Sch. 1560.
Jan. 24. **Humf. Ashfield.** Ox.
Mar. 24. **Steph. Hardy.** Sur.
Mar. 24. **Ludov. Mugg.** Kent.
Mar. 24. **Joh. Hooke.** Dunelm. Co. Durham.
Mar. 24. **Augustinus Golsborowgh.** Wilton. Sch. 1561.
1559. *Apr.* 14. **Joh. Rayner.** Linc.
Apr. 14. **Simon Tripp.** Dev. Sch. 1563. <pp. 122, 133-7.>
Oct. 20. **Hen. Wood.** Wig.
Oct. 20. **Ric. Joyner.** Ox. Sch. 1564.
Oct. 20. **Art. Greenacres.** Lanc. 12 7.

GULIELMUS BUTCHER <or BOCHER, or BOUCHER>.

Quartus Præses. 1559. Dec. 15.

1559. *Jan.* 2. **Tho. Weston.** Kent.
Jan. 2. **Andreas Dowle.** Gloc.
Jan. 2. **Tho. Lancaster.** Som. 14.
1560. *Jun.* 21. **Joh. Sprint.** Gloc. 13 11. Sch. 1563.
Jun. 21. **Tho. Sclocomb <or Slocombe>.** Gloc.
Jul. 6. **Tho. Twine.** Kent. 13 9. Sch. 1564. <Father of Brian
Twine and a considerable author.> A.W. Ath.
Oct. 12. **Tho. Gi<or y>llingham.** Dor. Sch. 1566.
Oct. 12. **Geo. Bound.** Linc. Sch. 1561.
Oct. 12. **Steph. Bull.** Kent. 13 6.
Oct. 12. **Tho. Humphres.** Ox. 13 9.
Nov. 2. **Tho. Fortescu.** Dev. Sch.
Jan. 14. **Joh. Lancaster.** Som. Sch.
Mar. 21. **Ric. Webb.** Som. Sch. 1564.
Mar. 21. **Gul. Turnbull.** Linc. 12 10.
Mar. 21. **Anth. Tye.** Dev. 13 3.
1561. *Jul.* 20. **Nic. Norwood.** Bed. 13.
Jul. 20. **Tho. Merist.** Sur.
Jul. 20. **Ric. Allyn.** Linc. 13 10. Sch. 1566.
Oct. 4. **Hen. Sterr.** Dor.
Dec. 13. **Tho. Morres <Norresse. Reg.>.** Lanc.

THOMAS GREENWAY.

Quintus Præses. 1561. Jan. 3.

<1561. Jan. 30. **Joh. Belle.** Lect. Hum. 'pro com. Surrey.' He was an extern, probably from Oriel (see note on pp. 371-2, and Foster, under John Belly). In the Libri Magni spelt Bellie or Belly.)

1562. Feb. 6. **Joh. Barefoot.** Hampt. Sch. 1566. <pp. 124. 139-41.>

1563. Apr. 29. **Tho. Greenway.** Hampt.

Apr. 29. **Joh. Reynolds.** Dev. Disc. at 13 7. Prob. Fellow at 17. Sch. 1566. Pr. 1598. A.W. Ath.

Jul. 9. **Geo. Rudd.** Westmorl. Admissus Soc. et Lect. Gr. Ling. <One of the first Fellows of Trinity. Warton's Life of Pope, p. 399.>

Dec. 24. **Rog. Charnock.** Lanc. 14. Sch. 1566.

Feb. 12. **Hen. Coo(or w)per.** 14 5. Hampt. Sch. 1568.

Mar. 3. **Chris. Ranson.** Dunelm. Co. Durham. Sch. 1568.

1564. Sep. 5. **Hen. Evans.** Gloc. Civ. Gloc. 14. Sch. 1566.

Nov. 9. **Joh. Petty.** Hampt. Sch.

Nov. 27. **Ric. Kyre.** Kent.

Nov. 27. **Gul. Smith.** Hampt. Sch. 1568.

Nov. 27. **Joh. Withers.** Dev. 14 5.

Nov. 27. **Tho. Lightfoot.** Gloc. Civ. Gloc. <Mayismore, i.e. Maismore>.

Nov. 27. **Tho. Simonson.** Kent.

Dec. 8. **Peter Temple.** Ox. 13 5.

1565. Jul. 20. **Joh. Matthew.** Wilton.

Oct. 9. **Joh. Lane.** Dev. Sch. 1568.

Jan. 5. **Michael Parker.** Gloc.

Jan. 5. **Geo. Napper (or Napier).** Ox. 13 11. <pp. 126-7.>

1566. Apr. 12. **Rog. Lancaster.** Som. Sch. 1566.

Apr. 12. **Joh. Pottle.** Gloc. 13. Sch. 1568 at 15 4.

Sep. 25. **Joh. Norton.** Hampt. 13 8. Sch. 1569 at 16 7.

Nov. 9. **Ric. Turnbull.** Linc. 13 10. Sch. 1569 at 16 7. A.W. Ath.

Nov. 9. **Joh. St(y)ile.** Bed.

Nov. 9. **Gul. Cullam.** Dev. Sch. 1573.

Nov. 9. **Car. Bi(y)ngham.** Dor. Sch. 1568.

Feb. 25. **Joh. Cheyney.** Hampt. Sch. 1568.

Feb. 25. **Geo. Bagge.** Som.

Feb. 25. **Tho. Key.** Linc. Sch. 1568.

Feb. 25. **Tho. Beynam.** Gloc.

1567. Aug. 15. **Walt. Jones.** Ox. Sch. 1569

Oct. 20. **Tho. Culpeper.** Kent. 14 5. Sch. 1570.

Oct. 20. **Joh. Nott.** Sur.

Oct. 20. **Ric. Stephens.** Gloc. Sch. 1569

GULIELMUS COLE.**Sextus Præses. 1568. Jul. 19.**

- 1568.** *Aug. 6.* Geo. Hanson. Linc. Sch. 1573.
Aug. 6. Milo Bodley (or Bodeley). Dev.
Aug. 6. Tho. Cole. Gloc. Sch. 1575.
Aug. 6. Joh. Sledd. Sur.
Aug. 6. Gul. Napper (or Napier). Hampt. Sch.
Aug. 11. Tho. Watts. Wilton. Elected for Somerset.
Oct. 15. Joh. Seller. Lanc. Sch. 1570.
Feb. 7. Joh. Cole. Dor. Sch. 1570.
Feb. 7. Petrus Frye. Dev. Sch. 1574.
Feb. 7. Humf. Coles. Kent. Sch. 1571.
Feb. 7. Leonardus Tayler. Ox. Sch. 1574.
1569. *Aug. 20.* Rob. Pister. Hampt.
Aug. 20. Tho. Knight. Sur. Sch. 1572.
Aug. 20. Franc. Baker. Bed. Sch. 1571.
Aug. 20. Joh. Alen. Linc.
Aug. 20. Joh. Willoms. Wig. (El. for Hants.)
Aug. 20. Gul. Leche. Bed.
Aug. 20. Joh. Greenway. Hampt. Sch. 1574.
1570. *Oct. 6.* Nic. Morice. Som. Sch. 1574. Lector Humanitatis.
(pp. 133-4, 145-6, 153.)
Dec. 1. Sam. Beck. Ox. Sch.
Feb. 9. Hugo Barnard. Cant. Sch. 1572.
Feb. 9. Gul. Harward. Gloc. Sch. 1579.
Feb. 9. Joh. Powell. Wilton.
1572. *Apr. 4.* Steph. Gossons¹. Cant.
Apr. 4. Gul. Wilde. Lanc.
Apr. 4. Ric. Cobb. Hampt. Sch. 1579.
Dec. 13. Nic. Collet. Hampt.
Mar. 13. Gul. Nutt. Cant. Sch. 1577.
1573. *Jul. 11.* Joh. Walward. Som. Sch. 1576.
Dec. 24. Gul. Nicholson. Cant. Sch.
Dec. 14. Car. Turnbull. Linc. Sch. 1579. Qui Horoscopum in
area quadrata C.C.C. erexit. (pp. 153, 183.) A.W. Ath.
Dec. 24. Ric. Hooker. Dev. Sch. Sep. 16, 1577. Elect. Disc. pro
Com. Hampt. æt. 19 an. & 9 mens.² (pp. 147-153.)
A.W. Ath.

¹ A. W. Ath. Ox. Described as of Ch. Ch. But this must be a mistake for C. C. C., as the date of election is exactly the same as that here given. See also A. Clark's Register, vol. ii. pt. 3, p. 62.

² Hooker is described on admission as 20 about Easter following. Easter Day in 1574 fell on April 11. The statutable limits of age for a Disciple were 12 and 19, but, in cases of pre-eminent excellence, it might be extended to 21. Cp. admission of Edm. Thomas in 1556, who was about the same age as Hooker, of W. Girle in 1547, who is described as 20, Roger Morwent in 1528, also 20, and J. Gybryshe in 1527, also 20, besides several instances of 'discipuli assumpti' soon after the foundation of the College, whose ages were 19 or 20. Soon after

1574. *Apr.* 3. **Hen. Howke.** Sur. 14 2. Disc. Adm. 1572. Jurat. 1574.
Aug. 13. **Tho. Bishopp.** Ox.
Mar. 18. **Franc. Wright.** Linc.
1575. *Jun.* 10. **Joh. Sherburne.** Hampt.
Jun. 10. **Ambrosius Hill.** Som.
Jun. 10. **Joh. Martyn.** Bed.
Jun. 10. **Gul. Brodock.** Hampt.
Jan. 6. **Joh. Langley.** Cant.
1576. *Mar.* 31. **Gul. Tye.** Dev.
Sep. 3. **Ric. Burden.** Dunelm Co. Durham.
Nov. 13. **Gul. Waterer.** Sur.
Nov. 13. **Hen. Parry.** Wilton. Glocest. deinde Episcopus Wigorniensis. 14 2. Sch. 1586. A.W. Ath.
Jan. 4. **Joh. Lucas.** Som. Sch. 1585.
Jan. 4. **Rob. Allott.** Linc.
Jan. 4. **Edm. Norton.** Hampt. 13 11.
1577. *Sep.* 16. **Edw. Sands.** Wig. Sch. 1579. (pp. 153-4.) A.W. Ath.
Sep. 16. **Chris. Langley.** Cant. Sch. 1583.
Sep. 16. **Geo. Sellar.** Lanc.
Jan. 10. **Gul. Stayning.** Dev.
Jan. 10. **Gul. Wright.** Bed. 14 2.
Jan. 10. **Geo. Cranmer.** Cant. 12 3. Juratus Dec. 22, 1579. Sch. 1583 (pp. 153-4.) A.W. Ath.
1578. *Jun.* 10. **Joh. Spenser.** Suff. Græcæ linguæ Lector pridie elect. et adm. Nunc jurat. et 7 Maii 1579 Soc. Adm. pro dioc. Sarum. (vide pp. 143-4.) Pr. 1607. A.W. Ath.
1579. *Sep.* 4. **Franc. Towes.** Som. Sch. 1586.
Sep. 4. **Justinianus Whiting.** Ox.
Sep. 4. **Sam. Kyrk.** Gloc. Sch. 1582.
Sep. 4. **Ric. Ackworth.** Hampt. 14. Sch. 1588.
Feb. 6. **Gul. Fulbeck.** Linc. Sch. 1582. A.W. Ath.
Feb. 6. **Nic. Ively** (Eveleigh, when adm. Sch.). Dev. Sch. 1588.
Feb. 6. **Chris. Lacy.** Gloc. (Bristol, when adm. Sch.) Sch. 1587.
Feb. 6. **Ben. Russell.** Linc. Sch. 1583.
Feb. 6. **Zach. Hooker**¹ Dev. Sch. 1587.
1581. *Apr.* 3. **Matt. Bond.** Hampt. Sch. 1581.
Jul. 7. **Jac. Standish.** Lanc.
Jul. 7. **Joh. Chenell.** Sur. Sch. 1587.
Oct. 22. **Gul. Hubbuck.** Dunelm. Dioc. Durham. Sch. A.W. Ath.
Dec. 22. **Hen. Porredge.** Cant. Sch.
1582. *Dec.* 8. **Gul. Storr.** Linc. Sch. 1588.

Hooker's admission, several cases occur of the admission of Disciples between 18 and 19.

¹ The entry of Zach. Hooker as Discip. occurs in the margin of the Register, though not in the body of the Instrument, which is imperfect and breaks off before it comes to his name. The particulars about him are obtained from his admission as 'Scholaris.'

- Dec. 8.* **Simon Potinger.** Hampt.
Dec. 8. **Franc. Kingsmill.** Hampt. 12 11.
Dec. 8. **Ewanus Aray.** Dunelm. Co. Durham. Sch. 1590.
Dec. 22. **Anth. Martyn.** Dor. (i. e. Dioc. Sarum).
1583. *Sep. 7.* **Geo. Nutt.** Cant.
Sep. 21. **Alex. Gill.** Linc. (High Master of St. Paul's. Milton's Master.) A. W. Ath.
Dec. 21. **Gul. Orson.** Linc. Sch.
1584. *Mar. 26.* **Arnoldus Sawle.** Gloc. 14 3.
Nov. 6. **Marcus Westbrook.** Sur. Sch. 1590.
Mar. 12. **Joh. Hoare.** Hampt. Sch. 1590.
1585. *Mai. 19.* **Tho. Cranmer.** Cant. 14 1. Sch. at 15 $\frac{3}{4}$, 1586.
Mai. 28. **Gul. Hart.** Cant.
Aug. 20. **Ric. Collerd.** Som. b. at Taunton. Sch. 1588.
1586. *Jun. 22.* **Tho. Cole.** Ox.
Aug. 30. **Sebast. Benfeild.** Gloc. Sch. 1590. (Margaret Professor of Divinity.) A. W. Ath.
1587. *Apr. 30.* **Hen. Radclif.** Lanc.
Apr. 30. **Chris. Membrie.** Som. Sch. 1588.
Apr. 30. **Jac. Astin.** Cant. Sch. 1591.
Jun. 10. **Edw. Farbrace.** Cant. Sch. 1594.
Jun. 10. **Sam. Page.** Bed. 12 6. Sch. 1590 at 15 $\frac{1}{2}$. A. W. Ath.
Jan. 13. **Edw. Higgs.** Gloc.
Jan. 13. **Petrus Hooker.** Dev. Sch. 1592. (Master of the Charter-house.)
Jan. 13. **Rob. Burghill.** Gloc. b. at Dymmoke (Dymock). Sch. 1594. (p. 154.) A. W. Ath.
Jan. 13. **Adam. Noyse.** Wilton. 13 8.
1588. *Aug. 24.* **Joh. Barcham** (or **Barkcombe**). Dev. Sch. 1596. Dean of Bocking. (pp. 154-5.) A. W. Ath.
Sep. 14. **Tho. Barber.** Linc.
Oct. 6. **Hen. Hindly.** Lanc. Sch. 1596.
Nov. 9. **Gilb. Hawthorn.** Som. Wells. Sch. 1597.
Feb. 21. **Ric. Samaways.** Som. Sch. 1597.
1589. *Mar. 29.* **Ric. Brown.** Hampt. 14. Sch. 1594.
Jul. 17. **Ric. Allen.** Linc. Sch. 1596.
Nov. 15. **Rob. Darrel.** Hampt. Sch. 1590.
Jan. 12. **Marmad. Lodington.** Linc.
1590. *Apr. 24.* **Peter Bowne.** Bed. Sch. 1597. A. W. Ath.
Apr. 24. **Joh. Boate.** Sur.
Apr. 24. **Sam. Walter.** Ox.
Apr. 24. **Abr. Mosan.** Sur.
Jul. 4. **Joh. Bradford.** Hampt.
Sep. 9. **Tho. Unwyn.** Hampt. Fr. cog.
1591. *Jun. 2.* **Manasses Troward.** Cant.
1592. *Mar. 31.* **Jos. Hill.** Cant. Christchurch (i. e. Cant. Cath.).
Oct. 8. **Dan. Parker.** Gloc. Barnwood. Sch. 1598.
Oct. 8. **Gualt. Browne.** Sur. Bookham. Sch. 1599.

- Oct. 8. **Edm. Orson.** Linc. Grantham.
 1593. Apr. 30. **Hen. Morgan** Dev. Sydmouth.
 Oct. 12. **Tim. Elkes.** Wilton. Bishopstowne.
 1594. Dec. 13. **Brianus Twyne.** Sur. 14 5. Sch. 1605. (Son of Thomas Twyne. See p. 109.) (p. 155) A.W. Ath.
 Dec. 13. **Joh. Simpson.** Cant. Canterbury Sch. 1600.
 Dec. 13. **Joh. Mason.** Dunelm. Co. Durham. Sch. 1596.
 Dec. 13. **Dan. Fertlough**¹. Ox. Sch. 1602. (p. 155) A.W. Ath.
 1595. Mar. 27. **Chris. Green.** Gloc. Henbune (Henbury). Sch. 1605.
 1596. Apr. 26. **Joh. Adison.** Hampt
 Jul. 9. **Geo. Bayley.** Hampt. Sch. 1599.
 Jul. 9. **Gul. Huckmore** Dev.
 Jul. 9. **Edw. Greenhalgh.** Lanc. 14 3.
 Jul. 9. **Ric. Allen.** Linc. Sch. 1599.
 Mar. 24. **Tho. Jackson.** Dunelm. Witton sup. Weere, Durham. Sch. 1606. Pr. 163 $\frac{1}{2}$. A.W. Ath.
 1597. Apr. 16. **Joh. Hales.** Som. Highchurch (nr. Bath). 13. (p. 155) A.W. Ath.
 Mai. 4. **Gul. Cooper.** Sus. Frost cog. Southarting (South-Harting). 14.
 Jan. 3. **Chris. Sclater.** Bed. Leighton Buzzard. 13 4. Sch. 1609.
 Feb. 10. **Joh. Berry.** Dev. Tiverton. A.W. Ath.
 Feb. 10. **Edw. Yates.** Hampt. Basingstoke. 12 6.
 Mar. 2. **Alex. Sidnam.** Som. 13 6.
 1598. Jun. 24. **Edm. Atwood.** Gloc. Oxendon (ton). Sch. 1606.

JOHANNES REYNOLDS.

Septimus Præses. 1598 Dec. 14.

1599. Mai. 8. **Geo. Webb.** Wilton. Episcop. Limerick. A.W. Ath.
 Aug. 17. **Brentius Gulliford.** Cant.
 Aug. 17. **Abr. Allen.** Linc. Sch. 1603.
 Aug. 17. **Joh. Lidham.** Cant. 13 6.
 Jan. 3. **Joh. Holt.** Sur. Cherisey. 13 11. Sch. 1611. Pr. 1629.
 1600. Mar. 16. **Gul. Tod.** Hampt. Upton Gray.
 Mai. 16. **Gervasius Nevill.** Linc. Luddington. Sch. 1611.
 Dec. 2. **Joh. Hall or Haul.** Hampt. Sch.
 Dec. 2. **Gab. Hunyfold.** Cant. Sch.
 Dec. 2. **Gul. Beely.** Bed. Sch.
 Feb. 27. **Alex. How.** Dev. Sch. 1608.
 Mar. 9. **Tho. Anyan.** Cant. Sandwich. Sch. 1608. Pr. 1614.
 1601. Jan. 23. **Rob. Barcroft.** Lanc. Blackburn hundred. 14 4. Sch. 1612.
 Jan. 23. **Joh. Hampton.** Hampt. Stoke. Sch. 1612.
 1602. Sep. 20. **Franc Barcham.** Dev.

¹ Variouslly called Fertlough, Fairclough, Fairclowe, and Fertley. Only 11 years 9 months old when admitted.

- Dec.* 1. **Hen. Jackson.** Ox. St. Mary's, Oxford. Sch. 1612.
 (p. 170.) A.W. Ath.
1603. *Jul.* 19. **Petrus Thatcher.** Som. Queen Cammell. Sch. 1613.
Jul. 19. **Rog. Waite.** Linc. Wallham (Waltham). 14 3.
1604. *Jan.* 11. **Hen. Drew.** Wilton. Devizes.
1605. *Jun.* 7. **Rob. Lodington.** Linc. Scotton.
Jan. 25. **Edw. Hurd.** Som. Long Sutton. Sch. 1614.
1606. *Jun.* 2. **Tho. Holt.** Sur. Chertsey. Under 13. Sch. 1614.
Jun. 2. **Josuah Aisgill.** Gloc. Gloucester city. Sch. 1613.
Jul. 25. **Matt. Colmore.** Dunelm. Durham city. Sch. 1614.
Oct. 20. **Anth. Cla(o)pton.** Gloc. Broadwell. 12 7. Sch. 1614.
1607. *Mai.* 11. **Franc. Allen.** Linc. Stoke.
Mai. 11. **Nic. Bayly.** Hampt. Shipton. Qui primus e Collegio
 nostro honorem Procuratorium gesserit. anno Domini
 1621. *Apr.* 11. Sch. 1614.

JOHANNES SPENSER.Octavus Præses. 1607. *Jun.* 9.

1608. *Sep.* 23. **Mich. Jermin.** Dev. Knowston. Sch. 1615.
 A.W. Ath.
- Sep.* 23. **Ric. James.** Hampt. Newport, I.W. Sch. 1615. (p. 175.)
 A.W. Ath.
- Jan.* 4. **Hen. Parry.** Cant. Canterbury. Sch. 1614.
1609. *Jul.* 15. **Tho. Andrews.** Bed. Eversholt. Sch. 1615.
Jul. 15. **Gab. Briges.** Wilton. Chipnam (Chippenham). Sch. 1616.
1610. *Dec.* 18. **Joh. Storr.** Linc. Cunningsbie (Coningsby).
1611. *Apr.* 8. **Hen. Seller.** Cant. Eythorne. Sch. 1617.
Oct. 12. **Hen. Geering.** Linc. Winterton. Sch. 1617.
Jan. 11. **Ben. Eliot.** Sur. Godalming. Sch. 1620.
1612. *Jun.* 23. **Dan. Hollyday.** Lanc. Clitherow. Sch. 1619.
Jun. 23. **Gamaliel Chace.** Dev. Membrie (Membury). Sch. 1616.
Oct. 15. **Joh. Hooker.** Hampt. Odiham.
Oct. 15. **Tho. Gorstelow.** Ox. Prescott, in par. of Cropredy.
 Sch. 1620.
- Nov.* 2. **Ric. Thomson.** Linc. Gainsborough. 14 10. Sch. 1621.
1613. *Jun.* 11. **Edm. Read.** Som. Sandford.
- Jan.* 26. **Rouseus Clopton.** Gloc. Dodswill (Dowdeswell). Sch. 1623.

THOMAS ANYAN.Nonus Præses. 1614. *Jun.* 1.

1614. *Nov.* 7. **Rob. Kingman.** Som. East-horrington. (In ad-
 mission as Fellow, St. Cuthbert's, Wells.) Sch. 1622.
- Nov.* 7. **Rob. Hegg.** Dunelm. Durham city. (Compiler of this list
 down to about 1629¹.) Sch. 1624. (p. 183.) A.W. Ath.

¹ In the first Register, under the year 1624, there is the note, in the hand-writing of Fulman, 'Mr. Hegge in Collegio obiit Apoplexi Ann. 1629.'

- Nov. 7.* **Rob. Nulin** (Newlin or Newlyn). Hampt. Priors-deane. Sch. 1622. Pr. 1640 and again 1660.
- Nov. 7.* **Gul. Spenser**. Hampt. Wolverton. Sch. 1624.
- 1615.** *Jun. 7.* **Tho. Norwood**. Cant. Canterbury.
- Jun. 7.* **Isaacus Taylour**. Sur. Lambeth. Sch. 1627.
- Jun. 7.* **Rawleighus Bellot**. Dev. Bossome Seale (i.e. Bozon Zeale or Bosom's Hele, in parish of Dittisham). 14 5.
- Jun. 16.* **Benedictus Webb**. Gloc. Wotton-Underedge. Sch. 1624.
- Oct. 2.* **Ric. Feild**. Hampt. Burclere (Burghclere). 13 4. Sch. 1627. (Son of Richard Field, Dean of Gloucester.)
- Oct. 4.* **Edm. Stanton**. Bed. Woobourne (Woburn). 13 11½. Sch. 1616. Pr. 1648-60. A.W. Ath.
- 1616.** *Aug. 14.* **Chris. Bayly**. Wilton. Stanton Barnard.
- 1617.** *Apr. 19.* **Tho. Sainthill**. Dev. Broadeninch (Bradinch). Sch. 1627.
- Apr. 25.* **Joh. Rowland**. Bed. Eaworth. In 1619, when sworn, Eiyeworth (Eyworth). 13 7.
- Dec. 9.* **Barth. Man**. Cant. Chartham.
- Mar. 13.* **Rob. Lark**. Linc. Gainsborough.
- 1619.** *Nov. 9.* **Rob. Kenwrick**. Lanc. Earlstoun. 19 3. Sch. 1627.
- 1620.** *Dec. 11.* **Jac. Holt**. Sur. Thorpe. 14 5. Sch. 1628.
- Dec. 11.* **Edw. Pocock**. Ox. St. Peter's in the East, Oxford. Sch. 1628. (pp. 183-4.) A.W. Ath.
- 1621.** *Jul. 27.* **Joh. Rainbow**. Linc. Blyton. Sch. 1629.
- Jul. 27.* **Joh. Kerswell**. Som. Croscombe. Sch. 1629.
- Jan. 5.* **Elias Wrench**. Gloc. Gloucester. Sch. 1630.
- 1622.** *Sep. 19.* **Gul. Chapman**. Som. Bath. Sch. 1630.
- Sep. 19.* **Joh. Sampson**. Hampt. Lymington.
- 1623.** *Dec. 11.* **Steph. Bridges**. Wilton. Hardenhuish nr. Chipnam (i.e. Chippenham). Sch. 1631.
- Mar. 15.* **Nic. Simpson**. Cant. Canterbury. Sch. 1631.
- 1624.** *Feb. 18.* **Geo. Stratford**. Gloc. Guyting. 13 9. Sch. 1632.
- Feb. 18.* **Rob. Blackiston**. Dunelm. Sedgfield, co. Durham.
- 1625.** *Apr. 1.* **Steph. Waller**. Buck. Amersham, Bucks. 13 3.
- 1626.** *Nov. 4.* **Joh. Newell**. Dev. Uplne (Uplyme). Sch. 1634.
- 1627.** *Apr. 5.* **Tho. Dysney**. Linc. Norton Disney. Sch. 1635. (Eq. fil.)
- Mai. 31.* **Noel Sparke**. Kent. Sandwich. Sch. 1632.
- Aug. 7.* **Edm. Vaughan**. Sur. Ashted. Sch. 1633. (p. 184.) A.W. Ath.
- Aug. 7.* **Gul. Lake**. Dev. Broadhemston. Sch. 1634.
- Mar. 15.* **Tho. Greaves**. Hampt. Colmer. A.W. Ath.
- Mar. 15.* **Tho. Harrison**. Lanc. Prescott.
- Mar. 15.* **Joh. Barlow**. Hampt. Cathedral Precincts, Winchester. 13 3.
- 1628.** *Oct. 4.* **Tho. Samon** (Sammon). Ox. All Saints', Oxford. Sch. 1637.

Feb. 13. **Gul. Finch.** Sur. Croydon.

Feb. 13. **Joh. Hillersdon.** Bed. Battlesden. Sch. 1638. <Arch-deacon of Buckingham.>¹

JOHANNES HOLT.

Decimus Præses. 1629. *Mai.* 1.

1630. *Mar.* 26. **Rob. Tilson.** Linc. Gedney.

Mar. 26. **Ric. Samwaies.** Som. Ilminster. Sch. 1638. <p. 184.>
A. W. Ath.

Oct. 30. **Ant. Robinson.** Gloc. St. Nicolas, Gloucester. Sch. 1638.

THOMAS JACKSON.

Præses Undecimus. 1630. *Feb.* 17.

1630. *Mar.* 24. **Tho. Powell.** Som. Wells. 13 11. Sch. 1640.

1631. *Aug.* 16. **Simon Barksdall.** Hampt. Winchester.

Aug. 16. **Joh. Heywood.** Lanc. Berry <Bury>. 14 2. Sch. 1641.

Aug. 16. **Tho. Francklin.** Cant. Ashford. Sch. 1640.

1632. *Mar.* 26. **Gul. Welford.** Dunelm. Bishopton, co. Durham.
Sch. 1640.

Mai. 25. **Jac. Hyde.** Wilton. 15 Cathedral Close, Salisbury. Sch.
1641. <Reg. Prof. Med. and Principal of Magdalen
Hall.>

Oct. 25. **Joh. Wrench.** Gloc. St. Mary Virgin, Gloucester.

Mar. 19. **Joh. Gookin.** Cant. Northbourne.

1633. *Oct.* 25. **Joh. Sigismund Cluver.** Sur. St. Saviour's, Southwark.

1634. *Oct.* 8. **Rob. Carey.** Dev. Berry Pomeroy. Sch. 1641.
<p. 193.> A. W. Ath.

Oct. 8. **Joh. Hackwell.** Dev. St. Mary's, Exeter. Sch. 1641.

1635. *Nov.* 16. **Joh. Lambe.** Cant. Ch. Ch. Cath., Canterbury.

Feb. 16. **Joh. Kind.** Linc. Winterton. Sch. 1641.

Feb. 16. **Jos. Smith.** Linc. Burton Super Monte.

1636. *Oct.* 17. **Joh. Tooke.** Sur. St. Olave's, Southwark.

Jan. 14. **Tho. Drury.** Sus. Marden. 13 11½. Sch. 1642. Fr. cog.

Mar. 16. **Joh. Sparke.** Hampt. Brown Candover.

1637. *Jun.* 9. **Jac. Jackson.** Hampt. Overton. Sch. 1644.

Aug. 3. **Gul. Clayton.** Ox. St. Mary's, Oxford. Sch. 1642.

1638. *Jan.* 30. **Tho. Sutton.** Sur. St. Saviour's, Southwark. Sch.
1644.

Jan. 30. **Hen. Gale.** Bed. Staughton.

Jan. 30. **Joh. Hampton.** Gloc. Dunsbourne-Rouse. 12 7.

Jan. 30. **Jos. Barker.** Som. Higham. Sch. 1646.

1639. *Jan.* 17. **Hen. Townsend** <or Townsen>. Gloc. Temple
Gayton <i. e. Temple Guiting>.

¹ At about this point, or probably a little earlier, Hegge's own entries end.

ROBERTUS NEWLIN.

Præses Duodecimus. 1640. Oct. 9.

1640. Oct. 30. **Jac. Simpson.** Cant. St. Alphege, Canterbury.
 Feb. 5. **Abr. Speeding.** Dunelm. Gretham, co. Durham. Sch.
 1644.
 1641. Apr. 6. **Gul. Parsons.** Som. St. Decuman's, Somerset.
 Mai. 5. **Rob. Stephens.** Gloc. <Name of parish left blank.>
 Aug. 28. **Geo. Halsted.** Lanc. Burnly. Sch. 1646.
 Nov. 26. **Zach. Bogan.** Dev. Little Hempston. Sch. 1647.
 A. W. Ath.
 Nov. 26. **Hen. Dutton.** Gloc. Esington. Sch. 1647. <Northleach
 in admission as Sch.>
 Nov. 26. **Tho. Imings.** Wilton. Harnisse. 13 2 $\frac{3}{4}$. <Father's abode
 described in Matric. Reg. as Stratford, co. Hereford.
 (? mistake for co. Wilts.)>
 Nov. 26. **Joh. Swete.** Dev. Modbury.
 1642. Jun. 7. **Joh. Pypard.** Linc. Basingham.
 Jun. 7. **Gul. Lydall.** Ox. Ibston.
 Jun. 7. **Tho. Sanderson**¹. Linc. Boothby. Sch. 1644.
²Feb. 7. **Tristram Alexander.** Hampt. Winchester (Cath. Pre-
 cincts).
 Feb. 12. **Joh. Bets.** Hampt. Winchester (Cath. Precincts). <p. 196.>
 A. W. Ath.
 1644. Mai. 13. **Joh. Clarke.** Hampt. Basingstoke.
 1644. Year only given. <In Matr. Reg. Mai. 10, 1643.> **Gamal.**
Clarkson. Ox. Horley.
 1645. Do. <In Matr. Reg. Mar. 28, 1645.> **Gul. Coldham.** Sur.
 Waverley.
 1647. Jan. 28. **Hen. Glover.** Wilton. Meere (Mere). 20.
 Jan. 28. **Gul. Stampe.** Hampt. Kingsclere.
 Jan. 28. **Ric. Warre.** Som. Petherton.
 Jan. 28. **Norton Bold.** Hampt. Nutley.
 Jan. 28. **Jac. Metford.** Som. Crookhorne (Crewkerne). <pp. 202-3.>
 Jan. 28. **Gul. Tonstall.** Dunelm. Long-Newton, Durham.
 Jan. 28. **Tho. Johnson.** Lanc. Rochdale.
 Jan. 28. **Tim. Parker.** Gloc. Alderton. <pp. 212, 215.>
 Jan. 28. **Tho. Teacle.** Gloc. Hilbert's Hull.
 Jan. 28. **Tim. Shute.** Dev. St. Martin's, Exeter.
 Jan. 28. **Joh. Fountaine.** Dev. Parkham, Devon.
 Jan. 28. **Gul. Fulman.** Cant. Penshurst. <pp. 196-9, 212, 215.>
 A. W. Ath. and Ann.

¹ Son of Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln.² On Nov. 4, 1642 on occasion of the admission of Thomas Drury to be Schol.), the date of birth is, for the last time, given approximately on some Church festival. For some years before, the practice had been dropping out, but, in the earlier years of the Register, it was almost universal.

EDMUNDUS STAUNTON.

**Præses decimus tertius Autoritate Parlamenti electus
ac constitutus Maii 22, 1648.**

Socii & Discipuli in Collegium Corporis Christi electi ac in Comitatus designati a Delegatis & Visitoribus Autoritate Parlamenti constitutis.

1648. Jul. 14. Joh. Sa(w)yer. Bed. (reputed. See p. 227 and fol. 14 of Parliamentary Register). Disc.

Jul. 14. Ezechiel Webb. Wilton. (reputed). Disc.

Jul. 14. Franc. Nelson. Linc. (reputed). Disc.

Jul. 18. Joh. Billingsley. Kent (reputed). Soc. A.W. Ath.

Jul. 18. Sam. Byfield. Sur. (reputed). Soc.

Jul. 18. Ric. Byfield. Hampt. (rep.). Disc.

Jul. 20. Gul. Gardyner. Som. (rep.). Disc. Sch. 1653. Then æt. 27.

Jul. 20. Joh. Lisle. Gloc. (rep.). Disc.

Jul. 21. Tho. Whitehorne. Dev. (rep.). Soc.

Jul. 21. Sam. Laddiman (or Ladyman). Linc. (rep.). Soc.
(Formerly Servitor. Submitted.)

Jul. 21. Sam. Burges. Gloc. (rep.). Soc.

Jul. 21. Josiah Lane. Ox. (rep.). Disc. (Formerly Clerk. Submitted.)

Jul. 21. Ben. Way. Kent (rep.). Disc.

Jul. 21. Josiah Ballard. Gloc. (rep.). Disc.

Sep. 29. Ric. Abbott. Hampt. (rep.). Soc.

Sep. 29. Joh. Prowse. Sur. (rep.). Soc.

Sep. 29. Joh. Dodd. Gloc. (rep.). Soc.

Oct. 2. Joh. Rowe. Linc. (rep.). Soc. (p. 231.) A.W. Ath.

Oct. 3. Joh. Milward. Som. (rep.). Soc.

Oct. 3. Tim. Stephens. Hampt. (rep.). Soc.

Oct. 3. Elisha Bourne. Lanc. (rep.). Soc.

Oct. 3. Marc. Hildsley. Disc.

Oct. 3. Edw. Disney. Hampt. (rep.). Disc.

Oct. 3. Gul. Ford. Sur. (rep.). Disc. Sch. 1655.

Oct. 3. Nathaniel Whettam. Kent (rep.). Disc.

Oct. 11. Joh. Forde. Hampt. (rep.). Soc.

Oct. 11. Tho. Thornton. Dev. (rep.). Disc.

Oct. 11. Andr. Wandrick. Linc. (rep.). Disc. Sch. 1653.

Oct. 11. Tho. Malthus(house). Hampt. (rep.). Disc. Sch. 1651.

Oct. 13. Dan. Rainer. Sur. (rep.). Disc.

Oct. 13. Tho. Johnson. Lanc. (rep.). Disc. Sch. 1653.

Oct. 13. Nathaniel Anderson. Dev. (rep.). Disc.

Oct. 23. Tobias Tidcombe. Dur. (rep.) Soc.

Nov. 2. Gul. Parsons. Som. (rep.). Soc. (Submitted as Scholar.)

Nov. 2. Zach. Bogan. Dev. (rep.). Soc. (Had probably submitted after May 15.) A.W. Ath.

Dec. 2. Tho. Guilston (or Gilson). Ox. (rep.). Soc.

Dec. 18. Ric. Warr. Som. (rep.). Disc. (Submitted.)

1649. *Mai.* 24. Sam. Ashurst. Bed. (rep.). Disc.
Oct. 22. Tho. W(r)ight. Dur. (rep.). Disc. Sch. 1654.
 1651. *Jun.* 26. Gul. Long. Dev. (rep.). Disc. (pp. 226, 227.)

Discipuli secundum formam Statutorum electi.

1649. ¹*Jan.* 10. Joh. Martine. Ox. Sch. 1656.
Jan. 10. Edm. Dickenson. Bed.
 1650. *Mai.* 6. Franc. Staunton. Sur.
Jun. 1. Geo. Tibball. Wilton. Sch. 1651.
Sep. 12. Nic. Page. Hampt.
Oct. 18. Joh. Paris. Kent. Sch. 1653.
Oct. 24. Pet. Glubb. Dev.
Mar. 15. Joh. Kerridge. Gloc. Sch. 1653.
Mar. 17. Tho. Harrison. Kent.
 1651. *Apr.* 7. Joh. Berrowe. Gloc. Sch.
Mai. 30. Noah Webb. Hampt. Sch. 1653.
Jun. 19. Joh. Oliver. Som.
Nov. 8. Jos. Allen. Wilton. (p. 231.) A. W. Ath. Sub Allein.
 1652. *Jun.* 21. Tho. Bettesworth. Hampt. Fr. cog.
Dec. 29. Tho. Duncumb. Sur. Sch. 1657.
Jan. 17. Edw. Nelthorp. Linc.
 1653. *Apr.* 25. Chris. Coward. Som. Sch. 1659.
Jul. 4. Tho. Terry. Hampt.
Jul. 4. Jac. Wild. Lanc. Sch. 1658.
Jul. 4. Joh. Francklen. Wilton. Sch. 1655.
Jul. 27. Gul. Durham. Gloc. Cambden (Reg. of 1660), i.e.
 Campden. Sch. 1661. (Admission deferred till Feb. 10,
 on account of illness. At that time æt 15.)
Nov. 28. Joh. Roswel (or Rosewell). Som. Sch. 1656. (p. 231.)
 A. W. Ath. Sub Robert Sanderson.
Nov. 28. Nath. Mewe. Gloc. Sch. 1656.
Nov. 28. Tho. Spenser. Kent.
 1654. *Jun.* 9. Dan. Agas. Sur. ? Baron Elmes. Sch. 1660.
Jun. 9. Geo. Reinel (or Reynell). Hampt. ? Benstrade. Sch.
 1657.
Jul. 28. Joh. Peachell. Linc. Sch. 1655.
Jul. 28. Nic. Horseman. Dev. Sch. 1656. A. W. Ath.
Jul. 28. Andr. Crispe. Dunelm. Co. Northumb. (Berwick, Reg.
 of 1660). Sch. 1661.
Mar. 24. Gul. Lerner (or Lardner). Hampt.
 1655. *Jun.* 26. Gul. Osburne. Sus. Fr. cog.
Jun. 28. Joh. Oxford. Bed.
Oct. 27. Corn. Disney. Linc.
Nov. 16. Franc. Parry. Wilton. Salisbury (Reg. of 1660). Sch.
 1662.

¹ The dates given from this point down to Thomas Spenser in 1653 are usually those of election, not admission.

Nov. 16. **Joh. Wickes.** Kent. Sch. 1659.

1656. *Mai.* 15. **Jac. Hopkins.** Dev.

Sep. 8. **Tho. Lawe.** Linc.

Oct. 29. **Theodorus Fletcher.** Gloc. Stroude (Reg. of 1660).
Sch. 1663.

Oct. 29. **Amos Berry.** Ox. All Saints, Oxford (Reg. of 1660).
Sch. 1664.

1657. *Jul.* 3. **Nathanael Cole.** Hampt. Liss (Lyss) (Reg. of 1660).
Sch. 1663.

Jul. 3. **Sam. Lanfire.** Som. Badgworth (Reg. of 1660). Sch.
1666.

Jul. 3. **Joh. Wilcox.** Dev.

Aug. 21. **Joh. Ewer.** Sur.

Sep. 12 (? *Dec.*). **Joh. Beale.** Kent. Biddenden (Reg. of 1660).
12 6. Sch. 1666.

1658. *Jul.* 13. **Tho. Palfreyman.** Linc.

Jul. 24. **Gul. Winckley.** Lanc. Garstang (Reg. of 1660). Sch.
1663.

Sep. 16. **Gul. Drury.** Cant. (Spelhurst Reg. 1660.) Sch. 1669.

1659. *Dec.* 9. **Ric. Alleyn.** Kent. Sch. 1666.

1660. *Mai.* 2. **Caleb Jones.** Som.

Jul. 16. **Hen. Hill.** Sur. Sch. 1669.

Post Restaurat. Car. 2.

(**ROBERTUS NEWLYN.** Restauratus 1660, *Jul.* 31.)

1660. *Sep.* 12. **Ben. Parry.** (Dean of St. Patrick's and Bishop of
Ossory.) Electus Præl. L. Græcæ et Soc. (pp. 259,
370.) A.W. Ath.

1661. *Dec.* 12. **Latimer Crosse.** Linc.

Dec. 12. **Jac. Sessions.** Hampt. Charlton (? Chawton). Sch. 1670.

Dec. 12. **Franc. Roper.** Dunelm. Trindon.

These three names are omitted from Register of Disc.

1662. *Jun.* 3. **Hen. Jones.** Gloc. Parish left blank.

Jun. 3. **Ric. Browne.** Gloc. Corse. Sch. 1671.

Jun. 3. **Jac. Bristow.** Linc. Roxbie.

Jun. 3. **Geo. Bell.** Dunelm. Wolsingham, co. Durham.

Jul. 10. **Alex. Cheek.** Ex. Exeter. 13 8.

Sep. 18. **Tho. Paris.** Wilton. Marlborough. Sch. 1670.

Sep. 18. **Jonathan Houghton.** Bed. Eton-Bray.

Nov. 25. **Jac. Levett.** Sur. Putney.

1663. *Mai.* 22. **Joh. Shepheard.** Ex. Modbury, Dev. Sch. 1672.

Oct. 6. **Tho. Turner.** Gloc. Bristol. Sch. 1672. Præs. 1687.
Archdeacon of Essex. A.W. Ath.

Oct. 6. **Hugo Barrow.** Lanc. Wigan. Sch. 1673.

1664. *Apr.* 9. **Joh. Pottinger.** Hampt. St. Mich., Winchester.
(pp. 234-5, 259.)

Aug. 23. **Tho. Newlin.** Ox. Ewelme.

- Dec. 30.* **Tho. Long.** Ex. St. Lawrence, Exeter. Sch. 1673.
1666. Jun. 18. **Nic. Pickard.** Linc. Stanford.
Jul. 23. **Edw. Penny.** B. and W. Bruton, Somerset. Sch. 1673.
Nov. 20. **Phin. Ellwood.** Cant. Sandwich. Sch. 1673.
Nov. 20. **Sam. Barton.** Cant. Harisham (Harrietsham). Sch. 1674.
 A W. Ath.
Mar. 19. **Matt. Curtois.** Linc. Lissington. 19 2½. Sch. 1675.
 (pp. 252-254.)
1667. Mai. 10. **Franc. Solater.** Bed. Luton. Sch. 1675. (An-
 cestor of present Lord Basing.)
Mai. 10. **Sam. Earle.** B. and W. Taunton. Sch. 1675.
Jan. 22. **Hen. Parkhurst.** Sur. Chertsey. Sch. 1676.
Mar. 21. **Joh. Newlin.** Ox. Bix.
1668. Jul. 14. **Radolphus Bell.** Dunelm. Hamsterley, Durham.
1669. Dec. 7. **Ric. Newlin.** Sur. Egham. Sch. 1676.
1670. Apr. 20. **Ric. Tayler.** Hampt. Winchester. Sch. 1680.
Jan. 31. **Jac. Parkinson.** Ox. Witney. A.W. Ath.
Jan. 31. **Joh. Creed.** Wilton. Codford.
1671. Mai. 2. **Joh. Duke.** Hampt. Stuckton. Sch. 1681.
Mai. 2. **Franc. Goodwin.** Hampt. Hinton. Sch. 1681
Jun. 23. **Joh. Gyse.** Glouc. Sainthurst. Chaplain at Aleppo.
1672. Mai. 21. **Joh. Osmond.** Ex. St. Mary Otterey, Devon.
 Sch. 1681.
Dec. 24. **Mich. Tayler.** Linc. Grantham.
1673. Jun. 2. **Geo. Halsted.** Lanc. Burnley. Sch. 1683.
Nov. 21. **Nic. Prideaux.** Ex. Houlsworthy, Devon.
1674. Apr. 20. **Gul. Hallifax.** Linc. Springthorpe. Sch. 1682.
 Chaplain at Aleppo. (p. 259.) A.W. Ath.
Apr. 20. **Art. Parsons.** B. and W. West buckland. Sch. 1676.
Apr. 20. **Joh. Bradshaw.** Cant. Maidstone. (p. 254.) A.W. Ath.
Jun. 9. **Rob. Newlin.** Ox. Bix.
Jun. 25. **Joh. Hungerford.** Ox. Oxford. Sch. 1684. (pp. 250-1.)
Dec. 23. **Joh. Fielder.** Hampt. Hartley Wespail. Fr. cog.
Mar. 4. **Gul. Boys.** Cant. Canterbury.
1675. Aug. 20. **Joh. Kirshewill.** Linc. Grantham. Sch. 1684.
Aug. 20. **Gul. Drake.** Ex. Musbury.
Nov. 19. **Steph. Hurman.** B. and W. Wells. Sch. 1684. (p. 272.)
Feb. 1. **Gul. Creed.** Wilton. Codford. Sch. 1686.
Mar. 10. **Car. Audley.** Bed. Bigleswade. Sch. 1687.
1676. Oct. 20. **Car. Coxe.** Sur. Beddington. Sch. 1689.
Nov. 6. **Joh. Manship.** Sur. Guilford. Sch. 1690.
1677. Apr. 2. **Hen. Helliar.** B. and W. Chew, Somerset. Sch.
 1687. A.W. Ath.
Jun. 22. **Nathaniel Ellison.** Dunelm. Newcastle on Tyne. Ad-
 missus Sch. (Archdeacon of Stafford.)
Dec. 1. **Tho. Johnson.** Dunelm. Middleton in Teesdale.
Dec. 1. **Chris. Wase**¹. Cant. Tunbridge. Sch. 1690.

¹ Son of Christopher Wase, the antiquary and classical scholar, whose MSS. are

1680. *Nov.* 6. **Matt. Palmer.** Gloc. Badginton (i.e. Bagendon).
 1682. *Apr.* 27. **Tho. Sutton.** Hampt. Wolverton. Sch. 1690.
Apr. 27. **Gul. Buckeridge.** Hampt. Kingscleare. Sch. 1691.
Apr. 27. **Gul. Seville.** Gloc. Bysley (Bisley). Sch. 1692. A.W. Ath.
Apr. 27. **Jac. Colmer.** Ex. Truro, Cornwall.
Mar. 10. **Hen. Williamson.** Linc. Westborough. 13 5.
 1683. *Oct.* 9. **Ric. Allyn.** Ex. Plymouth. Sch. 1693.
 1684. *Apr.* 12. **Rob. Bolton.** Lanc. Wigan. Sch. 1693.
Jul. 10. **Tho. Norgrove.** Ox. Chipping Norton. 14 1. Sch. 1693.
Oct. 18. **Tho. Bartlett** (Reg. Barttelet). Sus. Stopham. Fr. cog.
Oct. 18. **Joh. Edgcombe.** Ex. Plymouth.
 1685. *Apr.* 2. **Edw. Siston.** Linc. Grantham.
Apr. 2. **Joh. Davis.** B. and W. Wells. Sch. 1694.
Aug. 1. **Tho. Rivers.** Cant. Penshurst.
Mar. 23. **Josiah Dockwray.** Dunelm. Whitburne, Dur. Sch. 1694.
 1686. *Jun.* 16. **Ketilby Phillips.** Wilton. North Bradly.
 1687. *Apr.* 15. **Car. Betsworth.** Sus. Tratton (Trotton). Sch.
 1696. Fr. cog.
Jun. 3. **Sam. Bromesgrove.** Linc. Carlton.
Jul. 23. **Edm. Chishull.** Bed. Ey(e)worth. Sch. 1696. Chaplain
 at Smyrna. A. W. Ath.
Jul. 25. **Ric. Crosse.** B. and W. Thurloxtton, Somerset.

THOMAS TURNER.

Præses Decimus Quartus. 1687. *Mar.* 13.

1688. *Dec.* 11¹. **Edm. Brickenden.** B. and W. Corton-Denham,
 Somerset. (p. 263.)
 1689. *Oct.* 22. **Jac. Perkins.** Sur. Moulsey.
Dec. 26. **Franc. Dickens.** Cant. Molling.
 1690. *Oct.* 3. **Joh. Geree.** Sur. Farnham. Sch. 1699.
Dec. 20. **Basilus Kennet.** Cant. Postling. Sch. 1697. Pr. 1714.
 Chaplain at Leghorn.
 1691. *Apr.* 28. **Gul. Dingley.** Hampt. Newport, I. W. Sch. 1700.
 A. W. Ath.
Apr. 28. **Edm. Perkes.** Gloc. Mickleton. Sch. 1700.
Feb. 1. **Joh. Bruges.** Hampt. Winchester. Sch. 1704.
 1692. *Aug.* 9. **Gul. Tilly.** B. and W. Martock, Som. Sch. 1697.
Jan. 12. **Tho. Bisse.** Gloc. Oldbury. Sch. 1701. (p. 271.)
 1693. *Jun.* 13. **Humph. Dene.** Ex. Clist-Heydon, Devon.
Dec. 22. **Josuah Reynolds.** Ex. St. Tho. Ap., Exeter. Sch. 1701.
 (Uncle of Sir Joshua Reynolds.)

in the Library. C. Wase of C. C. C. is buried in the cloisters. He probably left to the College some of its coins. See Hearne's *Diaries*, i. 133.

¹ Edm. Brickenden's admission is dated 'Anno Regni Jac. II. *nunc* Regis Angliæ &c. quarto.' It was the last day of James' reign. After this entry, the regnal year ceases to be given.

- Dec. 22.* Joh. Porter. Linc. Sotby.
Dec. 22. Joh. Mather. Lanc. Manchester. Sch. 1704. Pr. 1714
Jan. 18. Joh. Rogers. Ox. Ensham. Sch. 1706. <p. 271.>
1694. *Aug. 18.* Joh. Long. B. and W. Bath. Sch. 1705.
Aug. 18. Cuthb. Ellison. Dunelm. Hebborn, co. Dur. Sch. 1706.
1695. *Mai. 9.* Rob. Burton. Linc. Kirton.
Dec. 12. Gabriel St. Barb. Wilton. Salisbury. Sch. 1708.
Dec. 12. Tho. Porter. Linc. Sotby. Sch. 1708.
1696. *Aug. 28.* Tim. Kinsman. Hampt. Sherfeild.
Oct. 15. Joh. Beckett. Bed. Bedford. 13. Sch. 1709.
1697. *Sep. 7.* Gul. Woodward. Hampt. ¹(Baghurst, Matric. Book.)
 Sch. 1709.
1698. *Mai. 20.* Edv. Cook. Cant. Marsham.
Mai. 20. Geo. Sandys. B. and W. Yeovilton, Somerset.
Mai. 20. Hen. Cheynell. Sur. Guilford.
1699. *Mai. 25.* Sam. Reynolds. Ex. <Father of Sir Josh. Reynolds>
Feb. 1. Hen. Lee. Sur. Lambeth.
1700. *Jun. 3.* Car. Gardiner. Linc. Lincoln. Sch. 1709.
Jun. 3. Radulphus Pomphret. Cant. Biddenden.
Jan. 21. Tho. Coleborne. Hampt. Broughton Sch. 1711.
1701. *Jun. 18.* Ric. Nelmes. Gloc. Wooton Underedge. Sch. 1711.
1702. *Jun. 17.* Nathl. Tranter. Gloc. Newent. Sch. 1712.
Mar. 3. Gul. Harrington. B. and W. Kelston, Som. Sch. 1713.
1703. *Sep. 13.* ¹Hen. Vincent. Sur. Stoake <Matric. Book>.
1704. *Mar. 6.* Joh. Spry. Ex. Exeter. Sch. 1713.
Mar. 6. Elias Bishop. Ex. Exeter. Sch. 1714.
Mar. 6. Jac. Fenton. Lanc. Lancaster.
1705. *Sep. 20.* Ric. Healy. B. and W. Wells. Sch. 1714.
Dec. 22. Joh. Napleton. Cant. Lynksted. Sch. 1715.
1706. *Jul. 5.* ²Gualt. Bartelett. Fr. cog.
Jul. 12. Tho. Acworth. Ox. Purton.
Oct. 11. Jos. Carr. Dunelm. Newcastle on Tyne.
1707. *Jan. 10.* ²Tho. Leigh. Sur. Sch. 1716. <London, Matric.
 Book.>
1708. *Jul. 20.* ²Carew Reynell. Linc. <West Halton.> Sch. 1716.
Dec. 30. Joh. Ballard. Wilton. Salisbury. Sch. 1717.
1709. *Mai. 2.* Herb. Beaver. Hampt. Wickham.
Jun. 9. Rog. Farbrother. Hampt. Southampton.
Nov. 14. ²Jac. Stephens. Cant. Sch. 1719 <Margate, Matric. Book.>
Aug. 11. Geo. Sharpless. Lanc. Liverpool.
Aug. 11. Barnabas Smith. Linc. Panton. Sch. 1717.
1710. *Jun. 14.* Edv. Wise. Ox. Newnham.
1711. *Jun. 18.* Edm. Yalden. Sur. Haslemore.
Jun. 18. Geo. Nicols. Lanc. Flinton. Sch. 1719.

¹ In Matriculation Register (1693-1709 W. Woodward is described as of Baghurst, Hants. But these entries are, at that time and long subsequently, of the father's residence rather than of the son's birth-place.

² No parishes given in College Register.

- Jun.* 18. **Theoph. Leigh.** Gloc. Adlestrop. Sch. 1717. <p. 271.
Master of Balliol.)
Sep. 8. **Marmad. Norcliffe.** Bed. Aspley.
1713. *Oct.* 22. **Hen. Luffe.** B. and W. Ashill, Somerset. Sch. 1720.
Oct. 22. **Joh. Burton.** Ex. Wemworthy, Dev. Sch. 1721. <p. 271.)
Oct. 22. **Joh. Craster.** Dunelm. Chester le Street.
Jan. 28. **Joh. Harrison.** Gloc. Cirencester. Sch. 1720.

BASILIVS KENNETT.

Præses Decimus Quintus. 1714. *Mai.* 15.

1714. *Oct.* 14. **Joh. Richards.** Ex. Exeter. Sch. 1721.

JOHANNES MATHER.

Præses Declmus Sextus. 1714. *Jan.* 12.

1715. *Mai.* 19. **Tho. Healey.** B. and W. Wells. Sch. 1721.
Nov. 19. **Tho. Randolf.** Cant. Canterbury. 14 3. Sch. 1722.
Pr. 1748.
Feb. 27. **Ric. Brickenden.** Hampt. Chauton. Sch. 1724.
1716. *Jul.* 18. **Geo. Aylmer.** Hampt. Petersfield <F>¹. Sch. 1725.
Dec. 7. **Petrus Bettsworth.** Sus. Petsworth. 13 6. Sch. 1726. Fr. cog.
1717. *Mar.* 28. **Gilb. Jackson.** Ox. Cudsdon <Cuddesdon>. 12 5.
Sch. 1726.
Mar. 28. **Franc. Ayscough.** Sur. <No place given.> Sch. 1727.
Dean of Bristol. Preceptor to Geo. III. <pp. 278-9.)
Mar. 28. **Gul. Symes.** Sur. Southwark <F>. Sch. 1726.
Mai. 29. **Tho. Pollen.** Linc. Lincoln.
Oct. 21. **Swithinus Adee.** Wilton. Devizes. 13.
Oct. 21. **Tho. Thache.** Gloc. Gloucester. Sch. 1729.
1718. *Apr.* 19. **Tim. Knight.** Linc. Lincoln.
Mar. 14. **Joh. Thomson.** Dunelm. Kellow, co. Durham. Sch. 1730.
1719. *Feb.* 20. **Joh. Randolph.** Cant. Canterbury.
1720. *Jun.* 18. **Tho. Morton.** Lanc. Bolton. Sch. 1730.
Dec. 15. **Jac. Tarsey.** Bed. Leighton Buzzard. Sch. 1721 <at 16 4>.
1721. *Mar.* 31. **Joh. Castelman.** Gloc. Cubberly <F>.
Mar. 31. **Car. Goddard.** B. and W. Wrin(?)g)ton. Som. <F>.
Jul. 10. **Joh. Hume.** Ex. Milton Abbots, Devon. <p. 282.)
Mar. 17. **Ric. Hutchins.** Bed. Leighton Beaudesart. Sch. 1731.
1722. *Jun.* 16. **Oliverus Naylor.** Ex. Tawstock, Devon <F>.
Jun. 16. **Tho. Paget.** B. and W. Pointington, Somerset <F>. Sch.
1731.
1723. *Mai.* 16. **Joh. Smith.** Cant. Preston. 13 3.
Nov. 9. **Art. Bransby.** Linc. Grimsby.
1724. *Jul.* 7. **Gul. Bradley.** Hampt. Church Oakley. Sch. 1731.

¹ F = Foster's Alumni Oxonienses. But these places are often those of the father's residence, not of the son's birth-place.

- 1725.** *Oct. 29.* **Car. Kinchin.** Hampt. Woodmancote (F). 14.
Sch. 1731. <One of the early 'Oxford Methodists.'>
Oct. 29. **Geo. Randolph.** Cant. Canterbury (F).
1726. *Apr. 1.* **Joh. Marshall.** Ex. Barnstaple (F). Sch. 1732.
Oct. 1. **Jac. Muscut.** Sur. Mitcham (F). Sch. 1733.
Oct. 1. **Elias Taunton.** Ex. Liscard, Cornwall. Sch. 1734.
Feb. 12. **Franc. Smyth.** Linc. Panton 15.
1727. *Mar. 27.* **Tho. Winder.** Hampt. Rotherwick. 13. Sch. 1734.
Mar. 27. **Gul. Castle Nichols.** Ox. Oxford. Sch. 1733.
1728. *Apr. 20.* **Gul. Osmer.** Sur. Chiddingfold. 12.
Jan. 11. **Joh. Jubb.** Linc. Lissington.
1729. *Mar. 1.* **Franc. Henchman.** Wilton. Salisbury. Sch. 1734.
Mar. 1. **Joh. Hardress.** Cant. Canterbury Sch. 1734.
Mar. 1. **Lawson Huddleston.** B. and W. Kelston, Somerset.
Jan. 29. **Edw. Ford.** Gloc. Bristol. Sch. 1735.
1730. *Mar. 27.* **Gul. Wells.** Linc. Grantham.
Aug. 22. **Ric. Fawcet.** Dunelm. Durham City (F). Sch. 1738.
Jan. 26. **Joh. Newton.** Gloc. Gloucester City.
Jan. 26. **Franc. Randolph.** Cant. Canterbury. Sch. 1738.
1731. *Jun. 3.* **Tho. Patten.** Lanc. Warrington. Sch. 1737. (p. 281.)
Oct. 21. **Tho. Crawley** Bed. Dunstable Sch. 1738.
Oct. 21. **Tho. Dampier.** B. and W. Blackford, Somerset.
1732. *Jun. 15.* **Tho. May** Hampt. Basing Sch. 1739.
Jun. 15. **Hen. Pinnell.** Sus. Fittleworth. Sch. 1739. Fr. cog.
Jun. 15. **Joh. Beeka.** B. and W. Yeovil. Sch. 1735.
Nov. 10. **Ben. Wilding** B. and W. Bath. Sch. 1740.
1733. *Jun. 13.* **Nat. Forster.** Ex. Plymstock. Sch. 1739. (p. 282.)
Jun. 13. **Abr. Atkins.** Sur. St. Olave's, Southwark.
1734. *Apr. 20.* **Joh. Ford.** Sur. Farnham. Sch. 1741.
Apr. 20. **Joh. Baker.** Ox. Oxford. Sch. 1743.
Apr. 20. **Joh. Huysh.** Ex. Clistheydon (Clyston-Hydon, Devon).
Sch. 1741.
Oct. 9. **Petrus Peckard.** Linc. Welborne. Sch. 1744.
Feb. 8. **Tho. Monro.** Cant. Greenwich Sch. 1745.
1735. *Jul. 25* **Chas. Hall.** Hampt. Basingstoke. Sch. 1742.
Jul. 25. **Bernard Kirkham.** Gloc. Stanton.
Jul. 25. **Joh. Samwell.** Wilton. Market Lavington Sch. 1745.
Jul. 25. **Joh. Warneford.** Gloc. Miserden. Sch. 1745. (Camden
Prof. Anc. Hist.)
Nov. 1. **Wm. Larkham.** Sur. Richmond. Sch. 1745.
Nov. 1. **Joh. Smith.** B. and W. Milborne Port, Somerset.
1737. *Oct. 27.* **Tim. Neve.** Linc. Spalding. 13. Sch. 1745. Mar-
garet Professor of Divinity. Bampton Lecturer.
Oct. 27. **Streynsham Master** Lanc. Winwick.
1738. *Nov. 30.* **Rob. Lynch.** Cant. Ripple.
Nov. 30. **Wm. Harrison.** Dunelm. Durham. Sch. 1749.
1739. *Apr. 6.* **Edwd. Towersey** Bed. Bedford. Sch. 1747.

¹ From this point the entries are usually in English.

- Jul. 20.* **Jas. Hampton.** Hampt. Bishop's Waltham.
Jul. 20. **Wm. Bearre.** Ex. Newton Abbott. Sch. 1749.
 1740. *Jun. 23.* **Tho. Cooke.** Hampt. Winchester. Sch. 1750.
Jan. 1. **Rich. Healy.** B. and W. Wells.
 1741. *Oct. 10.* **Joh. Corpe.** B. and W. Corton Denham.
Nov. 30. **Hen. Mitchell.** Sur. Richmond.
Nov. 30. **Sam. Starky.** Lanc. Rochdale. Sch. 1752.
Mar. 8. **Lucy Hammond.** B. and W. Halse, Somerset.
 1742. *Jun. 12.* **Wm. Vivian.** Ex. Little Petherick, Cornwall. Sch.
 1752. Reg. Prof. Medicine.
Mar. 1. **Chas. Dobson.** Hampt. Winchester. Sch. 1754.
 1743. *Feb. 27.* **Geo. Beaver.** Ox. Oxford. 13 11. Sch. 1755.
 1744. *Nov. 19.* **Hen. Peckard.** Linc. Welbourne.
 1745. *May 3.* **Chas. Reeks.** B. and W. Yeovil. Sch. 1755.
May 3. **Wm. Camplin.** B. and W. Brompton Ralph, Somerset.
 Sch. 1756.
Oct. 11. **Jos. Wells.** Wilton. Manningford Bruce. Sch. 1756.
Nov. 23. **Edm. Filmer.** Kent. East Sutton.
Nov. 23. **Joh. Wickham.** Gloc. Clifton. Soc. Baliol.
Mar. 12. **Rich. Skinner.** Gloc. Dead(Did)marton. Sch. 1757.
Mar. 12. **Joh. White.** Sur. Compton.
Mar. 12. **Tho. Hurst.** Linc. Stamford. Sch. 1758.
 1746. *Feb. 7.* **Chas. Lawson.** Linc. East Kirkby. (High Master
 of Manchester Gr. Sch.)
 1747. *Jan. 13.* **Edwd. Simons.** Bed. Cuddington. Sch. 1758.

THOMAS RANDOLPH.

Seventeenth President. 1748. Apr. 23.

1748. *Dec. 5.* **Edwd. Weller.** Kent. Maidstone. Sch. 1759.
 1749. *May 5.* **Wm. Finden.** Hampt. Alton. Sch. 1759.
May 5. **Tho. Pettener.** Sur. Worplesdon. Sch. 1759.
Nov. 21. **Rich. Shepherd.** Linc. Marsham le Fen. Sch. 1760.
Nov. 21. **Tho. Hornsby.** Dunelm. Durham. Sch. 1760. (p. 290.)
Feb. 26. **Sam. Musgrave.** Ex. Washfield, Devon.
 1750. *Oct. 19.* **Joh. Cooke.** Hampt. Winchester. Sch. 1761.
 Pr. 1783.
 1751. *May 11.* **Arnold Carter.** Sur. Guildford.
Nov. 14. **Sam. Weller.** Kent. Maidstone. Sch. 1761.
 1752¹. *Apr. 14.* **Wm. Stafford Done.** Gloc. Gloucester. Sch. 1762.
 (Archdeacon of Bedford.)
 1753. *Mar. 2.* **Joh. Whitaker.** Lanc. Manchester. Sch. 1763.
 (p. 290.)
Mar. 2. **Tho. Barnard.** Ex. Whitestone, Devon. Sch. 1763.
 Bishop of Limerick.
 1754. *Dec. 12.* **Tho. Amis.** Hampt. Winchester.

¹ From this year onwards, the year begins on Jan. 1.

1755. *Nov. 10.* **Joh. Russell.** Ox. Soulderne. Sch. 1763.
Nov. 10. **Jos. Gunning** B. and W. Swainswick, Som. Sch. 1763.
 1756. *Oct. 9.* **Rich. Crosse.** B. and W. Cannington, Somerset.
 1757. *Feb. 9.* **Wm. Stratton Liddiard.** Wilton. Ogbourn.
Apr. 25. **Sam. Clark.** Gloc. Kempsford. Sch. 1764.
Apr. 25. **Tho. Brown.** Hampt. Tichfield. Sch. 1764.
 1758. *May 29.* **Joh. Churchill.** Ex. Morchard Bishop, Devon.
 Sch. 1769.
May 29. **Humph. Sibthorpe.** Linc. Lincoln. See Foster's Al. Ox.
 13 7. Sch. 1764.
May 29. **Geo. Rugeley.** Bed. Potton. Sch. 1769.
 1759. *Jul. 13.* **Edwd. Andrews.** Kent. Hinxhill.
Jul. 13. **Tho. Stockwell.** Hampt. Dummer. Sch. 1769.
Oct. 17. **Gab. Tahourdin.** Sur. Farnham.
Oct. 17. **Jas. Weller.** Sur. Guildford.
 1760. *Jun. 26.* **Joh. Tesh.** Linc. North Kelsey. Sch. 1770.
 1761. *Feb. 26.* **Wm. Scott.** Dunelm. Heworth. 15 4. Afterwards
 Lord Stowell. (p. 291.)
Nov. 9. **Chas. Collins.** Sus. Midhurst. Fr. cog.
 1762. *Mar. 25.* **Herb. Randolph.** Kent. Peatham. 14 4½. Soc.
 Magd.
Dec. 23. **Joh. Keble.** Gloc. Fairford. Sch. 1772. (Father of the
 Author of the Christian Year.)
 1763. *Apr. 23.* **Joh. Green.** Lanc. Leigh.
Apr. 23. **Joh. Buckland.** Ex. Woolborough, Devon. Sch. 1771.
Jul. 2. **Wm. Bradley.** Ox. Heyford at Bridge. Sch. 1772.
Oct. 6. **Joh. Hunt.** B. and W. Compton Pauncefort, Somerset.
 Soc. Om. An.
Oct. 6. **Harry Furlewent.** B. and W. Bath. Sch. 1773.
 1764. *Jan. 7.* **Edwd. Norwood.** Kent. Ashford. Soc. Or.
Jun. 29. **Chas. Wilkins.** Hampt. Husbourn-Tarrant.
Oct. 4. **Chas. Wake.** Wilton. East Knoyles. Sch. 1775.
Oct. 4. **Martin Stafford Smith.** Gloc. Hucklecott. Sch. 1774.
 1765. *Mar. 2.* **Tovey Jolliffe.** Hampt. St. Nicholas, Newport,
 I. W. Sch. 1777.
Mar. 2. **Edwd. Bromhead.** Linc. Lincoln.
Mar. 2. **Geo. Clarke.** Dunelm. Newcastle on Tyne. Sch. 1777.
Jun. 4. **Edwd. Fulham.** Sur. Compton. Soc. Merton.
 1768. *Mar. 25.* **Walker King** Lanc. Whalley. Sch. 1778. Bishop
 of Rochester. (p. 291.)
Mar. 25. **Sam. Partridge.** Lanc. St. Swithin, Lincoln. Soc. Magd.
Oct. 12. **Chas. Tahourdin.** Sur. Weybourne, Farnham. Sch. 1780.
Oct. 12. **Ric. Jacob.** Kent. Watern(?)bury. Sch. 1780.
 1769. *May 5.* **Hen. Beeke.** Ex. Kingsteignton, Dev. (p. 291.)
May 5. **Joh. Parker.** Bed. Bedford. Sch. 1781.
Oct. 23. **Matt. Dowding.** Kent. Tunbridge Wells.
Oct. 23. **Jas. Cotton.** Hampt. Winchester.
 1770. *Jul. 6.* **Wm. Lipscombe.** Hampt. Winchester. (p. 291.)

408 ADMISSIONS OF FELLOWS AND SCHOLARS.

- Oct. 24.* **Joh. Parkinson.** Linc. Randill (Ravendale). Soc. Magd.
Oct. 24. **Wm. Bryant.** B. and W. Bridgewater. Soc. Linc.
1771. *Oct. 31.* **Franc. Swann.** Linc. (Swinderby. Foster, Al. Ox.)
Oct. 31. **Wm. Moore Newnham.** Sur. Ash. Sch. 1783.
1772. *Feb. 19.* **Joh. Newte.** Ex. Tiverton, Devon.
Nov. 2. **Joh. Skelton.** Linc. Goxhill. Sch. 1783.
Nov. 2. **Sam. Seyer.** Gloc. Bristol.
1773. *Feb. 25.* **Chas. Alcock.** Ox. Bucknell. Soc. Nov. Coll.
Nov. 26. **Jas. Beaver.** Ox. Lewknor. 12 11. Sch. 1784.
1774. *Mar. 5.* **French Laurence.** B. and W. St. James, Bath.
 Sch. 1784. (p. 291.)
Oct. 21. **Joh. Page.** Gloc. Bibury.
1775. *Feb. 22.* **Tho. Burgess.** Hampt. Odiham. Sch. 1784. Bishop
 of Salisbury. (p. 291.)
Jul. 3. **Edwd. Stretch.** Wilton. Calne. Sch. 1787.
Oct. 23. **Tho. Putt.** Ex. Plymouth. Sch. 1788.
1776. *Mar. 19.* **Joh. Whicher.** Hampt. Petersfield. Fr. cog.
1777. *Sep. 20.* **Geo. Williams.** Hampt. Catherington. Sch. 1788.
 (p. 291.)
Sep. 20. **Jas. Griffith.** Dunelm. Houghton le Spring. Soc. Univ.
 Mag. Univ.
1778. *Oct. 9.* **Wolston Holme Parr.** Lanc. Liverpool. Sch. 1789.
1779. *Jul. 1.* **Wm. Filmer.** Kent. Crundale. Sch. 1791.
1780. *Oct. 17.* **Hen. Edm. Hill.** Sur. Guildford. Sch. 1791.
1781. *Mar. 21.* **Chas. Abbott.** Kent. Abp. of Canterbury's Palace.
 Sch. 1791. Lord Tenterden. (pp. 291, 296.)
Jul. 10. **Herb. Joh. Beaver.** B. and W. Wells. 14 6. Sch. 1791.
Jul. 10. **Rob. Trotman Coates.** Gloc. Sodbury. Sch. 1791.
1782. *Feb. 9.* **Hen. Dymock.** Ox. Chipping Norton. Sch. 1792.
May 11. **Chas. Barton.** Gloc. St. Nicholas, Glouc. Sch. 1793.
1783. *Jan. 13.* **Chas. Rob. Marshall.** Linc. St. Helen's, Theddle-
 thorpe. Soc. Lincoln.
Jan. 13. **Joh. Guard.** Ex. Honiton. Sch. 1792.

JOHN COOKE.

Eighteenth President. 1783. April 3.

- 1783.** *Jul. 18.* **Tho. Bigge.** Dunelm. Little Benton, Northumb.
Jul. 18. **Wm. Roberts.** Sur. St. Mary, Newington. Sch. 1793.
Oct. 21. **Wm. Birch.** Linc. Alford.
1785. *Jan. 8.* **Geo. Nigel Raynsford.** Bed. Henlow. Sch. 1793.
Jan. 8. **Joh. Harbin.** B. and W. Yeovil.
Jan. 8. **Jas. Worsley.** Hampt. Chale, I. W. Sch. Nov. Coll.
Jun. 16. **Tho. Lockton.** Hampt. Weyhill. Sch. 1794.
1787. *May 21.* **Herb. Randolph.** Wilton. Durnford. Sch. 1794.
1788. *Jan. 21.* **Tho. Falconer.** B. and W. Bath. Sch. 1794.
May 8. **Joh. Baker Rodgers.** Linc. Spalding. Sch. 1796.
May 8. **Wm. Hunt.** Ex. Tiverton, Devon.

- Jun. 30.* **Joh. Browne.** Hampt. Whitchurch. Sch. 1796.
Dec. 1. **Geo. Garrett.** Hampt. Portsmouth.
1789. Apr. 3. **Fred. Wm. Holme.** Lanc. Upholland, Wigan. Sch. 1796.
May 4. **Joh. Emeria.** Linc. Louth. Sch. 1797.
1791. May 28 **Franc. Whitfield.** Kent. St. Andrew, Canterbury.
May 28. **Joh. Wm. Bourke.** Sur. Carshalton. Sch. 1797.
May 28. **Edwd. Copleston.** Ex. Offwell, Devon. 15 3. Soc. Oriel 1795. (pp. 303, 298.)
Nov. 7. **Rich. Budd.** Kent. Eltham. Sch. 1797.
Nov. 7. **Hen. Philpotts.** B. and W. Bridgewater. 13 6. Soc. Mag. (pp. 303, 298)
Nov. 7. **Gilb. Elton.** Gloc. Gloucester. Sch. 1799.
1792. Mar. 30. **Joh. Horseman.** Ox. Souldern. Sch. 1800.
Oct. 29. **Joh. Comyns Churchill.** Ex. North Norton, Devon. Sch. 1801.
Oct. 29. **Wm. Nich. Darnell.** Dunelm. Newcastle upon Tyne. Sch. 1797.
1793. May 15. **Jas. Daubeney.** Gloc. Stratton.
1794. Jan. 27. **Joh. Hook.** Bed. Bedford. Sch. 1798.
May 6. **Vaughan Thomas.** Sur. Kingston upon Thames. Sch. 1803.
May 6. **Geo. Baker.** Hampt. Michelmarsh. Sch. 1803.
Jul. 19. **Joh. Bond.** Kent. Ashford. Sch. 1798.
Jul. 19. **Joh. Hearn Pinckney.** Wilton. Great Bedwin. Sch. 1803.
1795. Jan. 26. **Chas. Kemeys Watkins.** Hampt. Odiham Sch. 1803.
Jan. 26. **Jas. Phillott.** B. and W. SS. Peter and Paul, Bath. Sch. 1798.
Oct. 22. **Joh. Gains Copleston.** Ex. Offwell, Devon.
Oct. 22. **Rob. Gatehouse.** B. and W. North Cheriton, Somerset. Sch. 1803.
1796. Apr. 23. **Rob. Cholmeley.** Linc. Stoke and Easton. Sch. 1803.
Oct. 21. **Jas. Hamer.** Lanc. St. Thomas, Liverpool. Sch. 1804, pt. 13 3½.
1797. Mar. 31. **Rob. Cropp Taunton.** Hampt. Southampton.
Mar. 31. **Willingham Franklin.** Linc. Spilsby. Soc. Oriel 1801. (p. 303.)
Jul. 7. **Geo. Leigh Cooke.** Sur. Bookham. Sch. 1805. (p. 303.)
Jul. 7. **Godf. Faussett.** Kent. Nackington. Soc. Magd. (p. 303.)
1798. Jan. 24. **Wm. Jopson Haswell.** Dunelm. Tynemouth, Northumberland.
Apr. 20. **Maurice James.** B. and W. St. James, Bath. Sch. 1805.
Oct. 30. **Tho. Edwd. Bridges.** Kent. St. Nicholas at Wade, Isle of Thanet. Sch. 1806. Pr. 1823.
1799. Apr. 20. **Sam. Whittingham.** Bed. b. at Potton. Sch. 1806.
Apr. 20. **Wm. Williams.** Gloc. Avening. Sch. 1806.

1800. *Apr.* 4. **Geo. Taunton.** Ox. St. Aldate, Oxford. Sch. 1807
 1801. *May* 14. **Chas. Milman Mount.** Gloc. Cirencester. Sch. 1808.
May 14. **Wm. Buckland.** Ex. Axminster. Sch. 1809. (p. 303)
May 14. **Wm. Woolcombe.** Ex. East Worlington, Devon. 14 8½ Sch. 1810.
Oct. 16. **Robinson Elsdale.** Linc. Surfleet.
 1802. *Oct.* 22 **Fred. Elwyn.** Kent. St. Andrew, Canterbury.
 1803. *Apr.* 23. **Tho. Tunstall Haverfield.** Sur. Kew. Sch. 1810.
Apr. 23. **Geo. David Faithful.** Hampt. St. Thomas, Winchester Sch. 1811.
Nov. 23. **Car. Williams.** St. Michael, Winchester. Adm. Nov Coll Fr. cog.
Nov. 23. **Edw. Davidson.** Dunelm. Brancepeth, Dur. Soc. Univ
Nov. 23. **Joh. Brickenden Frowd.** Wilton. Chicklade. Sch. 1812
Nov. 23. **Matt. Arnold.** Hampt. Northwood, Cowes, I. W. Sch. 1812. Brother of T. Arnold.
Nov. 23. **W. H. Turner.** B. and W. St. Andrew, Wells. Sch. 1813
Nov. 23. **Rowland Curtois.** Linc. Sixhill. Sch. 1814.
 1804. *Jul.* 6. **Wm. Fielding.** Kent. Sandwich.
Dec. 7. **Chas. Dyson.** Acton, Middlesex. Sch. 1813. Fr. cog.
Dec. 7. **Edwd. Whitehead.** Lanc. Bolton le Moors. Sch. 1815.
 1805. *Apr.* 27. **Rob. Gordon Andrews.** Sur. Oxstead. Sch. 1816.
Mai. 24. **Hen. Dan. Leeves.** B. and W. Wrrington, Som. Sch. 1817.
 1806. *Apr.* 18. **Joh. Everest.** Kent. Greenwich.
Mai. 30. **Edwd. Orlebar Smith.** Bed. Hulcote. Sch. 1818.
Dec. 12. **Joh. Keble.** Gloc. Fairford. 14 7. Author of Christian Year. Soc. Oriel. (p. 303.)
 1807. *Mai.* 8. **Wm. Firth.** Ox. St. Peter in the East, Oxford. Sch. 1819.
 1808. *Mar.* 31. **Tho. Keble.** Gloc. Fairford. 14 5. Sch. 1820. Brother of J. Keble.
 1809. *Apr.* 21. **Noel Tho. Ellison.** Dunelm. Newcastle on Tyne. Soc. Ball. (pp. 310-11.)
Apr. 21. **Joh. Taylor Coleridge.** Ex. Tiverton. Soc. Exon. (p. 303.)
 1810. *Jun.* 8. **Joh. Tucker.** Kent. Ifield. Sch. 1820.
Jun. 8. **Geo. Jac. Cornish.** Ex. Ottery St. Mary. (pp. 311-12.)
Oct. 26. **Joh. Gul. King.** Linc. St. Margaret, Linc. Sch. 1820.
 1811. *Feb.* 22. **Hen. Shrubbs.** Sur. Esher. Sch. 1820.
Feb. 22. **Tho. Arnold.** Hampt. West Cowes, I. W. 15 8. Soc. Oriel. (pp. 303-4.)
Oct. 19. **Edwin Jacob.** Gloc. Painswick. Sch. 1820.
 1812. *Apr.* 24. **Chas. Hen. Halecomb.** Wilton. Marlborough.
Apr. 24. **Herb. White.** Hampt. Newton Valence. Sch. 1821.
Oct. 2. **Steph. Creyke.** Ex. East Stonehouse, Devon. Sch. 1821. Archdeacon of York.
 1813. *Jun.* 4. **Hen. Jenkyns.** B. and W. Evercreech, Somerset. Soc. Oriel. (p. 304.)

1814. *Dec. 9.* Gul. Swan. Linc. St. Mary le Wigford, Lincoln.
 1815. *Oct. 20.* Jac. Norris. Hampt. Warblington. Sch. 1822.
 Pr. 1843.
Oct. 20. Wm. Whitmarsh Phelps. Wilts. Wilton. Sch. 1822.
 (p. 304.)
Oct. 20. Gul. King. Linc. Timberland. Sch. 1823.
 1816. *Jan. 30.* Edwd. Tew Richards. Hampt. Farlington. Sch.
 1822.
Jan. 30. Edwd. Parr Greswell. Lanc. Denton. Sch. 1823.
 (p. 304.)
May 10. Tho. Heathcote Tragett. Sur. Newington Butts. Sch.
 1823.
May 10. Rob. Alder Thorp. Dunelm. Alnwick. Sch. 1823.
 1817. *Jun. 13.* Geo. Hawkins. B. and W. Chew Magna, Som.
 Sch. 1824.
 1818. *Jun. 15.* Art. Bennett Mesham. Bed. Bromham. Sch. 1825.
Oct. 16. Fred. Franc. Edwardes. B. and W. Huish Champflower,
 Somerset. Sch. 1825.
 1819. *Oct. 15.* Joh. Dayman. Ex. St. Columb Major, Cornwall.
 Sch. 1825.
Oct. 15. Franc. Robinson. Ox. St. Michael, Oxford. 14 114.
 Sch. 1826.
 1820. *Jun. 9.* Theoph. Biddulph. Gloc. St. James, Bristol. Sch.
 1826.
Jun. 9. Oswald Jos. Cresswell. Kent. Charlton.
Jun. 9. Geo. Davies Kent. Linc. St. Martin, Linc. Sch. 1827.
Oct. 13. Bio. Sankey. Cant. Eythorne. Sch. 1828.
Oct. 13. Joh. Menzies Sur. Putney. Sch. 1829.
 1821. *Jun. 29.* Rob. Eden. Gloc. St. George, King(?)wood
 Sch. 1830.
Dec. 7. Tho. Medland. Ex. Exeter. Sch. 1830.
 1822. *Nov. 29.* Wm. Unwin. Marylebone, Middlesex. Fr. cog.
Nov. 29. Geo. Morris. Hampt. Southampton.
Nov. 29. Wm. Geo. Lambert. Wilton. Bromham. Sch. 1831.
Nov. 29. Edwd. Powlett Blunt. Hampt. Nether Wallop. Sch. 1831.

THOMAS EDWARD BRIDGES.

Nineteenth President. 1823. Feb. 13.

1823. *Jun. 6.* Clem. Greswell. Lanc. Manchester. 14 5. Soc. Oriel.
Jun. 6. Geo. W. Newnham. Linc. Bassingham. Sch. 1831.
Nov. 28. Joh. Chandler. Sur. Witley, Surrey. Sch. 1832.
Nov. 28. Chas. Abel Heurtley. Dunelm. Bishopwearmouth. Sch.
 1832. Canon of Ch. Ch. and Margaret Professor of Di-
 vinity. *(p. 317.)*
 1824. *Nov. 26.* Joh. Allen Giles. B. and W. Mark, Somerset.
 Sch. 1832. *(p. 317.)*

1825. *Dec.* 2. **Jas. Fred. Crouch.** Bed. Clophill. Sch. 1833.
Dec. 2. **Joh. Wm. Richards.** B. and W. Walcot, Bath, Somerset.
 14 11. Sch. 1834. <p. 317.>
1826. *Feb.* 24. **Theophilus Hen. Blackall.** Ex. Exeter. 14 3.
Dec. 1. **Wm. Hen. Whitworth.** Ox. Oxford. Sch. 1834.
1827. *Mar.* 16. **Geo. Edwd. Deacon.** Hampt. Portsmouth. Sch.
 1834.
Mar. 16. **Chas. Balston.** Kent. Maidstone. Sch. 1834.
Mar. 16. **Fred. Holme.** Gloc. Meysey Hampton. Sch. 1835.
 <p. 373.>
- Jun.* 15. **Isle Grant Overton.** Linc. Louth. Sch. 1833.
1828. *May* 30. **Rich. Gell McMullen.** Kent. Dover. Sch. 1835.
1830. *Jun.* 11. **Hen. Joh. Onslow.** Sur. Merrow.
Jun. 11. **Geo. Renaud.** Hampt. Havant. Sch. 1838.
Jun. 11. **Joh. Wilson.** Lanc. Chipping. Sch. 1838.
1831. *Mar.* 4. **Theophilus Pelly.** Gloc. Siston. Sch. 1838.
Mar. 4. **Hen. Spencer Slight.** Ex. Plymouth. Sch. 1838.
Mar. 4. **Chas. Barnes.** Ex. Exeter.
Nov. 4. **Art. Meyrick.** Wilton. Ramsbury.
Nov. 4. **Chas. Richmond Tate.** Hampt. Portsea. Sch. 1839.
1832. *Feb.* 24. **Hen. Handley Brown.** Linc. Welbourne.
Jun. 15. **Stewart Adolphus Pears.** Sur. Pirbright. Sch. 1839.
 <p. 317.>
- Jun.* 15. **Joh. Matthias Wilson.** Dunelm. South Shields. Sch.
 1841. Pr. 1872. <p. 317.>
1833. *Feb.* 15. **Egerton Joh. Hensley.** B. and W. Bathwick.
 Sch. 1836.
1834. *Feb.* 7. **Wm. Reynolds Wardale.** Bed. Higham Gobion.
 Sch. 1841.
Feb. 7. **Mich. Harrison.** Linc. Louth. Sch. 1841.
May 30. **Tho. Englesby Rogers.** B. and W. Yarlinton, Somerset.
 Sch. 1844. <p. 317.>
- May* 30. **Edwd. Marshall.** Ox. Ardley. Sch. 1836.
May 30. **Tho. Desborough Andrews.** Kent. Newington. Sch. 1845.
1835. *Feb.* 27. **Franc. Dyson.** New Palace Yard, Westminster.
 Fr. cog.
Feb. 27. **Tho. Meyrick.** Wilton. Ramsbury.
Jun. 26. **Geo. Carless Swayne.** Gloc. St. James, Bristol. Sch.
 1846. <p. 317.>
1836. *Mar.* 11. **Rich. Joynes.** Kent. Frindsbury. Sch. 1847.
Sep. 23. **Geo. Hext.** Ex. Bodmin. Sch. 1847. <p. 317.>
1837. *Mar.* 3. **Geo. Gresley Perry.** B. and W. Churchill, Som.
 <p. 317.>
- Apr.* 15. **Jas. Spencer Northcote.** Ex. Feniton, Devon. 15 11.
 <p. 317.>
- May* 5. **Joh. Hannah.** Linc. St. Swithin, Lincoln. <p. 317.>
1838. *May* 9. **Hen. Pritchard.** Sur. St. Olave's, Southwark.
 Sch. 1847.

- Jun. 15.* **Edm. Williams.** Hampt. Overton.
Aug. 10. **Geo. Fred. De Teissier.** Sur. Epsom. Sch. 1847.
 (p. 317.)
1839. *Feb. 8.* **Geo. Buckle.** Gloc. Clifton. (p. 317.)
Feb. 8. **Tho. Evetts.** Ox. St. Thomas, Oxford.
1840. *Jan. 24.* **Fred. Naghten.** Hampt. Titchfield.
Jan. 24. **Edwd. Monkton Jones.** Lanc. Sefton.
Jan. 24. **Dav. Barttelot Barttelot.** Richmond, Surrey. Fr. cog.
1841. *Mar. 5.* **Hen. Jackson Rhodes.** Linc. Market Rasen.
Jun. 18. **Ric. Art. Le Mesurier.** Dunelm. Houghton le Skerne,
 Durham Sch. 1848.
1842. *Feb. 11.* **Geo. Wingate Pearse.** Bed. Harlington. Sch. 1849.
Apr. 22. **Joh. Douglas Boileau Pollen.** Sur. Little Bookham.
Oct. 28. **Joh. Wm. Conway Hughes.** Ox. Holywell, Oxford.
Oct. 28. **Joh. Chas. Prince.** Lanc. Walton on the Hill, Liverpool.
1843. *Mar. 3.* **Chas. Fred. Hayden.** B. and W. Lyncombe,
 Somerset. Sch. 1849.
Mar. 3. **Fred. Chalker.** Ex. St. Andrew, Plymouth. Sch. 1850.
Jun. 23. **Chas. Trimmer.** Gloc. St. John, Gloucester. Sch. 1851.

JAMES NORRIS.

Twentieth President. 1843. Sep. 16.

- 1844.** *May 3.* **Hen. Calverley Blayds.** B. and W. Norton St.
 Philip, Somerset. Sch. 1851.
May 3. **Wm. Jo. Rivers. Story.** Hampt. St. Michael, Winchester.
1845. *May 9.* **Chas. Fort.** Wilton. Alderbury. Sch. 1852
May 9. **Chas. Franc. Willis.** Kent. Hawkhurst. Sch. 1853.
Aug. 16. **Wm. Ogle¹.** Ox. St. Mary Magd., Oxford. Sch. 1847.
Aug. 16. **Chas. Blackstone.** Hampt. Woking.
Aug. 16. **Philip Lutley Selater².** Hampt. Wootten St. Lawrence.
 15 9. Sch. 1853.
1846. *Jun. 12.* **Hen. Wadham.** Gloc. Winterbourne. 16 3. Sch.
 1854.
Jun. 12. **Franc. Thirkill Conington.** Linc. Boston. Sch. 1849.
1847. *May 7.* **Joh. Buttanshaw.** Kent. Wrotham. Sch. 1854.
Jun. 11. **Hen. Furneaux.** Ex. St Germans, Cornwall. Sch. 1854.
Dec. 3. **Ellis Fred. Thorold.** Linc. Rauceby.
Dec. 3. **Edgar Hyde.** Sur. Camberwell. Sch. 1857.
1848. *Feb. 18.* **Tho. Sanden Godman Kirkpatrick.** Hampt.
 New Church, I. W.
Feb. 18. **Outhbert Blizard Borradaile.** Sur. Wandsworth.
Feb. 18. **Tho. Godfrey Faussett.** Ox. St. Giles, Ox. Sch. 1857.
Jun. 30. **Alf. Wm. Hunt³.** Lanc. St. Peter, Liverpool. Sch. 1857.
Jun. 30. **Edm. Hubert Goldsmith.** Dunelm. Stanhope. Sch. 1858.

¹ Superintendent of Statistics.² F.R.S. Sec. of Zoological Society.³ Hon. Fellow, 1882

1849. *Mar.* 23. **Fred. Wm. Walker**¹. Sur. Bermondsey. Sch. 1859.
Mar. 23. **Bingham Sibthorp Malden**. Hampt. Ryde, I. W.
Mar. 23. **Art. Hen. Pearse**. Bed. Westoning.
Dec. 7. **Theophilus Josiah East**. B. and W. Croscombe, Som.
1850. *Mar.* 1. **Franco. Otter**². Linc. Gainsborough. Sch. 1861.
Jun. 7. **Wm. Hen. Ranken**. B. and W. Brislington, Somerset.
Sch. 1862.
1851. *Feb.* 14. **Art. Martin**. Ex. Staverton, Devon. Sch. 1862.
Feb. 14. **Joh. Douglas Middleton**. Hampt. Lymington.
1852. *Feb.* 6. **Joh. Chris. Browne**. Gloc. Cheltenham.
Feb. 6. **Joh. Wm. Nutt**³. B. and W. Tiverton, Somerset.
Feb. 6. **Edwd. Compton Dyson**. Hampt. Tidworth. Fr. cog.
Jun. 18. **Alb. Bulteel Fisher**. Wilton. Salisbury. Sch. 1863.
1853. *May* 28. **Philip Stanhope Worsley**. Kent. Greenwich.
Sch. 1863.
1854. *Mar.* 11. **Hen. Jas. Macdonald**. Lanc. Manchester.
Mar. 11. **Wm. Hen. Mainguy**. Dunelm. Stanhope.
1855. *Feb.* 10. **Kenelm Edwd. Digby**⁴. Gloc. Wootton under
Edge. Sch. 1864.
Feb. 10. **Franco. Hen. Curgenven**. Ex. St. Andrew, Plymouth.
Sch. 1864.
Feb. 10. **Geo. Herb. Moberly**. Hampt. St. Swithin, Winchester.
Sch. 1865.
Feb. 10. **Joh. Rob. Charlesworth Miller**. Kent. Blackheath.
Sch. 1865.

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emendatorum electi ⁵.

- ⁶1857. *Apr.* 3. **Hen. Nettleship**⁷. Kettering, Northamptonshire.
1858. *Mar.* 26. **Chas. Bigg**⁸. Higher Broughton, Manchester.
Mar. 26. **Owen Orton**. Carisbrook, I. W.
Mar. 26. **Geo. Augustus Simcox**⁹. Newgate Street, London.
Mar. 26. **Reginald Bosworth Smith**¹⁰. Stafford, Dorsetshire.
Mar. 26. **Allan Becher Webb**¹¹. Calcutta, East India.
1859. *Apr.* 15. **Chas. Walter Clifford**. Birmingham.
Apr. 15. **Edwd. Donner**. Scarborough, Yorkshire.
Apr. 15. **Mortimer Sloper Howell**. Bath, Somerset.
Apr. 15. **Jas. Rich. Thursfield**¹². Kidderminster, Worcestershire.

¹ High Master of Manchester and subsequently of St. Paul's.
² Formerly M.P. for Louth Div. of Lincolnshire.
³ Fellow of All Souls.
⁴ Vine-rian Reader in English Law, 1868-74.
⁵ Judge of County Courts.
⁶ By the Statutes of 1855 the local restrictions, both for Scholarships and Fellowships, were abolished, and the Scholarships no longer led to Fellowships.
⁷ The dates up to May 18, 1872, are those of election. From May 18, 1872, onwards, the dates are those of admission.
⁸ Fellow of Lincoln, afterwards of C. C. C.
⁹ Senior Student of Ch. Ch. Bampton Lecturer, 1886.
¹⁰ Fellow of Queen's.
¹¹ Fellow of Trinity.
¹² Fellow of Jesus.
Bishop of Grahamstown.

- 1860.** *Mar. 26.* Chas. Geo. Horatio Shorting. Stonham Aspell, Suffolk.
- 1862.** *Mar. 22.* Chas. Joh. Pearson¹. Edinburgh.
Mar. 22. Joh. Hen. Martyn Weitbrecht. London.
Mar. 22. Sam Roebuck Brooke. Margate, Kent.
Mar. 22. Gerald Augus. Rob. Fitzgerald². Fledborough, Notts.
Mar. 22. Edwd. Ridley³. Blagdon, Northumberland.
1863. *Mar. 21.* Jos. Cross. Bolton, Lancashire.
Mar. 21. Chas. Rob. Moore. Hordley, Shropshire.
Mar. 21. Chas. Selby Oakley. Luton, Kent.
Mar. 21. Wm. Sanday⁴. Holme Pierrepont, Nottingham.
Mar. 21. Wm. Lucius Selfe. St George's, Bloomsbury, London.
1864. *Mar. 12.* Hen. Farrington Evans. Secunderabad, E. India.
Mar. 12. Rob. Wm. Hanbury⁵. Tamworth, Staffordshire.
Mar. 12. Hen. De Burgh Hollings⁶. Cawnpore, E. India.
Mar. 12. Lewis Le Hardy Sharkey. St. Helier, Jersey.
Mar. 12. Paul Ferdinand Willert⁷. Prestwich, Lancashire.
1865. *Mar. 18.* Owen Ilbert. Thurleston, Devon.
Mar. 18. Rob. Wood Ingham. Marylebone, London.
Mar. 18. Edm. Arbuthnot Knox⁸. Bangalore, E. India.
Mar. 18. Walter Lock⁹. Dorchester, Dorset.
Mar. 18. Alex. Chas Richards Maitland. Teignmouth, Devon.
1866. *Mar. 17.* Franc. Chorley Channing. Taunton, Somerset.
Mar. 17. Geo. Wynne Jendwine¹⁰. Kensington.
Mar. 17. Wm. Harry Barber Lindsell. Bloomsbury, London.
Mar. 17. Spencer Cecil Russell¹¹. Tyrrell's Pass, Westmeath, Ireland.
Mar. 17. Chas. Lewis Tupper¹². Paddington, London.
1867. *Mar. 23.* Hen. Napier Abbot. Clifton, Gloucester.
Mar. 23. Joh. Richardson Illingworth¹³. London.
Mar. 23. Wm. Little¹⁴. Manchester.
Mar. 23. Jos. Arderne Ormerod¹⁵. Starston, Norfolk.
Mar. 23. Joh. Huntley Skrine¹⁶. Bath.
1868. *Mar. 21.* Wm. Mordaunt Furneaux¹⁷. Walton, Warwickshire.
Mar. 21. Martin Holdich Green¹⁸. Winterbourne Stepleton, Dorset.
Mar. 21. Franc. Hen. Hall¹⁹. Thurnham, Kent.
Mar. 21. Joh. Story Masterman²⁰. Wallingford, Berks.
Mar. 21. Giles Theodore Pilcher. Camberwell.
1869. *Mar. 13.* Hon. Franc. Hen. Baring. London.

¹ Afterwards Sir C. J. Pearson, Lord Advocate for Scotland; M.P. for the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrew's. ² Fellow of St. John's. ³ Fellow of All Souls.

⁴ Fellow of Trinity, afterwards of Exeter. Ireland Professor of Exegesis. ⁵ M.P. for Preston. ⁶ Fellow of C. C. C. ⁷ Fellow of Exeter.

⁸ Fellow of Merton. ⁹ Fellow of Magdalen. ¹⁰ Fellow of Queen's. ¹¹ Fellow of C. C. C. ¹² Chief Sec. to Govt. of Punjab. ¹³ Fellow of Jesus. ¹⁴ Fellow of C. C. C. ¹⁵ Fellow of Jesus. ¹⁶ Fellow of Merton. ¹⁷ Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond. ¹⁸ Head Master of Repton School. ¹⁹ Fellow of Trinity. ²⁰ Fellow of Oriel. ²¹ Fellow of B. N. C.

- Mar.* 13. **Fred. Wm. Hughes Hughes.** London.
Mar. 13. **Chas. Plummer**¹. St. Leonards, Sussex.
Mar. 13. **Hen. Wm. Roscoe.** Chester.
Mar. 13. **David Fred. Schloss.** West Derby, Lancashire.
1870. *Mar.* 26. **Rob. Albert Jones.** Wrexham, Denbighshire.
Mar. 26. **Jas. Somerville Lockhart**². Inchinnan, Renfrewshire, N.B.
Mar. 26. **Franco. Shepley Ramsbotham.** Huddersfield, Yorkshire.
Mar. 26. **Tho. Collins Snow**³. York.
Mar. 26. **Lewis Edwd. Upcott.** Cullompton, Devon.
1871. *Mar.* 25. **Hen. Akers.** Norfolk Island, the Pacific.
Mar. 25. **Herbert Andrew Dalton**⁴. Lambeth.
Mar. 25. **Jos. Hooper Maude**⁵. Chirk, Denbighshire.
Mar. 25. **Herbert Woodfield Paul**⁶. Finedon, Northamptonshire.

JOHN MATTHIAS WILSON.

Twenty-first President. 1872. May 8.

- ⁷ 1872. *May* 18. **Wm. Feltrum Fagan.** Bath.
Oct. 16. **Joh. Harkness**⁸. Derby.
Oct. 16. **Edwd. Melford Mee**⁹. Riddings, Derbyshire.
1873. *Mar.* 10. **Wm. Mouat Cameron.** Mooltan, India.
Apr. 22. **Alfred Mortimer Nesbitt.** Northampton.
Apr. 22. **Franco. Wells Newmarch.** Gainsborough, Lincolnshire.
May 31. **Geo. Spencer De Sausmarez.** Northampton.
Oct. 14. **Fred. Gaspard Brabant.** Great Marlow, Bucks.
Oct. 14. **Rob. Halley Chambers**¹⁰. Bowdon, Cheshire.
Oct. 14. **Tho. Field**¹¹. Folkestone, Kent.
Oct. 14. **Hartman Wolfgang Just.** Bristol.
1874. *Jan.* 29. **Art. Bingham Walkley.** Bristol.
Oct. 22. **Fred. Tho. Dalton.** Highgate.
Oct. 22. **Art. Elam Haigh**¹². Leeds.
Oct. 22. **Jos. Hen. Warburton Lee.** Malpas, Flintshire.
1875. *Jan.* 25. **Chas. Wm. Browning.** Thorpe Mandeville, Northants.
Jan. 25. **Wm. Hen. Herbert Curtler.** Abbess Roding, Essex.
Oct. 18. **Chas. Martin Powell.** Blackheath, Kent.
Oct. 18. **Alan Geo. Sumner Gibson**¹³. Fawley, Hants.
Oct. 18. **Mortimer Drewe Malleson.** Gilston, Herts.
Oct. 18. **Jas. Christopher Bowman.** Liverpool.
1876. *Jan.* 22. **Joh. Chas. Leonard Brown.** Tutshill, co. Monmouth.
Apr. 28. **Wm. Peterson**¹⁴. Edinburgh.
Oct. 17. **Chas. Edwd. Blackett-Ord.** St. George's, Hanover Square, London.

¹ Fellow of C. C. C. ² Fellow of Hertford. Secretary to the Civil Service Commission. ³ Fellow of St. John's. ⁴ Senior Student of Ch. Ch. ⁵ Fellow of Hertford. ⁶ M.P. for South Edinburgh. ⁷ See note 6, p. 414. ⁸ Head Master of Waitaki School, New Zealand. ⁹ Fellow of Queen's. ¹⁰ Head Master of Brighton College. ¹¹ Fellow of Magdalen. Head Master of King's School, Canterbury. ¹² Fellow of Hertford. ¹³ Archdeacon of Kokstad, Kaffraria. ¹⁴ Principal of University College, Dundee.

- Oct. 17. **Rich. Newdigate Blandy**. Roselle, Jersey.
 Oct. 17. **Gavin Franc. Hamilton**. Manchester.
 1877. Oct. 20. **Charles Cannan**¹. Richmond, Surrey.
 Oct. 20. **Rob. Lougher Knight**. St. Bride's, Glamorganshire.
 Oct. 20. **Chas. Lowry**. Northleach, Gloucestershire.
 Oct. 20. **Graham Wallas**. Bishop-Wearmouth, Durham.
 Oct. 20. **Fred. Wm. Watkin**. Stuxwold, Lincolnshire.
 1878. Oct. 17. **Winfred Oldfield Burrows**². Parish of Ch. Ch.,
 Albany Street, London.
 Oct. 17. **Wm. Hen. Fricker**. Wandsworth, Surrey.
 Oct. 17. **Leonard Romney Furneaux**. Cherington, Warwickshire.
 Oct. 17. **Alfred Hughes**³. Manchester.
 Oct. 17. **Art. Augustus Lea**. Mile-End, Middlesex.
 1879. Feb. 1. **Art. Fred. Peterson**. Melbourne, Australia.
 Oct. 14. **Chris. Cookson**. Dallington, Northamptonshire.
 Oct. 14. **Jos. Art. Dodd**. Hayton, Cumberland.
 Oct. 14. **Edwd. Fiennes Elton**. Wheatley, Oxon.
 Oct. 14. **Arnold Louis Mumm**. Paddington, Middlesex.
 1880. Jan. 27. **Wm Bartlett**. St. Mark's, Whitechapel, Middlesex.
 Oct. 16. **Oliver Elton**. Holt, Norfolk.
 Oct. 16. **Joh. Cornwallis Godley**. Ashfield, co. Cavan.
 Oct. 16. **Frank Herb. Matthews**⁴. St. Peter le Peor, Middlesex.
 Oct. 16. **Hen. Alf. Stern**. London.
 1881. Feb. 2. **Rob. Joh. Thorpe Ozanne**. St. Peter's Port, Guernsey.
 Oct. 18. **Rob. Franc. Cholmeley**. Carlton Rode Rectory, Attle-
 borough, Norfolk.
 Oct. 18. **Hen. Joh. Newbolt**. Bilston, Staffordshire.
 Oct. 18. **Ralph Iliff Simey**. Bishop-Wearmouth, Durham.
 Oct. 18. **Alf. Tho. Warren**. Lambeth, Surrey.

THOMAS FOWLER.

Twenty-second President. 1881. Dec. 23.

1882. Jan. 23. **Tho. Hen. Littlewood**. Hipperholme, nr. Halifax,
 Yorkshire.

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MDCCCLXXXII emendatorum electi.

1882. Oct. 14. **Art. Richmond Atkinson**. Taranaki, New Zealand.
 Oct. 14. **Cyril Rob. Carter**. Eton, Bucks.
 Oct. 14. **Harry Hammond House**. Anderson, Dorset.
 Oct. 14. **Edwd. Kirby**. Darlington.
 Oct. 14. **Jas. Hamilton Franc. Peile**⁵. Gogha, India.

¹ Fellow of Trinity.

² Senior Student of Ch. Ch.

³ Head Master of the

Liverpool Institute.

⁴ Head Master of Bolton Gr. Sch.

⁵ Head Master

of Bury St. Edmund's School

1883. *Oct. 15.* Chas. Otto Blagden. London.

Oct. 15. Joh. Gordon Drummond Campbell. Dumdum, India.

Oct. 15. Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse¹. St. Ive Rectory, Liskeard, Cornwall.

Oct. 15. Duncan McNeill. Kensington.

Oct. 15. Hubert Llewellyn Smith. Bristol.

1884. *Oct. 13.* Hugh Chisholm. Marylebone, London.

Oct. 13. Geo. Barnard Milbank Coore. Scruton, North Riding, Yorkshire.

Oct. 13. Art. Bracy Langridge. St. John's Wood, Middlesex.

Oct. 13. Sidney Archer Phillips. New Hampton, Middlesex.

Oct. 13. Frank Pullinger. Oldham, Lancashire.

Oct. 13. Ben. Ryle Swift. Birkdale, Lancashire.

Oct. 13. Walt. Geo. Sam. Whicker. St. Peter-Port, Guernsey.

1885. *Oct. 17.* Edm. Kerchever Chambers. West Ilsley, Berks.

Oct. 17. Hen. Edwd. Denison Hammond. Priston, Somerset.

Oct. 17. Eustace Joh. Harvey. St. Mary Abbot's, Kensington.

Oct. 17. Stuart Stephenson. Buxton.

Oct. 17. Herbert Ward. Bradford, Yorkshire.

1886. *Oct. 16.* Hugh Latter. North Mymms, Herts.

Oct. 16. Jos. Grafton Milne. Bowdon, Cheshire.

Oct. 16. Rob. Geo. Collier Proctor. Budleigh Salterton, Devon.

Oct. 16. Alan Fenwick Radcliffe. Milston, Wilts.

Oct. 16. Godfrey Art. Harding Rendall. Great Rollright, Oxon.

Oct. 16. Jas. Fred. Young. Wolverhampton.

1887. *Jan. 14.* Art. Taylor. Manchester.

Oct. 16. Joh. Bernhard Steinlen Barratt. Waiblingen, Württemb.

Oct. 16. Hen. Langton Brackenbury. Colchester.

Oct. 16. Gilb. Edm. Augustine Grindle². Pokesdown, Hants.

Oct. 16. Dawson Walker. Bradford, Yorkshire.

Oct. 16. Sam. Edwd. Winbolt. St. Pancras, Middlesex.

1888. *Oct. 13.* Percy Stafford Allen. Twickenham.

Oct. 13. Rob. Beaumont Burnaby. Leicester.

Oct. 13. Felix Maximilian Schoenbrunn Cassel. Cologne.

Oct. 13. Julian Jas. Cotton. Krishnagar, India.

Oct. 13. Theodore Innes Pocock. Clifton, Emmanuel parish.

1889. *Jan. 21.* Alleyne Leechman. Ceylon.

Oct. 12. Art. Jas. Alison. Glasgow, N.B.

Oct. 12. Basil Copleston Allen. Stoke Newington, London.

Oct. 12. Tho. Harrison Butler. Stanhope, co. Durham.

Oct. 12. Herbert Vincent Reade. Haileybury, co. Hertford.

Oct. 12. Art. Edm. Rigg. Trincomalee, Ceylon.

Oct. 12. Hugo Sharpley. Louth, Lincolnshire.

Oct. 12. Art. Seager Warman. Richmond, Yorkshire.

1890. *Oct. 11.* Art. Hen. Burlton Allen. Blackheath, Kent.

Oct. 11. Tho. Biggin. Stamford, Lincolnshire.

¹ Fellow of Merton.

² Fellow of C.C.C.

- Oct. 11.* **Roger Jas. Cholmeley.** Swaby, Lincolnshire.
Oct. 11. **Art. Geo. Cooke.** Orchard Portman, Somersetshire.
Oct. 11. **Wm. Malcolm Hailey.** Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamsh.
Oct. 11. **Hen. Howard Piggott.** Padua, Italy.
Oct. 11. **Jas. Bennett Tombleson.** Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnsh.
1891. *Oct. 17.* **Chas. Fred. Balfour.** Valparaiso, Chile.
Oct. 17. **Harold Lithgow Braidwood.** Twickenham.
Oct. 17. **Wm. Cuthbert Childs.** Portsea, Hants.
Oct. 17. **Herbert Coupland.** Harrogate, Yorkshire.
Oct. 17. **Sidney Art. Simon.** Eccles, Manchester.
Oct. 17. **Vere Art. Stowell.** Breadsall, Derbyshire.
Oct. 17. **Art. Hen. Vernède.** St. Mark's, Notting Hill, London.
1892. *Oct. 15.* **Claude Martin Blagden.** Milcombe, Oxon.
Oct. 15. **Hugh Morison Conacher.** Ashwell, Herts.
Oct. 15. **Maurice Francis Headlam.** Manchester.
Oct. 15. **Quentin Quixano Henriques.** Manchester.
Oct. 15. **Edward Lawton.** Manchester.
Oct. 15. **Art. Wm. Smallwood.** Barrow, Derbyshire.
Oct. 15. **Harold Owen Stutchbury.** St. Mary Abbot's, Kensington.
Oct. 15. **Julius Mathison Turing.** Edwinstowe, Nottinghamshire.

LIST OF FELLOWS, PROFESSOR-FELLOWS, &c.

The following persons were admitted, in accordance with the provisions of the Statutes of 1855 or of Statutes supplementary thereto, as Fellows, Professor-Fellows, Professors, or Honorary Fellows, during the period which elapsed between the confirmation of the New Statutes in 1855 and that of the New Statutes which were approved by the Queen in Council on May 3, 1882.

- 1856.** *Oct. 30.* **John Conington**, Fellow of University, Corpus Professor of Latin. Died Oct. 23, 1869.
- 1866.** *June 29.* **Edward Lee Hicks**, Brasenose. Fellow. Subsequently Canon Residentiary of Manchester.
- 1867.** *July 5.* **John William Oddie**, Wadham. Fellow.
- 1868.** *July 1.* **Robert Laing**, M.A., Wadham. Fellow. (Changed name to Cuthbert Shields, Sep. 29, 1886.)
July 1. **Henry De Burgh Hollings**, Scholar of the College. Fellow.
- 1869.** *July 17.* **Samuel Dill**, Lincoln. Fellow. Subsequently High Master of Manchester Grammar School, and then Professor of Greek at Queen's College, Belfast.
- 1870.** *Jan. 29.* **William Chadwick**, Merton. Fellow.
Feb. 26. **Henry James Sumner Maine**, LL.D. Cambridge, Hon. D.C.L. Oxford, formerly Regius Professor of Laws in the University of Cambridge, and Legal Member of the Council to the Governor General of India. Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence. Elected Fellow, Nov. 8, 1873. Subsequently resigned his Fellowship and Professorship on election to the Mastership of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Elected Honorary Fellow, Feb. 7, 1882. K.C.S.I. Member of the Council of India. Died Feb. 5, 1888.
Mar. 1. **Rev. Edwin Palmer**, M.A., formerly Fellow and Tutor of Balliol. Corpus Professor of Latin. Elected Fellow, Nov. 8, 1873. Resigned Professorship and Fellowship on appointment to the Archdeaconry of Oxford and a Canonry in Ch. Ch. Elected Honorary Fellow, Dec. 9, 1878.
July 5. **Edmund Robertson**, Lincoln. Fellow. M.P. for Dundee, Professor of Common Law in the Inns of Court, Civil Lord of the Admiralty.
July 5. **Spencer Cecil Russell**, Scholar of the College. Fellow.

1871. *Apr.* 29. **John Ruskin**, M.A., Honorary Student of Ch. Ch. Honorary Fellow. Slade Professor of Fine Art.
Oct. 14. **Walter William Fisher**. Merton. Fellow. Aldrichian Demonstrator of Chemistry.
Oct. 28. **Rev. John Matthias Wilson**, B.D. <pp. 326-7.>
Dec. 23. **William Little**, Scholar of the College. Fellow.
1873. *June* 14. **Charles Plummer**, Scholar of the College. Fellow.
Oct. 8. **Henry Nettleship**, M.A., formerly Scholar of the College and Fellow of Lincoln. Admitted Actual Fellow. Mr. Nettleship was elected on the condition of taking part in the tuition of the College. In June, 1878, he was elected to the Corpus Professorship of Latin, retaining his Fellowship.
Nov. 8. **Henry John Stephen Smith**, M.A., F.R.S. Professor-Fellow. <p. 328.> Died Feb. 9, 1883.
1874. *Oct.* 22. **Rev. Henry Octavius Coxe**, M.A., Bodleian Librarian and formerly Chaplain of the College. Honorary Fellow.
1876. *Mar.* 20. **Frederick Arthur Clarke**, Exeter. Fellow.
May 31. **James Legge**, Professor of Chinese. Endowed with the income of a Fellowship <p. 328.>
1882. *Feb.* 7. **Shadworth Hollway Hodgson**, B.A., formerly Exhibitioner of the College. Honorary Fellow.

The following persons were admitted as Probationary or Actual Fellows, or as Honorary Fellows, subsequently to the confirmation of the New Statutes by Her Majesty in Council on May 3, 1882.

1882. *Jun.* 10. **Arthur Sidgwick**, M.A., Tutor of the College, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted Official Fellow, in accordance with cl. 19 of the New Statutes.
Oct. 28. **Thomas Case**, M.A., Tutor of the College, formerly Fellow of Brasenose and Tutor of Balliol. Admitted Official Fellow, in accordance with cl. 19 of the New Statutes. Subsequently Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy.
Nov. 1. **Alfred William Hunt**, M.A., formerly Fellow of the College. Honorary Fellow.
1883. *Jan.* 31. **Frederick Pollock** (subsequently Sir F. Pollock, Bart.), M.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was admitted Official Fellow, having been previously elected to the Corpus Christi Professorship of Jurisprudence, in accordance with cl. 14 of the New Statutes.
1886. *Oct.* 11. **Henry Devenish Leigh**, B.A., formerly Scholar of New College. Admitted Official Fellow, having been previously nominated by the President and approved by the College as Assistant Tutor, in accordance with cl. 20 of the New Statutes.

1891. *Oct. 7.* **Gilbert Edmund Augustine Grindle**, Scholar of the College, and **Arthur Ernest Jolliffe**, Scholar of Balliol, were elected, after examination (the former in Lit. Hum., the latter in Mathematics), to a year of probation, as Ordinary Fellows.

The following persons were elected as Bursars, though not Fellows of the College, in accordance with the alteration of the Statutes noted on pp. 327-8.

Alfred Stowe, M.A., Wadham, elected Feb. 11, 1873.

Thomas Mosley Crowder, M.A., Wadham, Nov. 7, 1874.

Henry Le Blanc Lightfoot, B.A., University, Nov. 8, 1892.

CATALOGUS SACELLANIS

COLLEGII CORPORIS CHRISTI CONSECRATUS¹.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1517. <i>Dec.</i> 18. Hen. Wyllis. <p.
382.) | 1565. <i>Jul.</i> 28. Rob. Ireland. |
| 1521. <i>Jun.</i> 25. Joh. Russell. | <i>Nov.</i> 15. Geo. Johnson. |
| 1523. <i>Dec.</i> 24. Ric. Wade. | 1566. <i>Nov.</i> 15. Tho. Booth. |
| <i>Dec.</i> 24. Ric. Eston. | <i>Dec.</i> 16. Nic. Sympson. |
| 1526. A. Travis, ædi-
tuus ² . F. | 1567. <i>Apr.</i> 9. Merideth Ham-
ner. |
| 1531. <i>Jul.</i> 19. Ric. Champion. | 1571. <i>Jan.</i> 10. Michael Savill. |
| 1538. <i>Sep.</i> 29. Edm. Stopport. | 1572. <i>Jun.</i> 24. Franc. Hyde. |
| 1542. <i>Oct.</i> 2. Gul. Sparkman. | 1573. <i>Jan.</i> 4. Ric. Turnbull. |
| 1543. <i>Jul.</i> 28. Joh. Hychyns. | 1577. <i>Mai.</i> 30. Nic. Whittall. |
| 1552. <i>Aug.</i> 17. Joh. Baker. | 1577. <i>Dec.</i> 2. Nic. Goulds-
borow. |
| 1555. Read. Ædituus. F. | 1580. <i>Mar.</i> 15. Gul. Cade. |
| 1559. <i>Sep.</i> 9. Geo. Atkinson. | <i>Jun.</i> 19. Gul. Kitchin. |
| 1560. <i>Oct.</i> 12. Hugo Lewys. | 1586. <i>Dec.</i> 14. Hen. Jacob. |
| Snow. Sacrista
(= Ædituus). F. | 1589. <i>Jul.</i> 17. Rob. Wolphius. |
| 1561. <i>Mar.</i> 24. Rolandus Kelly. | 1590. <i>Jul.</i> 20. Edwd. Seridge. |
| Rowland. Sa-
crista 1561. Præcentor
1563. F. | 1595. <i>Jul.</i> 4. Tho. Tylley. |
| <i>Dec.</i> 4. Gul. Jones. | 1596. <i>Jul.</i> 13. Gul. Small. |
| <No date. Rowe. Præcen-
tor ³ . F.) | 1599. <i>Jul.</i> 27. Rodulphus Bar-
low. Decanus Wellensis. |
| 1563. <i>Mai.</i> 10. Geo. Wreak. | 1602. <i>Dec.</i> 24. Hen. Mason. |
| Edwards. Præ-
centor. F. | 1606. <i>Dec.</i> 1. Gul. Forde. |
| Shirburne. Ædi-
tuus. F. | 1610. <i>Dec.</i> 25. Joh. Dewhurst. |
| <i>Dec.</i> 24. Gul. Conall. | 1612. <i>Mai.</i> 15. Anth. White. |
| 1564. Styl. Sacrista | 1613. <i>Mar.</i> 8. Joh. Sellar. |
| (= Ædituus). F. | 1615. <i>Jul.</i> 15. Tho. Whittin-
gam. |
| | 1616. <i>Mai.</i> 24. Tho. Jackson. |
| | <i>Oct.</i> 8. Ric. Anyan. |
| | 1623. <i>Jul.</i> 17. Tho. White ⁴ . |

Here the List in Hegge's handwriting ends. It is resumed in a different hand with the name of **Thomas Hinton**, 1696.

¹ There is a list of Chaplains in MS. 280 (Coll. Library), fol. 232 b, but it confuses Chaplains and Clerks, and seems to be much less accurate than this one. The names to which F is attached are additional names taken from the Catalogue at the end of vol. xi of the Fulman MSS.

² One Chaplain was to be 'chori præcentor,' the other 'ædituus sive sacrista.' Stat. cap. 16.

³ It appears from the Register that this Thomas White had, in 1621, agreed provisionally to perform the duties of the office for his food and clothing, and a payment of 6s. 8d. a term. The money-payment was exactly double that of Thomas Newman, engaged provisionally to act as Butler in 1627.

The following intermediate information has been collected by myself.

From the College Register it appears that **William Porter** was admitted March 15, 1632; **William Chidley**, Aug. 6, 1638; **Nicholas Byrche**, May 14, 1639; **Henry Allen**, May 27, 1646. **Edward Eales** was removed by the Parliamentary Visitors, Oct. 2, 1648, and restored in 1660. (See Burrows' Register of Parliamentary Visitors¹.)

In the Buttery Book of 1648-9 there is no mention of Chaplains till Sep. 28, 1649, when **John Hartcliffe** and **Thomas Danson** are entered as such.

In the Buttery Book of 1649-50 the Chaplains are entered as 'Capellanus Sen.', 'Cap. Jun.', 'Ds Danson' being interpolated from Feb. 15, 1648, to Feb. 22. **Edward Anthony** is entered as Cap. Jun. on Aug. 16, 1650. **Ds. Eyres** or **Eyers** (Joseph) occurs in the Buttery Book of 1650-1, and is succeeded by **Ds. Way**, Feb. 14, 1651. In the list of Admissions under the Parliamentary President occur—

Benjamin Way. Sacellanus. No date.

Joseph Allen². Sacellanus. June 6, 1653.

Edward Fowler. Sacellanus. Dec. 14, 1653. (Afterwards Bp. of Gloucester. pp. 231, 223.)

Samuel Fowler. Sacrista. June 28, 1655.

Samuel Birch. Præcentor. Aug. 1, 1655.

The Buttery Books are wanting from 1659-63 inclusive. In 1664 the Chaplains are **Mr. Eales** and **Mr. Coppock**; on Aug. 2, 1667, **Mr. Coppock** is replaced by **Mr. Davies** (Richard, p. 259); on Feb. 16, 1681, **Mr. Day** occurs in place of **Mr. Davies**; and in October, 1683, **Ds. Martin** in place of **Mr. Eales**; on Dec. 25, 1685, **John Mayo** in place of **Mr. Martin**; on March 11, 1687, **Mr. Ashburne** in place of **Mr. Day**; and on June 1, 1689, **Richard Blakeway** in place of **Mr. Mayo**.

1696. Jun. 6. **Tho. Hinton.**

1698. Jun. 20. **Gul. Itchener.**

1706. Jan. 8. **Chris. Sclater.**

1707. Nov. 4. **Franc. Gregory.**

1711. Dec. 31. **Ric. Parkes.**

1716. Jan. 28. **Rob. Bourne.**

Mar. 21. **Ric. Parkes.**

1720. Dec. 19. **Joh. Pococke.**

1732. Aug. 16. **Pet. Sherwin.**

1751. Jun. 7. **Joh. Reiss.**

1764. Dec. 20. **Tho. Brewer.**

1767. Jan. 23. **Joh. Modd**³.

1769. Mar. 2. **Gul. Stratford.**

1787. Oct. 13. **Joh. Gutch**⁴.

¹ It appears from Metford's second Letter to Joshua Reynolds, dated Oct. 17, 1704 (MS. J. Walker, c. 8, fol. 252), that 'Allen resigned his Chaplain's place in the beginning of 1648, and Edward Eales was advanced from Trinity Coll. into his place: so the Visitation ejected Chidley and Eales. Ch. died and Eales was restored; and one Coppock brought into Chidley's place.' But Chidley seems ultimately to have conformed. See an order of the Visitors, June 6, 1649.

² Alleine in Buttery Book. ³ See account of him in C. P. Moritz's Travels in England in 1782, reprinted by Cassell, 1886. ⁴ Registrar of the University; Editor of Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford and of the Colleges and Halls.

1792. <i>Apr.</i> 19. Moses Dodd.	1850. <i>Nov.</i> 13 ¹ . Wilhel. Hunter.
1795. <i>Oct.</i> 22. Joh. Graham.	1852. <i>Dec.</i> 11. Rob. Gandell ⁴ .
1813. <i>Mar.</i> 9. Hen. Dimock.	1875. <i>May</i> 15. Car. Plummer.
1826. <i>May</i> 22. Chas. Dyson.	Soc.
1832. <i>Jun.</i> 26. Vaughan Thomas	1877. <i>Feb.</i> 10. Edwinus Pinder
<see Index>.	Barrow.
1839. <i>Nov.</i> 1. Gul. James.	1879. Fred. Art. Clarke.
1845. <i>Jan.</i> 4. Hen. Oct. Coxe ¹ .	Soc.
1846. <i>Jan.</i> 27. Hen. Hubert.	1883. <i>Jan.</i> 1. Carolus Bigg.
Cornish ² .	<p. 414.>

¹ Bodleian Librarian; Hon. Fellow.
Hall.

² Afterwards Principal of New Inn
³ At this point again the List is continued by myself.

⁴ Laudian
Professor of Arabic and Canon of Wells.

CLERKS, CHORISTERS, AND EXHIBITIONERS.

CLERKS¹.

Rob. Savage. Subsacr. Jul. 2, 1524. R ² .	Tho. Chaffe. Feb. 25, 1560. R.
Hechyns. 1526. F.	Tho. Mulliner. Mod. Org. Mar. 3, 1563. R.
Gul. More. Cler. May 1, 1534. R.	Joh. Chambers. Subsacr. Sep. 14, 1566. R.
Joh. Barons. Pulsator Organorum. Sep. 29, 1538. R.	Samuell. 1566. F.
Joh. Shaw. Subsacr. Apr. 20, 1544. R.	Ben. Pullen. Subsacr. Feb. 26, 1579. R.
Tho. Bradshaw. Cler. Dec. 5, 1545. R.	Wm. Brownsmith. Subsacr. Jun. 23, 1580. F.
Tho. Collyns. Aug. 12, 1547. R.	Wm. Churchman. Subsacr. Jun. 1, 1581. R.
Lyde. 1548. F.	Tho. Cole. Subsacr. Nov. 9, 1583. R.
Davison. 1552. F.	Ric. Smith. Subsacr. Jun. 22, 1586. R.
Baylie³. 1552.	Edwd. Seridge. Subsacr. Dec. 15, 1586. R.
Fisher. 1552.	Tho. Barbar. Subsacr. Jun. 11, 1588. F.
Hall. 1552.	Ralph Agas. Subsacr. Sep. 4, 1588. F.
Leonard. 1555.	Wm. Norton. Subsacr. Oct. 17, 1593. F.
Tho. Porter. 1555.	Joh. Sonibank. Subsacr. R. 1593. F.
Evans. 1563.	Tho. Tilley. Subsacr. R. 1593. F.
Lightfoote. 1563.	
Leonard Fitzsymons. Puls. Org. Nov. 6, 1556. R.	
Joh. Bedinge. Puls. Org. Jan. 3, 1558. R.	
Rowswell. 1558. F.	
Dorsett. 1560. F.	

¹ The 'Clerici' are styled in the Statutes, in common with the Chaplains, 'Ministri Sacelli,' but distinguished from them as 'accoliti aut saltem prima tonsura initiati, quorum alter erit organorum pulsator alter vero erit subsacrista.'

² When a name is taken from the College Register, it is marked R; when it does not occur in the Register, but is found in the Alphabetical List at the end of vol. xi of the Fulman MSS., it is marked F; when it comes from neither of these sources, but from the Buttery Books, it is marked B. The few additional names here or elsewhere which are taken from the list, ascribed to Henry Allen, in the Twyne Collectanea (MS. 280 in the College Library, ff. 232 b and 233 a), are marked A. This list must have been drawn up about 1608.

³ These names, from Baylie to Lightfoote, both inclusive, all occur in the Alphabetical List at the end of the Fulman MSS., vol. xi, with the letters M S attached to them. If 'M S' means 'Minister Sacelli,' they must have been Clerks, as they do not occur in Hegge's Catalogue of Chaplains. But M S may denote some inferior office, such as Ministri Servientes, in which case they would be Servitors. None of these names occur in Allen's list, except that of Evans among the Choristers, and this name is not sufficiently distinctive to admit of identification.

- Joh. Barksdal.** Subsacr. Jul. 4, 1595. R.
Art. Jackson. Subsacr. Mar. 5, 1595. R.
Sam. Turner. Subsacr. Jun. 16, 1600. R.
Chas. Chariton. Dec. 11, 1600. R.
Hen. Jackson. Feb. 5, 1600. R.
Wm. Holte. Dec. 1, 1602. R.
Tho. White. Jul. 10, 1604. R.
Wm. Couchman. May 24, 1605. R.
Joh. Chennell. Mar. 21, 1606. R.
Joh. Seller. Jan. 14, 1608. R.
Tho. Norwood. Dec. 8, 1610. R.
Chris. Bachelor. Mar. 19, 1612. R.
Ric. Wixsted. Jun. 3, 1615. R.
Jas. Taylour. Jun. 7, 1615. R.
Barth. Man. May 2, 1617. R.
Nic. Simpson. Dec. 20, 1617. R.
Ric. Vaughan. Jul. 5, 1621. R.
Edm. Vaughan. Mar. 15, 1622. R.
Joh. Bramond (or Beamond). Nov. 10, 1624. R.
Franc. Simpson. Aug. 7, 1627. R.
Tho. Watt. Sep. 19, 1631. R.
Joh. Gookin. Dec. 7, 1631. R.
Joh. Fountayne. Mar. 19, 1632. R.
Joh. Sympson. Oct. 28, 1633. R.
Joh. Eveleigh. Aug. 1 (? 1634). R.
Laurence Jackson. Jun. 9, 1635. R.
Geo. Bayly. Jul. 16, 1639. R.
Sam. Elyott. Jan. 17, 1639. R.
Ric. Benson. Dec. 19, 1640. R.
Tho. Holloway. Jul. 29, 1647. R.
Rob. Dodd. May 1, 1654. R.
Ric. Manninge. Nov. 13, 1655. R.
Sam. Marner. Dec. 26, 1655. R.
Wm. Bruce. Jun. 14, 1657. R.
Nathaniel Cuffley. Oct. 3, 1657. R.
Jas. Hellyer. Mar. 12, 1658. R.

The following names are all taken from the Buttery Books, the earliest of which is that for 1648-9.

Under the first week in this Book, beginning Oct. 27, 1648, the names of the Clerks are **Hartcliffe** and **Lane**. Then occur **Charles Blackwell**, Sep. 28, 1649; **Paris**, Oct. 4, 1650; **Fowler** (Edward, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester), Oct. 18, 1650; **James Gardiner**, Oct. 31, 1651; **Samuel Jemmat**, Dec. 16, 1653; then **Dodd**, **Manninge**, **Marner**, **Bruce**, **Cuffley**, **Hellyer**, as already given above.

The Buttery Books for 1659-60 down to 1663-4 are all wanting. In October, 1664, the Clerks are **Haslewood** and **Newlin**; on Jan. 28, 1664, they are **Newlin** and **Newlin**; on March 20, 1664, they are **Newlin** and **Day**.

The Buttery Books for 1669-70 and 1670-1 are wanting. On Oct. 27, 1671, the Clerks are **Day** and **Newlin**. The Buttery Book for 1673-4 is wanting. In October, 1674, the Clerks are **Newlin** and **Newlin**. The Book for 1675-6 is wanting. In Oct., 1676, the Clerks are **Newlin** and **Mayo**.

From this point we may give a continuous Catalogue, as follows:—

- Joh. Paris.** Jan. 10, 1680. **Hen. Stephens.** Dec. 4, 1688.
Jas. Newlin. Dec. 25, 1685. **Joh. Sone.** Feb. 6, 1690.
Ric. Pocock. Jan. 1, 1685. **Geo. Fletcher.** Jul. 6, 1693.

Wm. Itchener. Nov. 21, 1693.
 Dan. Pratt. Aug. 5, 1698.
 Tho. Newcomb. Jul. 4, 1700.
 Joh. Plaxton. Sep. 5, 1702.
 Tho. Lewis¹. Oct., 1704.
 Joh. Kingsman. May 28, 1706.
 Hen. Hill. Sep. 22, 1707.
 Edwd. Horne. Jun. 11, 1709.
 Hen. Frinsham. Apr. 13, 1711.
 Wm. Binsted. Jul. 19, 1712.
 Joh. Martin. Nov. 14, 1713.
 Edwd. Hinde. Sep. 27, 1714.
 Hen. Bruges. Oct. 4, 1714.
 Tho. Jenkins. Jan. 11, 1716.
 Joh. Milsum. Mar. 1, 1716.
 Joh. Wall. Feb. 22, 1719.
 Ric. Pococke (p. 282). Feb. 3,
 1721.
 Wm. Woodford. Jun. 2, 1722.
 Hen. Gabell. May 29, 1725.
 Bob. Westcott. May 14, 1726.
 Edwd. Ford. Dec. 2, 1729.
 Chris. Hoskins. Jan. 29, 1729.
 Chris. Solater. Jul. 27, 1731.
 Joh. Gereë. Apr. 16, 1736.
 'Vaganus' Griffith. Ap. 16, 1736.
 Wm. Wagstaffe. Mar. 5, 1736.
 Joh. Russ. Oct. 24, 1740.
 Joh. Woods. Nov. 8, 1740.
 Tho. Drake. Apr. 13, 1741.
 Wm. Spry. Jan. 23, 1744.
 Chas. Reeks. Mar. 27, 1745.

Geo. Watkins. May 4, 1745.
 Joh. Wills. Nov. 19, 1747.
 Jas. Lewis. May 26, 1748.
 Ben. Milward. Oct. 16, 1751.
 Edwd. Wilson. Apr. 25, 1752.
 Rob. Houlton. Jul. 24, 1755.
 Sam. Payne. May 3, 1757.
 Sam. Lewis. Oct. 5, 1757.
 Edwd. Andrews. Dec. 15, 1758.
 Chas. Hobbs. Nov. 26, 1759.
 Chas. Lockey. May 5, 1761.
 Wm. Stratford. Jul. 16, 1763.
 Mattison Harrison. Mar. 1,
 1765.
 Wm. Gyllett. Dec. 16, 1768.
 Jas. Lewis. Dec. 16, 1768.
 Joh. Chapman. Feb. 6, 1769.
 Wm. Topham. Dec. 13, 1769.
 Tho. Gyllett. Jun. 5, 1770.
 Joh. Williamson. Mar. 9, 1773.
 Wm. Miles. Oct. 13, 1773.
 Hen. Richman. Dec. 1, 1775.
 Ric. Laurence (pp. 291-2).
 Jul. 14, 1778.
 Ric. Dixon. Feb. 5, 1779.
 Wm. Harrison. Dec. 14, 1781.
 Ric. Runwa Jenkins. Nov. 29,
 1783.
 Moses Dodd. Oct. 17, 1786.
 Geo. Richards. Jan. 14, 1788.
 Joh. Wm. Bourke. Dec. 7, 1789.
 Wm. Marshall². Jun. 3, 1791.

* * There is an entry in the Acta &c., under Feb. 21, 1792, that the Choristers (and, therefore, presumably the Clerks) 'are now termed Exhibitioners.' Beginning, therefore, with 1792, I have grouped together, under the name of Exhibitioners, both these classes of Students, though they were formally entered in the Buttery Books under the old names as late as 1854.

¹ The Buttery Book for 1703-4 is lost. In Oct., 1704, occurs 'Lewis' (Thomas) in place of Newcomb. ² Fellow of Balliol.

CHORISTERS¹

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1548. Gyll. F. | 1593. Tho. White. R. |
| Atkins. F. | 1595. Ric. Evans. F. |
| 1552. Roach. F. | 1597. Leonard Smith. R. |
| Sothorne. F. | 1598. Nic. Evans. R. |
| 1555. Chaffe. F. | 1601. Pet. Turner. F. |
| 1558. Gought. F. | 1604. Franc. Garbrand. F. |
| Maunder. F. | 1605. Wm Jackson. F. |
| Waglye. F. | Tobias Giles, probably before |
| 1562. Etherige. F. | 1609. A. |
| 1563. Dorsett. F. | Tho. Gosteloe (Gostelow, Disc. |
| 1564. Wm. Man. F. | 1612). A. |
| Samuell. F. | 1611. Tho. White. R. |
| 1566. Clerke. F. | 1612. Edw. Holland. F. |
| 1567. Bryan. F. | 1619. Ric. Vaughan. R. |
| 1577. Ant. Wilson. F. | 1620. Tho. Fryth. R. |
| Whiting. F. | 1621. Edm. Vaughan. R. |
| 1580. Gab. Merry. F. | (?1624.) Tho. Disney. R. |
| (Wm.) Webb. F. | 1627. Anth. Nicklis. R. |
| 1583. (Giles) Bamfield. F. | 1627. Tho. Samon. R. |
| 1592. Tho. Tylley. F. | 1641. Rob. Pocock. R. |
| Tho. Haberley. R. | |

Nathaniel Vincent was appointed by the Parliamentary Visitors, Sep. 21, 1648. **Horne**, Chorister, and **Richard Lawrence** were expelled by the Parliamentary Visitors, Oct. 2, 1648 (see Burrows' Register). In the earliest Buttery Book, namely, that for 1648-9, the Choristers are **Lawrence** and **Paris**. In 1650 **Lawrence** is succeeded by **William Bruce**. On Oct. 4, 1650, **Paris** was made Clerk and succeeded by **John Francklin**, who was succeeded by **Vincent**, for whose appointment see above. Then we have **Nathaniel Vincent**, July 9, 1653. B. (This must, I think, be a different Nathaniel Vincent from the one given above); **James Hellyer** or **Hollyar**, March 8, 1655, R and B; **Nathaniel Cuffley**, June 24, 1657, R and B; **Thomas Fulkes**, Oct. 3, 1657, R and B, **Henry Berrow**, March 11, 1658, R and B.

The remaining names are recovered exclusively from the Buttery Books. The Buttery Books from 1659-60 down to 1663-4 are all wanting. In Oct., 1664, the Choristers are **Berrow** and **Newlin**; on March 8, 1666, **S. Day** and **B. Newlin**; on April 10, 1668, **Newlin** and **Gounter**. The Buttery Books for 1669, 1670 are wanting. On Oct. 27, 1671, the Choristers are **Gounter** and **Bremer**. **Thomas Newlin** was admitted Feb. 22, 1671. The Buttery Book for 1675

¹ At first, probably, the Choristers were seldom matriculated. In process of time their functions as Choristers ceased and they became simply ordinary students.

is wanting. In Oct., 1676, the Choristers are **Newlin** and **Beesley**. **John Paris** was admitted June 1, 1678.

From this point we may give a continuous Catalogue, as follows:—

1685. Chas. Manwaring Full-	1740. Ben. Culme.
man.	1741. Ant. Frinsham.
Joh. Newlin.	1742. Ric. Bird.
1687. Wm. Manwaring Full-	1745. Davys Colmer.
man.	Walter Cotton.
1688. Philip Pocock.	1746. Sam. Berjew.
1693. Joh. Ball.	1748. Joh. Ridout.
1695. Joh. Newlin.	1751. Tho. Jenkins.
1698. Gilb. Tillyard.	Tho. Milward, mat. Ap. 14, 1753 ¹ .
Newlin Denham Castle.	1756. Joh. Derby (or Darbey).
1699. Tho. Newcomb.	1757. Tho. Goddard.
1700. Nic. Adams.	1760. Wm. Payne.
Chris. Sclater.	1762. Joh. Buckland.
1703. Frampton Huntington.	Joh. Modd.
1706. Roger Farbrother.	1763. Joh. Litchfield.
1708. Nathanael Sturges.	1767. Wm. Jenkins.
1709. Jas. Martin.	1768. Joh. Chapman.
1711. ——— Edwards ¹ .	1769. Jas. Lewis.
1715. Joh. Pocock.	1770. Wm. Gyllett.
1716. Tho. Jenkins.	1771. Joh. Frowd.
1720. Joh. Wigmore.	1772. Chas. Richards.
Joh. Jackson.	1775. Joh. Prince.
1723. Geo. Osborne.	1777. Joh. Williams.
1724. Edwd. Bentham (p. 282).	1779. Joh. Hopkins.
1726. Rob. Browne.	1781. Joh. Flamank.
1729. Jos. Bingham.	1783. Hen. Kingsman.
1732. Tho. Randal (1).	1785. Ozias Thurstan Linley.
1733. Chas. Wither.	1787. Tho. Eglin.
1736. Pet. Smith.	1789. Sam. How.
1737. Joh. Woods.	1790. Chas. Moore.
1740. Edm. Warneford.	1791. Ric. Carrow.

¹ Probably Edward Edwards, who matriculated March 19, 1719. If not, Wm. Edwards, who matriculated Nov. 9, 1709.

² The Buttery Book for 1752-3 is missing, but all the names in the University Matriculation Books of that period, connected with Corpus, can be accounted for. In the College Buttery Book, beginning Oct., 1753, Milward appears in place of Ridout.

EXHIBITIONERS¹.

1792. Jeremiah Smith.	1814. Chas. Eckersall.
1793. Ric. Lewis.	1816. Chas. Nutt.
1794. Chas. Kemys Watkins.	1817. Jas. Hardwicke Dyer.
1795. Joh. Crosse.	Franc. Lipscomb.
Wm. Marshall.	Ric. Hen. Mostyn Price
Rob. Gatehouse.	(or Pryce).
Joh. Penrose.	Chas. Joh. Cornish.
1796. Wm. Baldwyn.	1818. Edwd. Coleridge ⁴ .
1799. Jas. Venables.	Ric. Messiter.
Wm. Tugwell William	1820. Joh. Kerr Bourke.
Aaron Webb Baker.	Algernon Grenfell.
Jas. Best.	1821. Phil. Jacob ⁷ .
1800. Joh. Selwyn.	Hub. Kestell Cornish.
Joh. Graves.	1822. Wm. Jas. Copleston ⁸ .
1801. Tho. Pearce.	1823. Geo. Burton Hamilton.
1803. Edwd. Andr. Daubeny.	1824. Ric. Jervis Statham.
Matt. Arnold ² .	1825. Jeremiah Dyson.
1804. ³ Jas. Moore.	1826. Hen. Craddock Nowell.
¹ Wm. James ⁴ .	1827. Edwd. Otto Trevelyan.
Tho. Lewin.	1828. Joh. Douglass Giles ⁵ .
1805. Joh. Jas. Colley.	1829. Bryan Faussett.
1807. Fred. Wm. Miller.	1830. Joh. Tahourdin White.
1808. Noel Tho. Ellison (p.	1831. Hen. Walford Bellairs.
410).	1832. Rob. Faithfull Fan-
Ric. Jones.	shawe.
1809. Wm. Salter.	1833. Godfrey Faussett ¹⁰ .
Joh. Bartholomew (p.	Horace Faithfull Gray.
304).	1834. Edwd. Shaw Mount.
1811. Tho. Penrose.	1835. Wm. Darnell.
1812. Hen. Allen.	Joh. Yarker.
Joh. Stockdale ⁶ .	Hugh Hamon Massie.
Chas. Medhurst.	1836. Hen. Jas. Marshall.
1813. Hen. Dimock.	1837. Philip Antoine de Teis-
Rob. Salkeld.	sier ¹¹ .

¹ The Clerks and Choristers had already come to be called by this name in 1792 (see p. 428), having probably long before that time ceased to perform their special functions and having become assimilated to ordinary students. The list is here continued down to 1854, the year before the old Statutes were finally abolished. In the New Statutes Exhibitioners were introduced *eo nomine*.

² Elder brother of Thomas Arnold. ³ The Buttery Book for 1803-4 is missing, but, from the Acta &c., it appears that these two names were admitted at the times stated. ⁴ Afterwards Fellow of Exeter. ⁵ Afterwards a Gentleman-Commoner. ⁶ Second Master of Eton (p. 304). ⁷ Canon and Archdeacon of Winchester (p. 304). ⁸ Fellow of Oriel, &c. (p. 304). See Foster, Al. Ox. ⁹ Archdeacon of Stow. ¹⁰ Fellow of Magdalen.

¹¹ 3rd Baron de Teissier. Founder of the De Teissier Exhibition.

1838. Rob. Cholmeley ¹ .	1847. Ric Hen. Price
1839. Wm. Tho Bridges.	1848. Phil. Menzies Sankey
1840. Joh Rigaud ²	Wm. Tho. Norris
Matt Buckland.	1849. Tho. Heathcote Tragett
Joh Rob Davison.	1850. Shadworth Hollway
1841. Wm Wilson.	Hodgson ⁴ .
1843. Rob. Kestell Cornish ³ .	1851. Chas Joh. Cornish
1844. Wm. Hay Cooke.	1852. Joh Reynolds O'Neil
Herbert Phillott.	Wm. Carr Sidgwick ¹
Hen. Eastfield Bayly.	1854. Chas. Tho. Arnold
1846. Wm. Rob. Haverfield.	

* * In the New Statutes, sealed on Oct. 9, 1855, there is no mention of Clerks or Choristers, but they are replaced by four Exhibitioners *eo nomine*, thus confirming the designation which, as we have seen, had now for some time prevailed. By a subsequent Statute (approved by the Visitor in 1862) these four Exhibitioners were converted into Scholars. The following is a list of Exhibitioners elected during the interval :—

1856. Franc Bedwell.	1857. Hen. Alex. Giffard ¹ .
Art. Carr ⁶ .	1860. Kyrle Mitford Chatfield ⁷
1857. Hen Geo. Madan ⁷ .	1861. Hen Geo. Woods ¹⁰ .

Though these four Exhibitions were merged among the Scholarships from 1862 onwards, the College, both before and after this time, occasionally awarded Exhibitions to its Commoners or to Candidates who acquitted themselves well in the Scholarship Examinations. The following is a list of Exhibitioners so elected from 1857 down to the present time¹¹ :—

1857. Wm. Chris. Evans	1861. Wm. Albert Darent
Chas. Wm. Penny.	Harrison.
1859. Lewis Pugh Evans ¹² .	1868. ¹⁰ Wm. Hawks Longridge.
Joh. Jas. Coxhead.	1869. Geo. Bowyer Vaux.
1860. Joh. Wm. Colvin.	1870. Franc. Reynolds Yonge
Osborn Bubb.	Radcliffe ¹⁴ .
Alf. Tho. Barton ¹³ .	Chas. Hen. Lomax.
1861. Herb Augus. Strong ¹⁴ .	Nevil Masterman.

¹ Fellow of Magdalen. ² Fellow of Magdalen. ³ Bishop of Madagascar.
⁴ Honorary Fellow ⁵ Fellow of Merton. ⁶ Fellow of Oriel. ⁷ Fellow of Queen's.
⁸ Senior Student of Ch. Ch. Q.C. ⁹ Director of Public Instruction, Bombay. ¹⁰ Fellow, afterwards President, of Trinity.

¹¹ After the recent Statutes of 1882 came into operation, the College began, in accordance with their provisions, to advertise one or more Exhibitions to be filled up at the same time with the Scholarships, and from October, 1883, onwards Exhibitioners so elected predominate

¹² Formerly M.P. for Cardiganshire. Now L. P. Pugh. ¹³ Fellow of Pembroke. ¹⁴ Professor of Latin, University College, Liverpool. ¹⁵ A considerable interval seems to have elapsed, during which no Exhibitioners were elected ¹⁶ Fellow of All Souls.

1871. Dan. Vawdrey.
 Phil. Williams. Cal. 1873¹.
 Harold Baird Carlyon. Cal. 1874.
 Art. Caynton Radcliffe. Cal. 1874.
 Art. Wm. Rivington. Cal. 1874.
 Dunbar Plunket Barton². Cal. 1874.
 Wm. Daniell. Cal. 1874.
 Tho. Thistle³. Cal. 1874.
 Joh. Wm. Barry, B.A. Cal. 1875.
 Rob. Harry Monro Elwes, admitted January, 1875.
 Hen. Campbell Jenkins. Cal. 1876.
 Stanley Edwd. Lane Poole. Cal. 1876.
 Reg. Chas. Lott. Cal. 1877.
 Hugh Edwd. Egerton. Cal. 1877.
 Art. Antony Macdonell⁴. Cal. 1877.
 Sidney Smith. Cal. 1878.
 Sydney Haldane Olivier. Cal. 1879.
 Joh. Kirkpatrick Young. Cal. 1879.
 Chas. Jas. Billson. Cal. 1879.
 Chas. Hen. Malcolm Kerr. Cal. 1879.
 Geo. Anth. King. Cal. 1879.
 Frank Ernest Ward. Cal. 1880.
 Art. Newton Streatfield. Cal. 1880.
 Wm. Hen. Edwd. Worship. Cal. 1880.
 Chas. Herb. Tyles. Cal. 1881.
 Art. Adams. Cal. 1881.
 Joh. Hen. Roskill. Cal. 1881.
 Reginald Saumarez de Havilland. Cal. 1881.
 Edwd. Franklin Simpkinson. Cal. 1882.
 Ernest Campbell Lowndes. Cal. 1882.
 Tho. Wm. Carr. Cal. 1882.
 Tho. Hen. Littlewood. Cal. 1882.
 Alex. Macdonald. Cal. 1883.
 Geo. Williamson Wallace. Cal. 1883.
 Percy Robinson. Cal. 1883.
 1883. Ben. Michael Connal.
 Edwd. Norman Gardiner.
 Geo. Hen. Baker. Cal. 1885.
 Edwd. Stanhope Rashleigh. Cal. 1886.
 1886. Gilb. Luxmoore Evans.
 Pet. Bertie Mellish.
 1886. Joh. Mere Latham.
 1887. Art. Joh. Fowler.
 Leon. Hamilton White.
 1888. Hen. Nelson Wright.
 Joh. Young Evans.
 1889. Pridesaux Selby Johnston.
 Hen. Coker Smith.
 1890. Rob. Leslie Dunbabin.
 Jas. Art. Wm. Bell.
 Ernest Bennett Sinclair Shepherd.
 1891. Gilb. Joh. Tindall.
 Wm. Sanger.
 Jas. Reginald Lea Rankin (Honorary).
 1892. Wm. Joh. Hen. Brodrick.
 Julian Cornes.

¹ The dates of appointment of many of these Exhibitioners can now only be gathered from the Calendars. ² Q.C., M.P. for Mid-Armagh. ³ Head Master of Hereford Grammar School. ⁴ Deputy Professor of Sanscrit.

LIST OF EARLY COMMONERS OR 'GENTLEMEN-COMMONERS,'

Extracted from the Fulman MSS., Vol. XI, and the older
Buttery Books.

As the College Registers take no cognisance of any persons not on the Foundation, the only official authority for the names of the Commoners, or, as they were subsequently called, Gentlemen-Commoners, are the Buttery Books and the 'Acts and Proceedings' which, till quite recently, were kept by the Presidents. But the latter series does not begin till 1748¹, and there are none of the old Buttery Books now extant which go back beyond the academical year 1648-9. In vol. xi of the Fulman MSS., however, there is an Index of names of former members of the College, including, it would appear, all which could be recovered down to about the year 1620, there being a few occasional entries after this period. Amongst these names are those of some of the Commoners, though, as compared with the entire number of this class of students down to that time, the list must be very small. It is probably made up from such Buttery Books as were extant when the list was compiled. The writing is in different hands, though the latest additions and corrections seem to be by Fulman.

I have attempted, in each case, to identify the names, by comparison with Foster's Alumni Oxonienses, Earlier Series, and the Lists of Matriculations and Degrees given in Mr. A. Clark's Register (Oxf. Hist. Soc.). Where they cannot be identified, they are marked n. i.; where no date is given, n. d.

Ric. Stiles. n. i. n. d.	Tho. Knowles. 1577. B.A. 1582.
Rob. Moulton. n. i. n. d.	Chas. Stainings. 1577. B.A. 1586.
Harrington. n. d. (? Franc. H., B.A., 1581.)	Geo. Sampole. Linc. 1578 ² .
F. Heaton. 1571 (or ? 1591). n. i.	Sam. Sands. 1580. n. i.
Joh. Foster. 1577. n. i.	Ferdinando Kingsmell. n. d. ? matr. 1581.
Jackson. 1577. n. i.	Wm. Norton. 1582. ? B.A. 1593.
Wm. Boyer. 1577. n. i.	Chas. Norton. 1585. n. i.
Joh. Barnes. 1578. n. i.	Dan. Norton. 1585. n. i.
Rob. Kingsmell. 1579. n. i.	Edwin Sands. 1585. n. i. ³

¹ In the book, however, beginning with Dr. Cooke's Presidency in 1783, there is a list of Gentlemen-Commoners, in one or two places incomplete, from 1700 to 1815.

² Cannot be identified with any entry either in F or C, but, in all probability, the same as the Sir George St. Paul, Bart., who devised lands at Lissington, Lincs., to the College. See A. Wood, Colleges and Halls, under C. C. C.

³ In Fulman's handwriting: 'Qu. whether the same that had been Fellow.' If the Edwin Sandys, entered as a commoner in 1585, was really the same that had previously been Fellow, he may have had his name on the books in the capacity of what is now called an independent Master of Arts. Cp. pp. 275-6. But it is much more probable, I think, that he was only battling temporarily.

Rouse Stratford. 1585. mat. 1586.	Chr. Browne. 1590. mat. 1589.
Franco. Vincent. 1585. ? mat. 1582. (Aft. Sir F. V., Bart.)	Rob. Rossiter. Linc. 1589. n.i.
Rob Young. 1585. mat. 1586.	Wm. Drew. 1589. n.i.
Wm. Cole. 1586. n.i.	Fr. Eaton. 1589. n.i.
Smith. 1586. (? Tho. Smythe. mat. 1586.)	Geo. Williams. Lincs. 1589. mat. 1586 ¹ .
Ric. Culme. 1586. ? mat. 1583.	Geo. Sands. 1589 ² .
Chas. Eure. 1586. n.i.	Hen. Sands. 1589 ² .
Wm. Foxe. 1587. n.i.	Joh. Marston. 1590 ³ .
Edwd. Goddard. 1589. mat. 1583.	Felix Browne. 1591. mat. 1591 ⁴ .
Rob. Browne. 1589. mat. 1589.	Joh. Fitz-james. 1591. mat. 1591.
	Leveston Fitz-james. 1591 ⁴ .
	Gardener ⁵ .

¹ The difference of date, here and in some other places, between the Fulman MS. and Mr Clark's Register, may be due to the loss of old Buttery Books, and to the date in the Fulman MS. being that of the first Buttery Book then extant in which the name occurs

² There can be no doubt, as, indeed, is stated by Fulman in a marginal note to the Index, that these names are identical with those of the G. S. and H. S., matriculated at St Mary Hall on Dec. 5, 1589. Henry as London, archiepisc f 16; George as York, arch f 11. They were both younger brothers of Sir Edwin Sandys, Hooker's pupil. Probably they were first matriculated at St. Mary Hall, either because there were not yet rooms vacant for them at Corpus, or because the number of Gentlemen Commoners, which was limited by the Statutes to six, was already full.

³ This is probably the same as the John Marston who took his B.A. Degree from Corpus on Feb. 23, 1593. Antony Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, ed. Bliss, vol. i. col. 762, &c. identifies him, and not John Marston of Brasenose, with Marston the dramatist and poet, but the identification rests on mistaken grounds. Wood's article is more even than ordinarily careless. In the first place, he speaks of Marston's Works as having been 'gathered together by Will Shakespeare the famous comedian, and by his care printed at London 1633,' Shakespeare having been then dead seventeen years, and the Works having been 'gathered together' by William Sheres the bookseller and publisher. Then, as John Marston of B.N.C. did not die till 1634, it is argued that the edition of the collected Works cannot have been edited by any one else in 1633; but, had Wood taken pains to read the very short Preface, he would have seen that two reasons are assigned for the Works being edited by another hand during Marston's life-time, namely, that 'the Author is now in his Autumne and declining age,' and is 'so farre distant from this place.' Mr. Halliwell and Mr. Bullen, the two most recent editors of Marston's Works, adduce some probable, though hardly conclusive, reasons for identifying the poet and dramatist with John Marston of Brasenose, leaving a certain amount of presumption in his favour. In the supplementary notes to Wood's *Ath. Ox.*, contained in Bliss' ed., it is stated that 'there seems great difficulty in ascribing the right college to the poet, for, in the Oxford verses on the death of Queen Elizabeth, is a copy signed by 'John Marston, ex æde Christi' But, even if we lay no stress on the difference of spelling—for the copy is subscribed and the name given on matriculating and taking the B.A. degree as John Marston—it is difficult to suppose that this John Marston can have written the 'Scourge of Villany' and 'Pigmalion's Image' in 1598, three years before his matriculation at New College in 1601, and when he was only eighteen years of age.

⁴ Is he the same as the L. F., M.P. for Bndport, who matriculated at Balliol, March 5, 1594? He may afterwards have migrated to Corpus.

⁵ Is this the same as Joh. G., mat. 1592?

- Fouke.** 1592. i.e. Joh. F. mat. 1592.
Lyne. Lond. 1593. n. i.
Chas. Sunnibanke. 1593¹.
Edwd. Seymour. eq. f. 1594.
Wm. Beacher. 1594².
Rob. More. 1594³.
Tho. Bond. 1594. ? same as T. B. eq. f. mat. 1596.
Rich. Horner. 1594. n. i.
Hen. Colthurst. Lond. n.d. n.i.
Fran. Colthurst. Lond. 1594⁴.
Thomas Thynne. 1594⁵.
Rob. Knowlys. 1594. mat. at Ch. Ch. 1594. B.A. from Corpus 1598.
Barth. Bulmer. 1595. n. i.
Hen. Norwood. 1595. ? same as H. N. mat. at Oriel 1598⁶.
Humph. Styles. 1595. ? same as H. S. mat. 1598⁶.
Wm. Higford. 1596⁷.
Joh. Young. Ep. Roff. f. 1597.
Franco. Kelway. 1598.
Tho. Rowland. 1598.
Edwd. Pelland (Pellam or Pelham). Sussex. 1598.
Nath. Taverner. 1599.
Bailife. 1599⁸.
Lud. Pollard, Gen. 1603. ? same as L. P. mat. at St. John's (Ox. arm. f.) 1601⁹.
Joh. Leynthal, Gen. 1603. ? same as J. L. mat. at St. John's (Ox. arm. f.) 1601⁹.
Joh. Babington. 1604. mat. (fil. episc. Vigorn.) 1603.
Rich. Diott. 1604¹⁰.

¹ Either he cannot be identified, or he is the same with the John Sonibank who took his degree from Corpus in 1593; if so, he must have migrated from some other college. ² Afterwards Sir Wm. Beacher. See Fulman, vol. x. fol. 46 a.

³ Afterwards Sir R. More, Kt. ⁴ This name does not occur in the lists either of Matriculation or of Degrees, but there was a F. C. at or of C. C. C. in 1602. Fulman adds the note, 'Ob. Apr. 20, 1602, æt. 26.' ⁵ This is perhaps the same as the T. T. who mat. at B. N. C. (Wilts. arm. f. 14) in 1592, and may have migrated to Corpus. Afterwards Sir T. T., Kt. ⁶ About this time matriculation was often postponed till long after a student had become member of a college.

⁷ This is the same as the W. Higford (Hickford or Hichford) who mat. at Oriel (Glouc. arm. f. 16), Jan. 14, 1594, and took his degree from Corpus, Feb. 16, 1594. From the number of migrations about this period, one can hardly help supposing that colleges accommodated one another; and that a young man, wishing to go to some particular college, with which probably his family was connected, and unable to find rooms, or, in cases where, as at Corpus, the number of Commoners was limited, a vacancy, was, meanwhile, accommodated at some other college. Higford's father and grandfather had both been at Corpus. See pp. 131, 156 of this work.

⁸ This, I think, must be the George Bayly (or Cayly) mat. at Queen's (Chesh. cler. f. 16) in 1595, who took his B.A. Degree from Corpus, July 23, 1599. (This word is variously spelt Bayley, Bailie, Bailey, Balie, Balye, Bayleye, Baylie, Bayly, Baylye, Balife, Baliffe, Balisse, Bayliffe, Bagley, Bealye, Belly, Beeley, Beelie, Beely, Beelye, Byley, &c.)

⁹ There can be no practical doubt of the identification of these two names, which are both entered under L in Fulman, and placed in juxtaposition. These two students, who were of the same county, who matriculated together at St. John's, and who were probably close friends, seem to have migrated, at or about the same time, to Corpus. For J. L. and his better-known namesake, the son of the Speaker, see p. 194 of this work, note 1. When I wrote this note, I had not observed that Pollard was so closely connected with Leynthal, and hence, the migration from St. John's, which I now regard as practically certain, was there stated only as a possibility.

¹⁰ Afterwards Sir R. D., Kt., P.C. to Charles I, High Steward of Lichfield, and Chancellor of the County Palatine of Durham. Foster's Al. Ox.

- Joh Thornton.** 1606. mat. 1607.
Horatio Eure. 1607. n. i.
Geo. Lucy. 1607. (Southts. mil. f.)
Hen Parry. Cant. 1607¹.
Walt. Raleigh. 1607. mat. as **W. Raleigh**, Dorset. mil. f. 14².
Rob. Diott. 1609.
Franc. Finche. 1609³.
Edwin Sands. 1609. (mil. f.)⁴
Edwd. Spenser. 1611⁵.
Rich. Spenser. 1611⁶.
Joh. Gunter. 1611. n. i.
Joh. Sedley. 1611⁷.
Wm. Brockman. Cant. 1612. mat at St. M. H. 1610⁸.
Robin Finch. Cant. 1612. B.A. from Corpus (eq. aur. f.) 1611⁹.
Rob. Eidolphe. Cant. 1614. n. i.
Rob. Nicolas. 1614. n. i.
Joh. Spenser. 1614. n. i.
Amias Bamfield. Dev. 1614. B.A. (eq. aur. f.) 1616.
Joh. Price. 1615.
Nic. Worth. 1615.
Hen. Foxe. 1615. (Salop. eq. aur. f.)
Somerset Foxe. 1615. (Monmouth. eq. aur. f.)
Joh. Minne. Cant. 1615. (Surrey, eq. aur. f.)
Wm. Minne. Cant. 1616. (Surrey, eq. aur. f.)
Wm. Han(d)cock. 1616. (Dev.)
Jas. Rivers¹⁰. Cant. 1616
Potter Rivers. Cant. 1616.
Edmu(o)nd Hatch. 1617.
Rob. Woodroffe. 1617. (eq. f.)

Separated, by a long period, from the other entries, is the following under B, in Fulman's own handwriting:—

Wm. Barker. Comm. Ob. Mai 7, 1632. æt. 19. I am not able to identify this entry with any either in Foster or the University Matriculation Book of this period, though I have made an independent examination of that document. W. B. may be confounded with a **Joseph B.**, who matriculated from Corpus, Mar. 10, 162 $\frac{1}{2}$, æt. 15.

In the Register of the Parliamentary Visitors, the name of **John**

¹ Son of H. P., a former scholar, Bishop successively of Glouc. and Worc.

² Elder son of Sir Walter (see Bliss' ed. of Ath. Ox., sub Daniel Fairclough or Featley, who was W. R.'s tutor, vol. iii. col. 169. He was killed at the sacking of St. Thomas, 161 $\frac{1}{2}$. See Stebbing's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, pp 321-4. There is a very interesting letter from Featley to Sir Walter Raleigh on his son, given in Bliss' ed. of Ath. Ox., vol. iii. col. 169. In Stebbing's Life of Sir Walter, pp. 323-4, we read of this son: 'Six days after the fight, Keymis sent a letter describing Walter's death, and eulogising his "extraordinary valour, forwardness, and constant vigour of mind." Keymis's letter was dated January 8. It arrived, it has been reckoned, on Feb. 14. The day is believed to be fixed by the abrupt closing of Raleigh's journal. After his son's death, "with whom," he wrote to Winwood, "all respect of this world hath taken end in me," he had no heart to continue it'.

³ Can this be the same as the F. F. who mat. (Kent. eq. f. 15) June 12, 1601? If so, he must have been 'batteling' temporarily in 1609. ⁴ Afterwards Sir E. Sandys.

⁵ Both matriculated (as Northis. baronis f., E. S. 14, R. S. 16 Nov. 13, 1609. They were sons of 'Robert, Lord Spencer, baron of Wormleighton.' See Vaughan's Life of Dr. Jackson (Works of Dr. J., Cl. Pr. Ed., vol. i). Edward Spenser was knighted Dec. 27, 1625, and was M.P. for Brackley and Middlesex; Richard was M.P. for Northampton and Rye.

⁶ Took his B.A. from Corpus, as eq. aur. f. n. m., May 17, 1613. Second Bart. ⁷ Afterwards Sir W. B., Kt.

⁸ We must bear in mind that all 'independent' members of the college, whether graduates or undergraduates, were called 'Commensales,' if in residence. ⁹ Afterwards Sir J. M., Kt. ¹⁰ M.P. for Lewes.

Stapleton, Commoner, is given as one of those expelled in 1648, but his name does not occur either in Foster or in the Matriculation Register, which, however, is at this time very defective.

After an interval of several years, our authority for the names of Commoners, or 'Gentlemen-Commoners,' becomes the Buttery Books, the first extant of which is that for 1648-9¹. Several of the earlier books are now missing, but, as a name was often on the books for three, four, or five years, and, from 1748 onwards, we have also the 'Acts and Proceedings of C.C.C.' kept by the Presidents, we are able to construct an almost complete list from the time of the Commonwealth down to the disappearance of these students in 1852.

Early in the book for 1648-9 we find the names—

Mr. Wyndham. **Mr. Short.** **Mr. Geree or Geary.**
Mr. Pointingdon. **Mr. Hais** < **Hayes** >.

The names of **Mr. Wyndham**, **Mr. Pointingdon**, and **Mr. Geree** do not occur either in Foster's Al. Ox. or in the University Matriculation Book. There is no formal entry of any of these names in the Buttery Book, but, in the Univ. Matriculation Book, **Edwardus Shorte**, Gen. Fil., and **Jacobus Hayes**, Gen. Fil., appear on Feb. 19, 1648⁸.

William Ingoldsby is entered in the Buttery Book, Aug. 24, 1649, but I cannot find that he ever batted, except on the first day, and his name does not occur either in Foster or in the Univ. Matric. Book.

Mr. Ridley and **Mr. Bankes** are entered on July 5, 1650, but neither of them occurs in Foster or in the Univ. Matric. Book. They both batted.

Nicholas Opies (sometimes written **Opye**) is entered on July 19, 1650, and was matriculated, Nov. 20, 1651, as **Opay**.

Coplestone Bampfylde , Baronet	} entered on March 14, 1651 ⁰ , and matriculated March 20 following.
< aft. M.P. for Devon >	
Thomas Upton	
Nicholas Sherwill	

Francis Isaac entered Apr. 25, 1651, and matriculated June 7 following.

Richard Warre was transferred from the list of Scholars, June 13, 1651.

I now proceed to give the names and years of admission, adding, where desirable, further particulars:—

¹ In the earlier pages of this book there occur the names of Wall, Parne, Newman, Ryland, Mrs. Moore, Crayford, Colins, Shepard, and, at an interval, Cave, Carpenter, Willson. From their position, the former names must, I think, be those of battelers, servitors or servants, and the latter possibly those of workmen temporarily employed in the college (cp., in Fulman's Index, Style Tegull, 1566, and Tho. Stiles Teg. 1582). None of the names occur in the Matriculation Book, but, at this period, that record was very imperfectly kept. Mrs. Moore was, probably, an early instance of a female bed-maker.

1652. Geo. Lacock.	1655. Combe Wagstaffe.
1653. Joh. Holme.	1657. Chris. Packe.
1653. Wm. Parker.	Wm. Arundell.
David Bigg.	1658. Chas. Adderley.
1654. Rob Howarth.	Ric. Forster.
Tho. Ashhurst.	1659. Jas. Chetham ¹ .
1655. Wm Heyrick.	1659. Rob. Grove.
Humphrey Chetham ¹ .	

The Books are missing from Oct., 1659, to Oct., 1664². The names in October, 1664, are—

⟨Hen.⟩ Ewer.	⟨Ric.⟩ Cobb.	⟨Mish.⟩ Welden.
Ashburnham.	⟨Rob.⟩ Midford.	⟨Rob.⟩ Manton.
⟨Wm.⟩ Wither ⁴ was entered Jan. 27, 1664.		

On May 11, 1666, there first occurs in the Buttery Books the name of **D. Jacobus Dux Monumethensis**, inserted between the President and Vice-President. See pp. 243-4.

1666. Joh. Hooke.	1668. Wm. Livesay.
1668. Edwd. Filmer ³ .	1669. Joh. Carter.
Wm. Harmer.	

The Books for 1669-70 and 1670-1 are wanting. In October, 1671, the names on the Book are—

Ds. Hooke.	Harmer.	⟨Wm.⟩ Hickman.
Filmer.	Livesay.	

Proceeding with the admissions we have—

1671. Dan. Hayne.	1673. Chas. Cotes.
1673. Ric. Ingoldesby.	Joh. Coxwell.

The Book for 1673-4 is wanting. In October, 1674, the names on the Book are—

Mr. Hooke.	Stocker.	⟨Rob.⟩ Mason.
⟨Joh.⟩ Coxwell.	⟨Tho.⟩ Moore.	

Hugh Grove was admitted May 28, 1675.

The Book for 1675-6 is wanting. In October, 1676, the names on the Book are—

Dom. Gul. Duncumb ⁵ .	Husbands.	⟨Joh.⟩ Starkey.
Grove.	⟨Ant.⟩ Lucas.	

We may now proceed with the admissions:—

1678. Joh. Tayleur.	1680. ⟨Walt.⟩ Bogan.
1680. Wm. Brome.	1681. ⟨Rob.⟩ Parker.
Ric. Jones.	1683. Ben. Wade.

¹ Probably some junior relative of the Humphrey Chetham, founder of the Chetham Hospital and Library at Manchester, who was born in 1580, and died unmarried. ² Probably the author of the 'Angler's Vade Mecum.' See Dict. Nat. Biog.

³ During this time the name of John Darell must have been entered as a Gentleman-Commoner. See p. 455 below. ⁴ M.P. for Andover.

⁵ Fellow of All Souls. Probably the same as the dramatist. See Dict. Nat. Biog. ⁶ 2nd Baronet.

1683 ¹ . Rob. Ellison. Mich. Wickes. Rob. Sheppard.	1693. Tho. Browne. 1694. Sam. Chetham. Joh. Powle. Rob. Beach.
1683 ³ / ₄ . Joh. Stephens. 1684. Wm. Evelyn. 1685. Tho. Compton. Tim. Robson.	1695. Joh. Temple. Chas. Parry. 1696. Tho. Brocas. 1698. Norton Powlett ⁵ . Dom. Phil. Parker, Bart. ⁶ Ludov. Oglethorpe ⁷ . Gul. Wither.
1686. Sir Lawr. Stoughton ² . 1687. Joh. Briscoe. Hen. Rawling. Chris. Mayne.	1700. Hen. Hodges. Dom. Hen. Atkins, Bart. ⁴ Tho. Bere.
1688. Chas. Mellish. Gul. Russell. 1689. Rob. Knight. 1690. Tobias Chauncy ³ . Franc. Drewe ⁴ .	1702. Edwd. Cuthbert. 1702 ² / ₃ . Phil. Percivale ⁹ . Geo. St. Amand. Gostlett Harington.
1691. Geo. Harrison. 1691 ¹ / ₂ . Ric. Bigg.	

The Buttery Book for 1703 is wanting. In October, 1704, the entries are—

Hodges. St. Amand.	Harington. Young.	<Tho.> Turner. <Shilton> Calmady ¹⁰ .
1706. Gul. Boulting. Jac. Hayes.	1713. Joh. Rawlinson. eq. aur. f. 1714. Jac. Oglethorpe ¹⁵ . eq. aur. f.	
1707. Willoughby Bertie ¹¹ . Joh. Drake, Bart. ¹² .	1715. Ric. Bingham ¹⁶ . Adrianus Moore.	
1708. Joh. Turner. Edwd. Cole.	1717 ¹ / ₂ . Joh. Clarke. 1719. Joh. Crosse. Joh. Pollen ¹⁷ .	
1709. More Molyneux ¹³ . 1710. Edwd. Conyers ¹⁴ . Gul. Walrond.	1720. Rob. Spearman. 1721. Cope Freeman. Hon. Tho. Lee.	
1711 ¹ / ₂ . Hen. Baro de Coleraine. <pp. 271-2, 287.>		

¹ On June 1, 1683, the name of D. Jacobus Dux Monumethensis is erased. The erasure continues up to July 12, and then the name disappears altogether.

² 2nd Baronet. ³ M.P. for Banbury. ⁴ M.P. for Exeter in four Parliaments. Foster.

⁵ M.P. for Petersfield in six Parliaments. See Foster. ⁶ 3rd Baronet. M.P. for Harwich. ⁷ M.P. for Haslemere. A.D.C. to Duke of Marlborough. See Foster. ⁸ 3rd Baronet. ⁹ M.P. for Askeyton. Director and Supervisor of the State Music. See Foster.

¹⁰ These names correspond with the list in Acta C.C.C. for 1783, &c. We may probably conclude, therefore, that none are missing. ¹¹ 3rd Earl of Abingdon. Foster, Al. Ox. ¹² 5th Baronet. ¹³ Afterwards Sir M. M., Kt. ¹⁴ M.P. for East Grinstead.

¹⁵ Oglethorpe's name disappears from the books on May 3, 1717. It was re-entered on June 25, 1719, and finally disappeared on Oct. 20, 1727. As, for the greater part of the time after re-entering his name he does not battel, this appears to be an early case of 'keeping the name on the books.' (Cp. the case of Edwin Sandys above, p. 434.) He was created M.A. on July 31, 1731. ¹⁶ R. Bingham, though he resided some time, seems never to have been matriculated before the University. ¹⁷ M.P. for Andover.

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| 1721. Tho. Aston ¹ . | 1729. Jeremias Milles. <pp. |
| 1722. Hen. Bland. | 282-3 > |
| 1723. Gul. Wynne. | 1730. Edm. Gibson. |
| Edm. Chamberlayne. | Ludovicus Buckle. |
| 1724. Gul. Morice ² (al. Mor- | 1731. Franc. Drewe. |
| ris), Bart. fil. | 1732. Joh. Lowe. |
| 1725. Joh. Anstis. | Hen. Seymer. |
| Edwd. Mellish. | 1733. Swayne Harbin. |
| 1726. Joh. Honywood. | 1734. Jac. Newton |
| 1727. Rob. Goddard Adams. | 1735. Tho. Head. |
| 1727. Rob. Hoblyn. | 1736. Edwd. Sacheverell Pole. |
| Talbot Williamson. | <See Foster.> |
| Joh. Symons. | 1737. Tho. Clavering. |
| 1728. Chris. Buckle. | 1737. Hon. Joh. Chetwynd. |
- The Buttery Book for 1737-8 is missing. At the beginning of the next book, Oct., 1738, there occurs the name 'Master,' who must be Legh Master, matr. Dec. 16, 1737, as Streynsham Master was a Scholar.
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|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1739. Rob. Snablin. | 1752. Joh. Lloyd. |
| Geo. Clavering, Bart. fil. | Car. Franc. Forster. |
| 1740. Gul. Fenwick. | 1753. Geo. Mason ³ . |
| 1741. Rob. Henley. | 1755. Wm. Hasell. |
| Gul. Davison. | Joh. Wilkinson. |
| Gul. Lemon. | 1756. Herb. Randolph. |
| Pet. Henley. | 1757. Winchcombe Henricus |
| 1742. Pat. Leigh | Hartley ⁴ . |
| 1743. Joh. Fenwick. | Franc. Rose Drewe. |
| 1743. Tho. Hall. | 1758. Tho. Rose Drewe. |
| 1744. Ric. Leigh ⁵ . | 1759. Joh. Pollen ⁶ . |
| 1744. Tho. Worsley ⁷ . | Paulus Methuen. |
| 1746. Tho. Clennell. | Wm. Alder. |
| 1747. Hon. Gul. Ric. Chetwynd. | 1760. Chris. Buckle. |
| 1747. David Hartley. <pp. | 1761. Ric. Lovell Edgeworth. |
| 282-3.> | <pp. 292-3.> |
| 1748. Ashton Lever. <p. 283.> | 1762. Mich. Terry. |
| 1748. Tho. Patten. | 1764. Tho. Day. <p. 292.> |
| 1749. Joh. Bulteel. | Tho. Sheppard. |
| Sam. Clarke. | 1767. Edwd. Drewe. |
| Gul. Soresby. | Joh. Tattersall. |
| 1750. Gul. Honywood. | Gul. Windsor Fitz- |
| Joh. Estridge. | Thomas |
| 1751. Hen. Campion. | 1768. Rog. Cole. |
| 1752. Gul. Deedes. | Ric. Worsley ⁸ . |

¹ 4th Baronet. M.P. ² 3rd Baronet. M.P. for Launceston. p. 78. ³ King's Sergeant. M.P. for East Loos. ⁴ 6th Baronet. ⁵ The Buttery Book for 1752-3 is missing, but this admission is recovered from the Acts of C.C. and the Univ. Matric. Book. ⁶ M.P. for Berkshire. ⁷ 1st Baronet. ⁸ 7th Baronet. P.C. M.P. for Newport, I. W. Governor of Isle of Wight (p. 292).

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| 1769. Rob. Gooden. | 1787. Ric. Lewen Glyn. |
| 1770. Jac. Fisher. | Geo. Purefoy <Jer- |
| Sam. Jackson. | voise>. |
| 1771. Lascelles Iremonger. | 1788. Sam. Clarke ¹¹ . |
| Joh. Berkeley Burland. | 1789. Franc. Tho. Hayter. |
| Car. Coxe. | Joh. Sampson. |
| 1772. Elisha Biscoe. | 1790. Jac. Vere. |
| 1773. Joh. Culliford Goodden. | Gul. Joh. Champion. |
| 1774. Mich. Angelo Taylor ¹ . | 1791. Car. Gul. Wall. |
| 1775. Franc. Woodhouse. | Geo. Langton. |
| Joh. Honywood ² . | Gul. Hunt ¹² . |
| Gul. Lyd(d)on. | 1792. Hon. Car. Jac. Stewart. |
| 1776. Sir Joh. Pole ³ . | <pp. 304-5.> |
| 1777. Wyndham Goodden. | Dugdale Stratford |
| 1778. Joh. Estridge. | Geast ¹³ . |
| Joh. Sommers Cocks ⁴ . | Hen. Woodward. |
| Dan. Steph. Olivier. | 1793. Rob. French. |
| Hon. Edwd. Bouverie ⁵ . | Tho. Grimstone Est- |
| Joh. Newcombe. | court. <p. 305.> |
| 1779. Oliv. Peard. | 1794. Joh. Wilmer Field. |
| 1780. Gul. Deedes. | 1795. Tho. Goddard ¹⁴ . |
| 1781. Gul. Tho. Hanham | Abel Joh. Ram. |
| <Bart.> ⁶ . | 1797. Præhon. Joh. Hamilton |
| 1782. Pet. Brooke. | Fitzmaurice, Vice- |
| 1783. Joh. Preston. | comes Kirkwall ¹⁵ . |
| Pet. Patten ⁷ . Lanc. | Geo. Tho. Chamber- |
| Tho. Strangways Hor- | laine. |
| ner. | Car. Raby. |
| 1784. Hon. Franc. Mathew ⁸ . | Dan. Jac. Webb. |
| 1785. Franc. Buller Yarde ⁹ . | Phil. Stanhope Smelt. |
| 1786. Geo. Cookes. | 1798. Joh. Pigott. |
| Hen. Gul. Martin ¹⁰ . | 1799. Granvill Hastings |
| 1787. Pet. Vere. | Wheler. |

¹ M.P. for Durham and other places.
6th Baronet. M.P. for West Looe.

² ? 4th Baronet.

³ Or De la Pole.

⁴ First Earl Somers. He matriculated from St. Alban Hall four months before his admission at Corpus. From other cases, similar to this, which occurred about the same period, it would seem as if the Gentlemen-Commoners of Corpus (who were limited in number) were sometimes temporarily accommodated at St. Alban Hall. Cp. a similar case in reference to St. Mary Hall, p. 435, above.

⁵ Mr. Bouverie was a cousin, once removed, of Dr. Pusey. He gave the iron gate, leading into the garden, in 1782. M.P. for Downton.

⁶ 5th Baronet. Patten-Bold. M.P. for Newton, Lancaster, and Malmesbury.

⁷ Afterwards

of Llandaff. K.P. M.P. for co. Tipperary.

⁸ 2nd Earl

Totnes.

¹⁰ 2nd Baronet.

¹¹ Afterwards Sir S. C. Jervoise.

^{1st} Baronet.

¹² Prinne is affixed to this name in the list prefixed to the Acta of 1783 &c., though not in the entry, in that book, made at the time of his admission.

¹³ Afterwards Dugdale. M.P. 1802-31.

¹⁴ M.P. for Cricklade.

¹⁵ M.P. for

Heytesbury and Denbigh.

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|--|---|
| 1800. Joh. Barton Willis ¹ .
Hon. Joh. Gul. Ward ² .
Conyngsby Sibthorp ³ .
Hen. Seymer. | 1817. Wm. Tritton.
Jas. Winter Scott ¹¹ . |
| 1801. Edm. Wodehouse ⁴ . | 1818. Jas. Wm. Wall.
Joh. Henniker. |
| 1802. Henry Drummond
Home ⁵ . | 1819. Edwd. Bolton King ¹² .
Hugh Usher Tighe.
(p. 305.)
Edwyn Bosanquet. |
| 1803. Sam. Tyssen. | 1821. Rob. Guy Evered
Jervoise Clarke Jer-
voise ¹³ . |
| 1804. Hen. Skrine.
Francis Rob Bonham. | Geo. Franc. Rowley
Johnstone. |
| 1805. Fred. Doveton.
Wm. Gore Langton. | 1822. Jos. Laing.
Joh. Harvey.
Ric. Smith Kay. |
| 1806. Wm. Popplewell Bill-
ingham Johnson.
Hen. Powney Isherwood | 1823. Harry Mainwaring ¹⁴ .
Rowland Warburton.
Joh. Nicholas Gell. |
| 1807. Addison Joh. Easterby
(aft. Cresswell). | 1824. Art. Kelly.
Ed. Ant. Holden.
Edwd. Simpson ¹⁵ . |
| 1808. Chas. Cumming ⁶ .
Joh. Campbell Fisher. | Hon. Joh. Arbuthnott ¹⁶ . |
| 1809. Steph. Oakley Attlay. | 1825. Tho. Oliver Gascoigne
(sen.). |
| 1810. Hen. Joh. Burlton.
Armitage Gaussen.
Joh. Peregrine Lascel-
les Fenwick. | Ric. Silver Oliver Gas-
coigne (jun.).
Sam. Clarke Jervoise.
Wm. Young
Wm. Thornhill.
A. Browne ¹⁷ .
Tho. Kelly. |
| 1811. Edwd. Archer.
Sir Chris. Willoughby,
Bart.
Hen. Bosanquet. | Ben. Holme Wiggan.
Rob. Blagdon Hole.
Jas. Meiklam.
Pet. Dav. Latouche.
Geo. Burdett.
Wm. Barlow Smythe |
| 1812. Geo. Pellew ⁷ .
Joh. Stockdale. | 1827. Hen. Carew. |
| 1813. Joh. Pet. Perring.
Geo. Idle. | |
| 1814. Geo. Barons Northcote.
Hon. Tho. Moreton Fitz-
hardinge Berkeley ⁸ .
Wm. Deedes ⁹ . | |
| 1815. Joh. Vere.
John Gooden.
Chris. Sidney Smith ¹⁰ . | |

¹ Afterwards Willis-Fleming. M.P. for Hants. ² 1st Earl of Dudley. Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs, 1827. ³ M.P. for Lincoln. ⁴ M.P. for Norfolk. ⁵ M.P. for Stirlingshire and Perthshire. ⁶ M.P. for Inverness Burghs. ⁷ Afterwards Hon. G. F. Dean of Norwich. ⁸ *De jure* Earl of Berkeley, but declined to take the title (p. 305). ⁹ Fellow of All Souls. M.P. for East Kent. ¹⁰ 7th Baronet. ¹¹ M.P. for North Hants. ¹² M.P. for Warwick. ¹³ 2nd Baronet. M.P. for South Hampshire. ¹⁴ 2nd Baronet. ¹⁵ Assumed name of Hicks. M.P. for Cambridge. ¹⁶ 9th Viscount Arbuthnott. ¹⁷ It is curious that the Christian name is nowhere given in full.

1827.	Wm. Sandys Sandys.	1839.	Joh. Bransby Purnell.
1828.	Tho. Carew.	1840.	Raymond Blomefield Holt.
	Hen. Vane Russell.		Rob. Gregory ³ .
	Jonas Brooke	1841.	Ric. Joh. Chas. Rivers Ker.
	Wm. Musters Musters.		Tho. Daniel Daniel.
1829.	Mich. Hughes.	1842.	Fred. Savile Lumley.
	Meyrick Bankes.		Jas. Best.
	Wm. Heather Norrie.	1843.	Wm. Aug. Commerel.
	Aug. Campbell.	1844.	Jas. Hulkes.
	Matt. Burrell.		Wm. Louis Parry.
1830.	Hen. O'Reilley Hoey ¹ .	1845.	Hen. Boddington Webster.
	Jas. Beach.		Joh. Collingwood.
	Joh. Bainbridge Story.	1846.	Geo. Trafford Heald.
1831.	Wm. Meiklem.		Rob. Dimsdale ⁴ .
1832.	Edwd. Simpson.		Wm. Tenison.
	Phil. Perceval.	1847.	Aug. Wm. Savile Lumley.
1833.	Joseph Hen. Bennett.		Wm. Edwd. Oakeley.
	Wm. Randall.		Fulbert Archer.
1834.	Joh. Robinson Forster.	1848.	Edwd. Perceval Westby.
	Hen. Wm. Dashwood ² .	1849.	Drury Curzon Lowe ⁵ .
1835.	Chas. Knox.		
1836.	Joh. Tho. Betts.		
	Jas. Cruikshank Dansey.		
1839.	Chas. Wm. Gordon.		

¹ So entered in Buttery Book and Matriculation Book. In the Acts of C.C.C., kept by the President, the Christian names are entered (doubtless wrongly) as J. Okeille. ² 5th Baronet. Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire. ³ Dean of St. Paul's. ⁴ Baron Dimsdale. Formerly M.P. for North Herts. ⁵ Now Major-General Sir Drury Curzon Drury Lowe, K.C.B. He served in the Crimean, Indian, Zulu, Boer, and Egyptian wars. For his conduct in the last war, including his march on Cairo and the capture of Arabi, he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. Sir Drury Lowe was the last Gentleman-Commoner admitted.

LIST OF COMMONERS FROM 1851.

At a College Meeting held on Feb. 20, 1851 (see p. 321), it was resolved to discontinue the reception of Gentlemen-Commoners, and to receive ordinary Commoners, no longer confining the number within any fixed limit.

The following is the list of Commoners down to the present time:—

COMMONERS.

Chas. Young. 1851.	Ric. Foster. 1855.
+ Joh. Reynolds O'Neil. 1851.	Geo. Wm. Holdsworth. 1855.
Geo. Baden Crawley. 1851.	Joh. Warnford Hools. 1855.
Steph. Dowell ¹ . 1851.	Rob. Hen. Kinchant. 1855.
Edwd. Wm. Northey. 1851.	+ Lewis Pugh Evans ² . 1855.
Alex. Patrick Law. 1851.	Hen. Bramston. 1855.
Hen. Leigh Bennett. 1852.	Joh. Ferdinando Collins. 1855.
Wm. Joh. Swayne. 1852.	Joh. Jas. Coxhead. 1855.
+ Chas. Thos. Arnold. 1852.	Sam. Shering Keddle. 1856.
Walt. Hugh Erle Welby. 1852.	Esdaile Lovell Lovell. 1856.
Jemmett Browne. 1852.	Hen. Ernest Browne. 1856.
Edmd. Forster Drummond	Walt. Yeldham. 1856.
Hutton. 1852.	Wm. Bailhe Skene ³ . 1856.
Ambrose Sneyd Cave Browne	Edwd. Baldwin Malet ⁴ . 1856.
Cave. 1852.	+ Chas. Wm. Penny. 1856.
Jas. Aug. Lockhart. 1852.	Fred. Hornby Birley. 1856.
Wm. Spencer Ollivant. 1853.	Hen. Jephson Mello. 1856.
Chas. Hen. Newbatt. 1853.	Edwd. Montague Earle Welby ⁵ .
Hen. Tubal Hole. 1853.	1856.
Wm. Ramsey. 1853.	Phil. Snaith Duval. 1856.
Hen. Rudd. 1853.	Joh. Wm. Woods. 1856.
Wm. Ric. Morfill ⁶ . 1853.	Joh. North Buckmaster. 1856.
Joh. Lindsay Johnston. 1853.	Ric. Harold Bush. 1856.
Jas. Tate. 1854.	Edwd. Cecil Coney. 1857.
Tho. Graham Jackson ⁷ . 1854.	Geo. Elwin. 1857.
Jos. May Ward. 1854.	Fred. Joh. Young. 1857.
Ric. Martin. 1854.	Tho. Kennett Were. 1857.
Tho. Auriol Robinson. 1854.	Joh. Hunter Smith. 1857.
Joh. Gordon Kennedy ⁸ . 1854.	Fred. Barnes. 1857.
Alf. Tilleman Browne. 1854.	Ric. Hampson Joynson. 1857.
Rob. H. Otter. 1854.	Wm. Francis Prideaux. 1858.
Wyndham Chas. H. H. D'Aeth.	Wm. Arnold Matthews. 1858.
1855.	Wm. Sidney Harrison. 1858.
+ Wm. Chris. Evans. 1855.	Hen. Hopkins. 1858.
Edwd. Pears Wilson. 1855.	Joh. Jas. Evans. 1858.

+ Subsequently Exhibitioner

¹ Assistant Solicitor to the Inland Revenue

² Scholar of Oriel, University Reader in Russian. ³ Scholar, Fellow, and Hon.

Fellow of Wadham p. 329.

⁴ British Minister to the Republic of Chile

⁵ Formerly M.P. for Cardiganshire

Now Lewis Pugh Pugh

⁶ Fellow of

All Souls; Senior Student of Ch. Ch.

⁷ British Ambassador at Berlin. G.C.B.

⁸ Stipendiary Magistrate at Sheffield.

Harrison Falkner Blair¹. 1858.
 † **Joh. Wm. Colvin**. 1858.
Edwd. Sidgwick. 1858.
Walt. Alers Hankey. 1858.
 † **Osborne Bubb**. 1858.
 † **Alf. Tho. Barton**². 1859.
Chas. Fras. Thornehill. 1859.
Fred. Latour Mason. 1859.
Clement Alford. 1859.
Tho. Robins Bolitho. 1859.
Chas. Burney. 1859.
Joh. Hen. Copleston. 1859.
Cæsar Ric. Hawkins. 1859.
Chas. Barnes. 1859.
Hugh Geo. Bourne. 1859.
Cecil Fred. Bourke. 1860.
Wm. Tho. Church. 1860.
Franc. Porter Beachcroft³.
 1860.
 † **Herb. Aug. Strong**. 1860.
 † **Wm. Albert Darent Harri-**
son. 1860.
David Pugh Jones Evans. 1860.
Chas. Steph. Turner. 1861.
Chas. Jas. Manning. 1861.
Wm. Joh. Courthope⁴. 1861.
Tho. Taylor. 1861.
Marmaduke Athorpe. 1861.
Fred. Fox Lambert. 1861.
Joh. Arnell Creed. 1861.
Joh. Wm. Haygarth. 1861.
Oswald Mangin Holden. 1861.
Fred. Wm. Willis. 1861.
Franc. Thirkill White. 1862.
Franc. Edwd. Hall. 1862.
Chas. Clem. Webster. 1862.
Hen. Owen. 1862.
Abel Joh. Ram. 1861.
Franc. Wm. Caulfield. 1862.
Hen. Walt. More Molyneux.
 1862.
Louis Geo. Mylne⁵. 1862.
Jas. Crofts Ingram. 1862.
Edwd. Isaac Sparks. 1862.

Geo. Sidney Streatfield. 1862.
Chas. Morris. 1862.
Geo. Boileau Reid. 1862.
Hen. Walt. Miller. 1862.
Rob. Barker. 1862.
Geo. Barrington Baker. 1863.
Joh. Eltham Mylne. 1863.
Jas. Du Pré. 1863.
Rob. Seymour Bridges. 1863.
Art. Gibb Symonds. 1863.
Jas. Hume Norris. 1863.
Hilgrove Coxe. 1864.
Chas. Tilton Digby. 1864.
Donald Mackenzie. 1864.
Willingham Franklin Rawns-
ley. 1864.
Fred. Vernon Bussell. 1865.
Herb. Hall Woodward. 1865.
Jasper Alex. Redgrave. 1865.
Walt. Kerchival Hilton. 1865.
Edwd. Joh. Cunningham. 1865.
Hen. Richardson. 1865.
Rob. Bickersteth. 1865.
Wm. Jas. Brooks. 1865.
Edwd. Rob. Phelps. 1865.
Walt. Hamilton Acland Jacob-
son. 1865.
Joh. Hen. Crawford. 1865.
Chas. Prestwich Scott. 1865.
Franc. Jas. Chavasse. 1865.
Wm. Wilbraham Ford. 1865.
Chas. Joh. Scott Churchill. 1865.
D'Arcy Bedingfield Collyer.
 1865.
Chris. Childs⁶. 1866.
Edwd. Joh. Eveleigh Wynd-
ham. 1866.
And. Mitchell Mackenzie. 1866.
Tho. Pateshall Monnington.
 1866.
Alf. Gardiner Hastings. 1866.
Hen. Jardine Bidder⁷. 1866.
Wm. Edwd. Goschen⁸. 1866.
Anth. Surtees. 1867.

¹ Judge of the High Court, N. W. Provinces of India.

² Scholar of Exeter.

of Bombay, 1877.

Fellow of St. John's.

⁴ Exhibitioner, New College.

⁶ Jackson Scholar of Merton.

⁸ Sec. of Legation at Lisbon.

² Fellow of Pembroke.

⁵ Tutor of Keble. bp.

⁷ Scholar of University.

- Hen. Temple Pears. 1867.
 Franc. Ambrose Gregory. 1867.
 Ern. Edwd. Leigh Bennett.
 1868.
 Ern. Hen. Jacob. 1868.
 Geo. Mallows Freeman. 1868.
 Algernon Digby. 1868.
 Joh. Graham. 1868.
 Fred. Hen. Maitland. 1868.
 Edwd. Hugh Moberly. 1868.
 Jas. Taylor Soutter. 1868.
 Tonmaa Mosley. 1868.
 † Wm. Hawks Longridge. 1868.
 Ern. Wm. Enfield. 1868.
 Bulmer Howell. 1869.
 Geo. Watson Neish. 1869.
 Jas. Edwd. Walker. 1869.
 Chas. Wm. Heald. 1869.
 Fred. Foote Cutler. 1869.
 † Geo. Bowyer Vaux. 1869.
 Harold Baird Carlyon. 1869.
 Wm. Richardson Linton. 1869.
 Jas. Hen. Davies. 1869.
 Rob. Leach. 1869.
 Neville Young Birkmyre. 1869.
 Hen. Lowe. 1870.
 † Franc. Reynolds Yonge Radcliffe¹. 1870.
 Gerald Edwd. Maude. 1870.
 Joh. Edwd. Melhuish². 1870.
 Vivian Eccles Skrine. 1870.
 † Chas. Hen. Lomax. 1870.
 Franc. Hindes Groome³. 1870.
 Joh. Warren Barry. 1870.
 Edwd. Vincent Eyre. 1870.
 Walt. Aubrey Kidd. 1870.
 Edwd. Beauchamp Nelson.
 1870.
 Stacey Southernden Burn. 1870.
 † Nevil Masterman. 1870.
 Wm. Cabell Rives. 1870.
 Joh. Franc. Waggett. 1870.
 † Dan. Vawdrey. 1871.
 † Rob. Harry Monroe Elwes.
 1871.
 Wm. Hen. Peake. 1871.
 Wm. Morrice. 1871.
 Jas. Edwd. Lestrangle Dawson.
 1871.
 Alex. Macgregor. 1871.
 Wm. Ern. Russell. 1871.
 Jos. Solomon⁴. 1871.
 † Art. Caynton Radcliffe. 1872.
 Walt. Otto Goldschmidt. 1872.
 Hen. Seton-Karr⁵. 1872.
 Wm. Anstee. 1872.
 Edwin Art. Russell. 1872.
 † Art. Wm. Rivington. 1872.
 Joh. Stewart Baird. 1872.
 Franc. Rob. Mercer. 1872.
 Franc. Roger Hodgson⁶. 1873.
 Rob. Hen. Hill. 1873.
 † Hugh Edwd. Egerton. 1873.
 Howell Wills. 1873.
 Gibbs Payne Crawford. 1873.
 Hen. Bowles. 1873.
 Holcombe Ingleby. 1873.
 Atherton Gwilym Rawstorne.
 1873.
 Jas. Bagnall Bagnall Oakeley.
 1873.
 * Chas. Wm. Browning. 1874.
 * Wm. Hen. Herb. Curtler. 1874.
 Douglass Harry Coghill⁷. 1874.
 Herb. Joh. Butler Hollings.
 1874.
 † Hen. Campbell Jenkins. 1874.
 Louis Rob. Meredith Maxwell.
 1874.
 † Stanley Edwd. Lane Poole.
 1874.
 Sam. Edwd. Valpy Filleul. 1874.
 Hugh Vaughan Pears. 1875.
 Tho. Davy Hamilton Foster.
 1875.
 Geo. St. John Mildmay. 1875.
 Franc. Rob. Abingdon Hamilton.
 1875.
 Wm. Dalrymple Fanshawe⁸.
 1875.

¹ Fellow of All Souls.
Merton.

² Scholar of Balliol
of Zanzibar

³ Subsequently Scholar.
under Lyme.

⁴ Scholar of Wadham.

⁵ M.P. for St. Helen's.

⁶ Formerly M.P. for Newcastle

⁷ Archdeacon

⁸ Scholar of Trinity.

- Fred. Edwd. Whitter Langdon 1875.
 Wm. Geo Thistle¹. 1875.
 Jas. Ritchie. 1875.
 † Sidney Smith. 1875.
 Joh Mytton Thornycroft. 1875.
 Art. Wm. Woolcombe Gordon. 1876.
 Ern. Murray Blackburn. 1876.
 Joh Turner. 1876.
 Hen. St. Clair Fielden. 1876.
 Edwd. Aug. Arnold². 1876.
 † Joh. Kirkpatrick Young. 1876.
 Art. Duff. 1876.
 Rob. Ellis Cunliffe. 1876.
 Rob. Weston Cracroft³. 1876.
 Malcolm Heard. 1876.
 Chas Wm Hunt. 1876.
 † Art. Ant. Macdonell. 1876.
 Rob. Marshall Middleton. 1876.
 † Chas Jas. Billson. 1877.
 Edwd. Foley Evans. 1877.
 Wm. Hen. Buckland. 1877.
 Franc. Hen. Toovey Hawley. 1877.
 Edwd Wyndham Hulme. 1877.
 † Chas. Hen. Malcolm Kerr. 1877.
 † Geo Anth. King. 1877.
 Walt Joh. Napier. 1877.
 † Syd. Haldane Olivier. 1877.
 Art. Hill Trevor. 1877.
 † Frank Ern. Ward. 1877.
 Horatio Gordon Hutchinson. 1878.
 Joh. Pratt. 1878.
 † Art. Newton Streatfeild. 1878.
 Geo. Patrick Chas. Lawrence. 1878.
 Reg. Digby Curtler. 1878.
 Walt. Jas. Haines. 1878.
 † Edwd. Franklin Simpkinson. 1878.
 Alf. Burrows. 1878.
 Geo Herb. Clark. 1878.
 Hen. Franc Cockburn 1878.
 Joh. Highfield Leigh. 1878.
 Joh Harbottle Nicholson 1878.
 Gerard Saltren Rogers 1878.
 † Chas. Herb. Tylee. 1878.
 † Wm. Hen. Edwd. Worship. 1879.
 Harry Northcote Eales. 1879.
 Chas Hubert Payne Crawford. 1879.
 Wm. Cope. 1879.
 † Ern. Campbell Lowndes. 1879.
 Argent Simmons. 1879.
 Gustav Adolph Bienemann⁴. 1879.
 Hen. Biddulph Bush. 1879.
 † Joh Hen Roskill. 1879.
 Edwd. Chandos Cholmondeley. 1879.
 † Art. Adams. 1879.
 Wm. Joh. Newton. 1879.
 Ern. Edwd. Keep. 1879.
 Herb. Geo. Underhill. 1879.
 † Thos. Wm. Carr. 1880.
 Joh. Theodore Rogers. 1880.
 Chas Beard Hatfield Harter. 1880.
 Rob. Walton Williams Wilson. 1880.
 Leonard Green. 1880.
 Art. Dyson Williams. 1880.
 Chas. Tho. Campion⁴. 1880.
 Langham Carter. 1880.
 Ric. Ackerley. 1880.
 Jas. Cole Thorpe. 1880.
 Art. Assheton Ethelston. 1881.
 Ern. Wollaston Silver. 1881.
 Fred Septimus Myrtle. 1881.
 Jas. Franc. Hastings. 1881.
 Geo. Harold Lewis. 1881.
 † Alex. Macdonald. 1881.
 Alex. Edmund Fraser. 1881.
 † Geo. Williamson Wallace. 1881.

¹ Scholar of Brasenose
⁴ Scholar of Oriel.

² Scholar of Hertford

³ Exhibitioner of Oriel.

- Joh. Singleton Clemons. 1881.
 Herb Andrews Powell. 1881.
 Gerald Fred. Hornby. 1881.
 Wm Manning Sproston Sproston. 1882.
 Chas. Walt. Dunne. 1882.
 Franc Wm. Crailsheim. 1882.
 Joh. Newton Beach. 1882.
 Godfrey Mosley. 1882.
 Geo Kendall Hext. 1882.
 † Ben. Mich. Connal. 1882.
 Thos Birkett Brown. 1882.
 Wm. Castlehow. 1882.
 Tho. Norman Arkell. 1882.
 Joh. Tho. Mitchell. 1882.
 Jas. Edwd. Michell. 1882.
 Tho Mountford Burnett. 1882.
 Clem. Wm Haslewood Griffith. 1883.
 Eversfield Fraser Keerl. 1883.
 † Geo. Hen. Baker. 1883.
 Basil Harrington Soulsby. 1883.
 Geo. Ben. Behrens. 1883.
 Percy Smith. 1883.
 Steph Glynne Williams. 1883.
 Percy Scott Worthington. 1883.
 Randle Fynes Wilson Holme. 1883.
 Harry Brook. 1883.
 Edwd. Jas. Morgan Chaplin. 1883.
 Wm. Jas. King. 1883.
 Loftus Meade Owen. 1883.
 Edwd. Franc. Riddell. 1883.
 Wm. Hen. Savigny. 1884.
 † Edwd. Stanhope Rashleigh. 1884.
 Wm. Hen. Ellice. 1884.
 Edwd. Oskar Schneider. 1884.
 Jos. Percy Thomasin Foster. 1884.
 Joh. Hen. Herb. Copleston. 1884.
 Leonard Cooper. 1884.
 Lewis Pugh Evans Pugh. 1884.
 Hubert Seymour Arkwright. 1884.
 Art. Edwd. Townshend. 1884.
 † Joh. Mere Latham. 1885.
 Joh. Sanders Watney. 1885.
 Joh. Gorges Robinson. 1885.
 Kenneth Edwd. Milliken. 1885.
 Geo. Allan Duncan. 1885.
 Louis Hilary Shore-Smith. 1885.
 Chas. Hampton Weekes. 1885.
 Joh. Croydon Caldicott. 1885.
 Joh. Chapman Andrew. 1885.
 Sidney Beckwith. 1885.
 Ralph Courtenay Guy¹. 1885.
 Chas. Sibbald Currie¹. 1885.
 † Leonard Hamilton White. 1885.
 Chas. Hen. Turner. 1886.
 Arth. Hen. Caldicott. 1886.
 Herb. Lyon. 1886.
 Guy Tudor Charlesworth. 1886.
 Wilfrid Seymour Tupholme. 1886.
 Wm. Edwd. James. 1886.
 Joh. Hugh Honeywood Allen. 1886.
 Wm. Russell. 1886.
 Phil Jas. Ellis. 1886.
 Edwd. Lethbridge Kingsford. 1886.
 Jas. Marshall Easton. 1886.
 Franc. Herb. Mowatt. 1886.
 Chas. Hen. Bramley Firth. 1886.
 Hen. Edm. Lavallin Puxley. 1886.
 Tho. Harrison. 1886.
 Duncan Albert Muntz. 1886.
 Edwd. Art. Lamprill. 1886.
 Rob. Wallis Hunt. 1887.
 Franc. Fretz Southby. 1887.
 Hen. Sigismund Schwann. 1887.

¹ Scholar of Hertford² Scholar of Brasenose

Fred. Joh. Nettlefold. 1887.
 Art. Louis Todhunter. 1887.
 Wm. Alex. Ramsay. 1887.
 Evan Bowen Jones. 1887.
 Franc. Gordon Young. 1887.
 Leonard Hughes. 1887.
 Fred. Grueber Thorne. 1887.
 Geo. Herb. Oakshott. 1887.
 Herbert Newton Wethered.
 1888.
 Reg. Wm. Lund. 1888.
 Alf. Leigh Briscoe. 1888.
 Walt. Francis. 1888.
 Wm. Egerton. 1888.
 Arnold Thewlis Thompson.
 1888.
 †Rob. Leslie Dunbabin. 1888.
 Alan De Lancy Curwen. 1889.
 Edwd. Everard Earle Welby.
 1889.
 Leslie Fraser Standish Hore.
 1889.
 Edwd. Thornton Hill Lawes.
 1889.
 Ric. Eden St. Aubyn Ark-
 wright. 1889.
 Harry Grant Thorold. 1889.
 Isaac Sparrow. 1889.
 Art. Chas. Gates. 1889.
 Cecil Edwd. Weigall. 1889.
 Wm. Ferdinand Kirton. 1889.

Fred. Earle d'Anyers Willis.
 1889.
 Sidney Jos. Lowenthal. 1890.
 Edwd. Nares Henning. 1890.
 Art. Watson Smith. 1890.
 Fred. Joh. Speke. 1890.
 Andrew Johnstone Fyfe. 1890.
 Adalbert Emil Aug. Wahl. 1890.
 Ern. Wynn-Williams. 1890.
 David Ambrose Jones. 1890.
 Chas. Vesey Hives. 1890.
 Jas. Bellord Waldron. 1890.
 Geo. Erskine Jackson. 1891.
 Fred. Monro Raikes. 1891.
 Rob. Furley Callaway. 1891.
 Joh. Larden Williams. 1891.
 Hen. Lloyd Arnould. 1891.
 Cecil Bolton Caldicott. 1891.
 Ric. Staines Arrowsmith. 1891.
 Carrick Ransome Deakin. 1891.
 Evelyn d'Anyers Willis. 1892.
 Chas. Fred. Maitland Maxwell.
 1892.
 Rob. de Mowbray Matterson.
 1892.
 Reg. Franc. Wilson. 1892.
 Steph. Verner Purcell. 1892.
 Hen. Noel Winterbotham.
 1892.
 Fred. Wm. Worsey. 1892.
 Bruno Geoffrey Clauss. 1892.

MASTERS OF ARTS INCORPORATED.

1882. Alfred Allinson Bourne, M.A., St. John's Coll., Cambridge.
 1886. John Massie, M.A., St. John's Coll., Cambridge.

STUDENTS NOT ALREADY NOTICED.

List of persons known to have been members of C.C.C., but whose names do not occur, as students, in the Registers, Buttery Books, or Fulman's Lists.

Robert Furaglove (p. 87). A.W. Ath., and inscription in Tideswell Church, Derbyshire. d. 1579.

(**Nicholas Wadham**, d. 1609, *supposed*. See pp. 101, 2.)

Edward Somerset, K.G., fourth Earl of Worcester. See p. 156.

Higfords, father and grandfather of Wm. Higford. Comm. 1596. p. 156.

Edward Rainbow, Bp. of Carlisle. p. 184.

The above names occur neither in the College nor in the University Books.

The following occur in the Matriculation Registers, but not in any of the official College Books or Fulman's Lists.

156½ (from list¹ of 62 members of the College at that date, including Servants)—

Sam. Becke . Probably Chorister.	Alan Brooks . Prob. Commoner.
Joh. Browne . Prob. Commoner.	Ric. Greneway . Prob. Commoner.
Tho. Haddon . Prob. Commoner.	

After the eight Famuli Collegii probably come three Servitors, namely:

Thomas Wethered. John Bartley. Richard Ambrose.

1578. **George Lysiman**. Dantiscanus Borussusque.

?1581. **Rob. Allatte**². g.f. (?same as Robert Allott. Disc. 1576.)

1581. **Ric. Fowlar**. g. f.

1581. **Lovelace Mercer**. g. f.

Ric. Heydon. pl. f.

Hen. Segrave. pl. f.

Renold (Reg.) Brian. pl. f.

Franc. Burrowes. pl. f.

Rob. Harland. pl. f.

¹ For the names taken from this List and from the Matriculation Registers down to 1622, see Clark's Register, vol. II part II, Oxf Hist Soc, 1887. The remaining names have been copied by myself from the Matriculation Registers.

² I have retained the designation of condition which is almost invariably a portion of the entry in the Matriculation Books, as e.g. pl. f., cler. f., gen. f., arm. f., &c. These designations are useful as determining the probable status in the College of the person to whose name they are affixed. Thus a gentleman-commoner would certainly not be pl. f. or paup. f., and probably only very rarely cler. f. A Clerk or Chorister would probably never be arm. f. On the other hand, probably almost all those students who are designated paup. or paup. f., several of those designated pl. f., and possibly even a few of those designated cler. f., were Servitors, or more rarely 'famuli Collegii'. Many of the names are probably those of 'Battlers,' a class of students whose names would not occur in any of the official Books (though they probably always appeared in the less formal Battel Books), and whose status in the College was probably intermediate between that of the Scholars and Servitors. Cp. pp. 159-60, 279-80. Of course, no names of Scholars or Fellows occur in this list, as there is a complete record of them in the College Registers.

1581. Joh. Middleton¹ pl. f.
 Dav. Jones. pl. f.
 Dudley Fitz-garret (or
 Garrette)². arm. f.
1582. Hen. Browne. g. f.
 Vincent Bryan. g. f.
 Joh. Fortescue. a. f.
 Barth. Sewarde. pl. f.
 Ric. Humphreys. cl. f.
1584. Chris. Winter. pl. f.
 Ric. Purifey. g. f.
1585. Augustine Sherborne.
 pl. f.
1586. Geoffry Culme. pl. f.
 Rob. Basalye (Baseyle).
 pl. f.
 Sam. Wallis. pl. f.
1587. Joh. Badcoke. pl. f.
 Simon Badcoke. pl. f.
 Rob. Blakeden. g. f.
1589. Edw. Keat. g. f.
1590. Joh. Marten. pl. f.
 Chas. Townsende. pl. f.
1591. Joh. Ridgway. a. f.
 Geo. Browne. pl. f.
 Tho. Browne. g. f.
 Gabriel Honifould. pl. f.
1594. Edw. Hayes. pl. f.
 Edm. Holcombe. pl. f.
 Jas. Collard. pl. f.
 Tho. Richardes. pl. f.
 Dav. Davies. pl. f.
1595. Joh. Everton. pl. f.
1596. Mich. Pindar. cl. f.
 Ric. Allin. pl. f.
 Ric. Todkill. pl. f.
 Hen. Horner. arm. f.
1597. Joh. Hammonde. pl. f.
 Rob. Orme. g. f.
 Joh. Mayowe. pl. f.
1598. Joh. Hooker. g. f.
 Hen. Hawker. g. f.
 Wm. Tegge. pl. f.
1601. Franc. Finch³. eq. f.
1602. Joh. Woollams (or Wil-
 liams). pl. f.
 Edw. Haines. pl. f.
 Tho. Martin. pl. f.
1604. Joh. Bishopp. cl. f.
 Ric. Stafford. arm. f.
 Ed. or Edm. Vaughan. pl. f.
 Phil. Markley. g. f.
1606. Hen. Dodd. cl. f.
1607. Rob. Davis. pl. f.
 Franc. Pettye. g. f.
 Harcourt Pettye. g. f.
1608. Nic. Richardson. g. f.
 Tho. Whittingham. g. f.
1609. Tho. Aston. g. f.
 Joh. Ruddle. pl. f.
 Franc. Ashby⁴. eq. f.
1610. Joh. Collins. pl. f.
 Wm. Francklin. pl. f.
 Wm. Hardinge. pl. f.
 Tho. Littlefeild. pl. f.
 Jos. Scryven. pl. f.
1611. Jas. Gundrye. pl. f. paup.
 sch.
 Jeremy Dobson. cl. f.
 Hen. Crosdaylle. cl. f.
1615. Tho. Willcox. pl. f.
 Hugh Berriman. pl. f.
 Edm. Coles. cl. f.
 Joh. Deynaunt. pl. f.
 Joh. Evans. pl. f.
 Ric. Facy. pl. f.
 Ric. Laughtenhouse. pl. f.
 Joh. Mason. pl. f.
 Wm. Okely. pl. f.
 Sam. Trolman. g. f.
 Tho. Watts. cl. f.
 Nathaniel Arundell. cl. f.
 Ric. Stringer. pl. f.
1616. Edw. Bampfælde. eq.
 aur. f.
 Rob. Kidwell. g. f.

¹ This John Middleton occurs in the Index at the end of vol. xi of the Fulman MSS., as 'Obsonator' or Manciple, 1582. ² ? M.P. for Bridport. F. ³ M.P. for Eye in four Parliaments. F. There is a Francis Finch, mentioned by Fulman, with the date 1609. Probably it was the same person as this, and the date may refer to some year in which he 'battede.' ⁴ Created Knight and Baronet.

1616. Ric. Daukin. pl. f.
 1617. Wm. Wilmotte. cl. f.
 1618. Rob. Baker. pl. f.
 Henech Stephens. cl. f.
 Rob. Mason. pl. f.
 1619. Rob. Hatton. cl. f.
 Joh. Dickenson. pl. f.
 Ric. Crosdale. pl. f.
 Leonard Dar(e). arm. f.
 Joh. Hawker. pl. f.
 Stephen Rose. pl. f.
 Rob. Williams. arm. f.
 1620. Geo. Hughes. pl. f.
 Joh. Robinson. cl. f.
 Ric. Robinson. cl. f.
 Wm. Ringe. pl. f.
 Ric. Evetta. pl. f.
 1621. Joh. Shute. pl. f.
 Edw. Cole. pl. f.
 Ric. Allen. doct. f.
 Wm. Barcroft. cl. f.
 Wm. Chidlowe. g. f.
 Tho. Swinnerton. pl. f.
 Joh. Burdon. pl. f.
 Ric. Shayler. pl. f.
 Ric. Willis. pl. f.
 Tho. Hill. pl. f.
 Edw. Isham¹. pl. f.
 1622. Phil. Pregon. g. f.
 1623. Joh. Carter. g. f.
 Geo. Woodcocks. g. f.
 Simeon Wrench. sacer.² f.
 Pet. Sainthill. pl. f.
 Joh. Rose. pl. f.
 Edw. Page. g. f.
 Tho. Bradford. sac. f. æt. 12.
 1624. Joh. Smith. pl. f.
 Clem. Johnson. manci-
 palia Coll. D. Jo. Bapt. f.
 Gul. Barksdale. pl. f.
 Gul. Halhed. pl. f.
 Tho. Bridgman. mil. f.
 1625. Joh. Turner. pl. f.
 Edm. Holford. pl. f.
 1626. Gul. Bisse. sac. f.
 Tho. Dundeaux. pl. f.
 Tho. Hughes. fil. Hu-
 gonis Lewis. pl.
 Gul. Hall. sac. f.
 Gul. Dudley. pl. f.
 Hen. Thompson. pl. f.
 Joh. Mullett. pl. f.
 Hen. Oxenden. arm. f.
 A. W. Ath.
 1627. Tho. Thurston. g. f.
 Joh. Facer. sac. f.
 Ant. Lucy. pl. f.
 Rob. Blackston. g. f.
 Jos. Barker. pl. f.³
 1628. Tho. Prior. pl. f.
 Gul. Chippendale. a. f.
 Car. Cox. arm. f.
 1631. Sam. Davison. arm. f.
 Geo. Clarke. pl. f.
 Hen. Newlyn. pl. f.
 Tho. Robins. pl. f.
 Rob. Bacon. pl. f.
 Joh. Longford. pl. f.
 Bamfeld Sydnham. g. f.
 Rob. Sandys. mil. f.
 Hen. Wrench. sac. f.
 Ed. Wells. pl. f.
 Ægid. Bingley. pl. f.
 1633. Geo. Fowler. pl. f.
 Franc. Anderson⁴. arm. f.
 1634. Ric. Potter. sac. f.
 Hen. Allen. pl. f.
 Pet. Cole. pl. f.
 Humf. Randall. pl. f.
 Gul. Platt. pl. f.
 Cutbert. Carre. arm. f.
 Ph. Malorie. decani f.
 Tho. Jackson. pl. f.
 Bart. Yeo. g. f.

¹ This is the last name taken from Clark's Register. From this point onwards I have extracted the names myself from the Matriculation Registers. ² It is curious to notice the introduction of the word *sacerdotes* instead of *clerici*. Presently, from the opposite side, we shall have *ministri*. ³ There are probably some omissions after this entry. The next page is left blank. ⁴ Sir F. A. M.P. for Newcastle on Tyne.

1634. Ric. Burney. g. f. A.W. Ath.
 Gul. Evans. fil. Evani Williams. pl. f.
 Pet. Elliott. sac. f.
 Joh. Pell. pl. f.
 Mich. Smyth. sac. f.
 Tho. Ashfield. pl. f.
 Nich. Fabian. pl. f.
 Edw. Browne. g. f.
 Joh. Stought. pl. f.
 Geo. Chandois. Baro de Castro Shudley¹.
 Ant. Dyott². arm. f.
 Edw. Darell. mil. f.
 Ric. Coldham. g. f.
 Hen. Ball. sac. f.
 Gul. Tray. pl. f.
 Gul. Lloyd. pl. f.
 Hen. Hopkins. pl. f.
 1635. Sam. Raymond. g. f.
 Tho. Sandys³. eq. f.
 Franc. Hodgson. pl. f.
 Tho. Clar(k)son. sac. f.
 Sam. Crumlum. sac. f.
 <p. 193.>
 Savage Grymes. pl. f.
 Gul. Martyn. g. f.
 Nic. Clarke. pl. f.
 Nic. Todd. g. f.
 Ant. Rudd. Bart. f.
 1636. Gul. Cartar. sac. f.
 Joh. Phelpes. pl. f.
 Jac. Jackson. pl. f.
 Gul. Webb. pl. f.
 Gul. Croft. pl. f.
 Gul. Bogan. g. f.
 1637. Gul. Masters. pl. f.
1637. Joh. Norton⁴. Bart. f.
 Gul. Burgenye. pl. f.
 Rob. Frampton. pl. f.
 <p. 193.> A.W. Ath.
 Joh. Trosse. sac. f.
 1638. Phil. Yate. pl. f.
 Geo. Blackaller. pl. f.
 Joh. Salvin. g. f.
 Gul. Bridges⁵. Baronis. f.
 Joh. Parkhurst. pl. f.
 1639. Geo. Sly. pl. f. æt. 12.
 Ric. Powell. pl. f.
 Rob. Greene. pl. f.
 Gualt. Gray. g. f.
 Joh. Coke. ep. Hereford f. æt. 27.
 Jonathan Archard. pl. f. p. p.⁶
 Sam. Morton. sac. f.
 Pet. Bunworth. pl. f. p. p.
 1640. Pet. Bradford. g. f.
 Nich. Harris. pl. f.
 Joh. Lenthall⁷. a. f.
 1641. Jac. Brockman. mil. f.
 1642. Hen. Munday. pl. f.
 Theod. Cary. g. f.
 Sam. Higginson. pl. f.
 Tho. Cooper. pl. f.
 Geo. Parsons. pl. f.
 Sam. Ladiman. pl. f. serv.
 1643. Rob. Bargrave. doct. f.
 Gul. Hughes. pl. f.
 Ric. Fletcher. min. f.
 1647. Ric. Immings. cl. f.
 *1650. Nath. Mansfeild. pl. f.
 Edm. Condie. serv.
 1651. Obadiah Bourne. min. f.
 Radulph. Bancks. serv.

¹ 6th Baron. <p. 194> See Foster, under George Brydges. ² Major in the Royal Forces. M.P. for Lichfield. F. ³ † M.P. for Gatton. ⁴ M.P. for Hants and Petersfield. ⁵ 7th Baron. F. <p. 194> ⁶ p. p. = pauper puer, or pauper simply. Students matriculating under this designation paid no matriculation fee, and, probably, were almost invariably servants or servitors. See p. 260, n. 1. ⁷ <pp. 193-4> Son of Speaker Lenthall. M.P. for Gloucester and Abingdon. Created Kt. and Bart. Sometime Governor of Windsor Castle. ⁸ From 1648 to 1660, our only authority for University Matriculations is the Bedel's Book of Fees. which gives the name and condition, but not the parentage or age. From 1648 onwards, the names contained in the University Books which are unrepresented in the College Books become fewer than previously.

1651. Josephus May. pl. f.
 1652. Tim. Langly. serv.
 Jac. Bradshaw. serv.
 1661. Arth. Puntæus¹. g. f.
 1662. Joh. Darell². arm. f.
 1664. Joh. Heddenton. pl. f.
 Ebenezer Fournesse.
 pp^a. f. (= pauperis fil.)
 1665. Rodolph. Egerton. g. f.
 Joh. Foote. pp^a. f.
 Joh. Pumfritt. pp^a. f.
 Joh. Coppock. pl. pp^a. f.
 1666. Sam. Wilhams. pl. pp^a. f.
 Gul. Bett. pl. f.
 Ant. Robinson. min. f.
 1668. Dan. Rosewell. pp^a. f.
 Ric. Hall. pl. f.
 1669. Steph. Thorpe. min. f.
 1670. Josias Weyman. pl. f.
 1671. Chris. Bond. pp^a. f.
 1672. Ric. Payton. pl. f.
 1674. Joh. Boswell. pl. f.
 Joh. Werge. cl. f.
 Tho. Berwick. pl. f.
 1676. Geo. Stoner (?s). pp. f.
 1677. Ric. Souch. pl. f.
 Joh. Bradley. pp. f.
 1678. Sam. Loxton. pp. f.
 1680. Tho. Grosvenor. pl. f.
 Rob. Ashburne. pp. f.
 Ric. Wood. g. f.
 Joh. Greenway. pl. f.
 1681. Ric. Glyde. cl. f.
 Nulin Cossens. pl. f.
 1682. Gul. Hockin. pl. f.
 1683. Ric. Cleare. cl. f.
 Edm. Byron. pp. f.
 Edm. Smith. cl. f.
 Fidelis Cape. pauper.
 Joh. Clifton. pl. f.
 1684. Tho. Berkenhead. pp. f.
 1685. Gul. Ford. cl. f.
 1687. Ric. Fiddis. pl. f. (pp.
 259-60.)
 Gul. Hinde. cl. f.
 1690. Edw. Henninge. pl. f.
 1692. Car. Wereworth. pl. f.
 Jac. Metford. f. Jac. M.
 Basingham. Linc. cl.
 (see pp. 202-3, &c.)
 1693. Rob. Hindley. pp. f.
 Arundelus Raines. 23.
 pl. f.
 1694. Geo. Hayward. g. f.
 1699. Gul. Hall. g. f.
 1700. Gualt. Long Clark. g. f.
 1701. Edw. Acton. cl. f.
 1702. Gul. Jorden. cl. f.
 Joh. King. cl. f.
 1703. Joh. Edwards. g. f.
 1704. Joh. Winsor. pl. f.
 Ric. Bulleine. g. f.
 Edw. Holdsworth. cl. f.
 1705. Vincent Pomfrett. cl. f.
 Gul. Robings. pl. f.
 1707. Hugo Wallington. pl. f.
 Ric. Parkes. pl. f.
 Jonathan Soan. pl. f.
 Ric. Cotton. pl. f.
 1708. Tho. Pearce. pl. f.
 1709. Joh. Sargeant. pl. f.
 Tho. Latter. cl. f.
 Gul. Griffin. pl. f.
 Gul. Edwards. pl. f.³
 1710. Ed. Edwards. pl. f.³
 1714. Aldernus Batten. g. f.⁴
 1715. Joh. Broadway. pl. f.
 Josias Pomfrett. cl. f.
 Joh. Woodford. pl. f.
 Joh. Oakeley. cl. f.
 1716. Phil. Sone. cl. f.
 1717. Hugo Evans. cl. f.
 Rob. Harvey. cl. f.
 1718. Joh. Hutchins. cl. f.

¹ Son of John Puntæus, a celebrated Italian physician living at Salisbury.

² M.P. for Rye and Maidstone. Created a Knight. He was doubtless a Gentleman-Commoner, but the Buttery Books from Oct., 1659, to Oct., 1664, are missing.

³ One of these two was a Chorister. See list of Choristers. ⁴ Entered in Foster's Early Series as Arden Battine.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1721. Jac. Wells. g. f. ¹ | 1733. Joh. Mather. doct. f. |
| 1722. Sam. Purlewent. pl. f. | 1734. Tho. Kingsman. cl. f. |
| 1723. Joh. Rogers. g. f. | Jo. Westcott. cl. f. |
| Matth. Nicholas. cl. f. ² | Reynell Cotton. cl. f. |
| 1725. Gul. Wise. arm. f. | 1735. Ric. Edwards. pl. f. |
| Mich. Barrett. cl. f. | Car. Moore. pl. f. |
| 1726. Joh. Coke. pl. f. 13. | 1736. Geo. Stuckey. pl. f. |
| 1727. Gul. Selater. cl. f. | Joh. Wickham. pl. f. |
| Dan. Chadsley. g. f. | Gul. Jeffreys. cl. f. |
| Joh. Colbrook. g. f. | Tho. Obourn. pl. f. |
| 1732. Gul. Ashweek(ick). g. f. | Josslin Brown. cl. f. |
| 1733. Tho. Coombs. pl. f. | |

From this time onwards the names in the University Matriculation Books and the College Buttery Books strictly correspond. It may be inferred from this fact that henceforth no students were received except such as were recognised by the Statutes in force for the time being.

¹ The names from Wells to Ashwick inclusive are found in the College Battel Books, of which no less than eight belonging to this period are still extant. These were unofficial books containing accounts of the 'battels' or general expenditure of all the actual members of the College, and often included names which were not entered in the more formal and official Buttery Books, confined to members of the College whose status was recognised in the Statutes. These eleven students, therefore, seem to have been either ordinary Commoners, as distinguished from 'Gentlemen-Commoners,' or more probably 'Battelers.' And an inspection of the list will show that the same must have been the case with the majority of those here enumerated from the Restoration onwards. See pp. 259-60, 279-80. The list also, of course, contains the names of servitors, and, possibly, of a few 'famuli Collegii.' See p. 260. ² Fellow of Magdalen. (pp. 279-80.)

LISTS OF FAMULI COLLEGII.

It must be borne in mind that these lists are not continuous. In some cases there are large gaps, as the notices are not contained in any single record and are often very sporadic. They are collected from the early Registers, the Index in the Fulman MSS., vol. xi, Allen's List referred to on pp. 423, 426, a small folio volume containing attestations to oaths taken by Chaplains, Clerks, and Servants, from 1688 to 1852, some other documents in which a few isolated names occur, and recent information.

For some account of the *status* and duties of the under-mentioned officers and servants, I must refer the reader back to pp. 43, 48-9, and 212-213.

CLERICI COMPUTI

(Clerks of Accompt, sometimes designated Stewards).

Trubb, Trobe, or Trubbe ¹ , 1546. Ric. Rawbone ² , 1555. Joyner (? Richard) ³ , 1557. Rob. Englefield , 1582. Wm. Dewey ⁴ , M.A., 1623. Rob. Aisley ⁵ , 1635. Wm. Seymour , 1637.	Rob. Newlyn ⁶ . Joh. How ⁷ , 1648. Tho. Rowney , 1653 ⁸ . Herb. Beaver , M.A., 1716. Tho. Brewer ⁹ , 1768. Joh. Walker , 1770. Wm. Elias Taunton , 1793.
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(When Sir W. E. Taunton died, it was resolved at a meeting, held on Oct. 10, 1825, to discontinue the office and provide for the performance of the duties in some other way. See p. 315.)

OBSONATORES (Manciples).

Ric. Yardeley , 1544. Joh. Tattersall , 1560. Hum. Morrice , 1566. Joh. Middleton ¹⁰ , 1582. Tho. Croydall , 1603. Tho. Seymo(e)r ¹¹ , 162 $\frac{1}{2}$. Joh. Langley ¹² , 1648. Joh. Hester , 172 $\frac{1}{2}$.	Wm. Gee , 1763. Joh. Green , 1800. Joh. Holliday , 1839. Moses Holliday ¹³ , 1844. Joh. Ivory Holliday , 1867. Matt. Ridley ¹⁴ , 1868. Philip Wm. Margetta , 1886.
--	---

¹ Probably he had successively held the offices of Promus and Fam. Præs.

² Probably a former Fam. Præs.

³ See p. 110 &c. of this work.

⁴ De-

signated as 'Cler. Comp. et Senescallus omnium manerorum et domniorum spectantium ad C. C. C.' &c.

⁵ Formerly Fam. Præs.

⁶ Expelled by

Parliamentary Visitors, Oct. 2, 1648 (Burrows). Designated as 'Steward.'

⁷ Appointed by Parliamentary Visitors, Oct. 2, 1648.

⁸ It is stated by Joshua Reynolds see p. 233 that Robert Newlyn was re-appointed at the Restoration, but, as he makes an undoubted mistake with regard to Bowden see p. 459, his authority is doubtful.

⁹ Was he the same as the T. R. appointed Chaplain, Dec. 20, 1764?

¹⁰ Matric. Nov. 28, 1581.

¹¹ Expelled by Parl. Vis. on Oct. 2, 1648 (Burrows).

¹² Appointed by Parl. Vis.

¹³ Mr. Holliday, during part of his tenure, held also the newly-constituted office of Bailiff, which has been since abolished.

¹⁴ The

offices of Manciple and First Cook were now combined.

PROMI (Butlers).

Trubbe ¹ , 1533.	Joh. Parnes, Parne, or Parry ⁴ .
Joh. Baker , 1544.	Nathaniel Wells ⁵ , 1648.
Joh. Tatersall ² , 1546.	Jas. Man ⁶ , 1660.
Hum. Morrice , 1560.	Alex. Pottiphar , 171 $\frac{3}{4}$.
Dotson , 1564.	Rob. Atwood , 1724.
Bartclay , 1566.	Wm. Green , 172 $\frac{5}{8}$.
Joh. Wrighton , 1582.	Wm. Bradley , 17 $\frac{3}{8}$.
Barth. Summerscales . Prob- ably about 1600.	Isaac Parsons , 1757.
Tho. Vallance , 1603.	Wm. Morris , 1785.
Francis Evans , 1608.	Wm. Rogers , 1827.
Joh. Collins , 1618.	Joh. Holliday , 1863.
Tho. Newman ³ , 1627.	Edwin Moody , 1875.

COQUI PRINCIPALES (Head Cooks).

Joh. Falkner , 1533.	Hen. Price ¹¹ .
Luke , 1542.	Tho. Wardway , 1730.
Hen. Godstow , 1546.	Joh. Allen , 1766.
Wm. Webster , 1558.	Joh. Brown , 1784.
Joh. Gylbert ⁷ , 1558.	Rob. James , 1801.
Dan. Aletter , 1567.	Joh. Holliday , 1828.
Joannes Warriner ⁸ , 1589.	Joh. Turfey , 1839.
Joh. Hill ⁹ .	Matt. Ridley ¹² , 1868.
Wm. Adams ¹⁰ , 1648.	Phil. Wm. Margetts , 1886.

SUBCOQUI, COQUI JUNIORES (Second Cooks).

These servants, though reckoned among the 'Famuli Collegii,' changed so frequently, that I do not think it necessary to give any

¹ Afterwards Fam. Præs. and then Cler. Comp.

² There is considerable difficulty with regard to this name, as given in the College Register. In the Index contained in the Fulman MS., there occurs, in Fulman's own handwriting, besides the entry 'Joh. Tattersall Promus, 1546,' the entry, separated from it at some distance, 'Joh. Totersall ad offic. Parvum jurat. v. infr. 35 Henr. 8. Mai. 4' (i. e. May 4, 1543). This entry, no doubt, is taken from one in the College Register, written in a by no means legible hand. I do not think there is any doubt about the name 'Johannes totersall,' but the word after 'officium' is by no means clear, and might, I think, be read 'promi.' If Fulman's reading 'parvum' be correct, I suppose it must refer to a subordinate office of some kind or other, perhaps that of Under Butler.

³ Appointed to execute the office, the stipend given being 3*s.* 4*d.* per term, besides clothes and living (p. 423). He was admitted to the office itself in 1629.

⁴ Mentioned as removed from his office by Parl. Vis., Oct. 2, 1648 (Burrows).

⁵ Appointed by Parl. Vis., Oct. 3, 1648. ⁶ Appointed by Royal Commissioners Head Butler, Aug. 11, 1660. ⁷ Killed by falling from a stage in Ch. Ch. Hall,

at the performance of a Play acted before Queen Elizabeth in 1566. See A. Wood, Annals, *sub anno*. ⁸ Written for him. ⁹ Mentioned as removed by the Parl.

Vis., Oct. 2, 1648 (Burrows). ¹⁰ Appointed by Parl. Vis., Oct. 3, 1648.

¹¹ Appointed by Royal Commissioners, Aug. 11, 1660. ¹² The offices of First Cook and Manciple were now combined.

enumeration of them, except to mention those who gained or suffered by the political vicissitudes of the seventeenth century:—

Hen. Price, Jun. Cook, removed by the Parl. Vis., Oct. 2, 1648 (Burrows).

Edwd. Hawes, appointed by Parl. Vis., Oct. 3, 1648.

Joh. Adams, appointed by the Royal Commissioners, Aug. 11, 1660.

JANITORES (Porters).

As the Porters were assigned the threefold duty of attending to the gates, acting as barbers, and making the wax candles necessary for the use of the College, I have included under the head of 'Janitores' those servants who are described as 'Tonsores,' distinguishing them, however, by a T. Sometimes, probably, they were distinct from the Porters.

Joh. Maderston, T, 1534.

Wm. Butler, 1558.

Joh. Brincknell, T, 1560.

Wm. Ambrose, 1561.

Kirce, T, 1582.

Ric. Chissall, 1582¹.

Tho. Valentine, 1592.

Elys Sumner².

Joh. Hoggarde³.

Joh. Guyes, 1626.

Tho. Bowden or Booden⁴.

Wm. Walker⁴, 1648.

Moses Wiblin, 1718.

Franc. Marriott, 1747.

Pet. Smith, 1756.

Tho. Jackson, 1776.

Tho. Wainwright, 1798.

Jos. Ryman, 1805.

Rob. Barnes, 1845.

Alfred Burrows, 1871 or 2.

FAMULI PRÆSIDIS (President's Servants).

'Volumus igitur ut Præsidentis duos habeat famulos ex Collegii impensis, alterum qui equos curet et ei inserviat, alterum qui ei in singulis obsequiis sit paratus et diligenter intendens.' Stat., Cap. 17. One of these servants seems soon to have come to be called 'equiso' or groom, the other specifically 'famulus Præsidis.' It is probable that the latter, even at an early period, added to whatever might be his other duties those of a secretary or amanuensis. The two first recorded of the 'Clerici Computi' had probably both been previously 'famuli Præsidis.' This was undoubtedly the case with **Robert Aisley**. **Hugh Collins** and **Henry Silly** seem to have become Notaries Public, and, indeed, probably executed the office while still in the service of the President. Henry Silly attests documents, as a Notary Public, almost immediately after his appointment. **John Dewhurst**, another Fam. Præs., appears from the dates to have become a Chaplain. With

¹ So in Fulman's Index. In Allen's List, Cheeswell.
² Both appointed some time before 1609, as Allen's List appears to have been made up to date, in 1608.
³ Mentioned as removed by the Parl. Visitors, Oct. 2, 1648 (Burrows). It is stated by Metford (see p. 233) that Bowden became Butler at the Restoration, but the statement is refuted by the College Register. See above under 'Promi.'
⁴ Appointed by Parl. Vis., Oct. 3, 1648.

regard to the possibility of **John Spenser** (subsequently President) having been at one time a Fam. Præs., see p. 143, note 1. On the subsequent discontinuance of these servants I shall speak presently.

Joh. Vrine (Hoorne or Oram),
Equiso, 1535.

Trubb, Trubbe, or Trobe¹,
Fam. Præs., 1540.

Ric. Bedle, Equ., 1541.

Ric. Rawbone², F. Pr., 1546.

Tho. Collins, F. Pr., 1555.

Wm. Newcum, F. Pr., 1558.

Wm. Tattersall, F. Pr., 1560.

Joh. Boucher, F. Pr., 1561.

Hen. Shirburne, Equ., 1562.

Price, F. Pr., 1566.

Chris. Leyster, F. Pr., 1582.

Hen. Pilgrime, Equ., 1593.

Hen. Keepe, F. Pr., 1592.

Ric. Keepe, F. Pr., 1593.

Joh. Philips³, Equ., 1597.

Wm. Harrison, Groom, was ordered to be expelled by the Committee of Lords and Commons, Aug. 1, 1648. (Burrows.)

Izhard, F. Pr., specifically so called, is stated by Metford to have been expelled, but his name does not occur in the Visitors' Register. See p. 214.

Ric. Axtell, F. Pr., 1658.

Wm. Broughton, F. Pr., 1597.

Joh. Piper, F. Pr., 1598.

Raimundus Osbaston, F. Pr.,
1599.

Edouardus Stevens, F. Pr.,
1600.

Joh. Dewhurst⁴, F. Pr., 1603.

Joh. Wood, F. Pr., 1610⁵.

Hen. Cubb, F. Pr. ? between
1595 and 1600.

Gul. Bodyn, Equ. Probably
before 1609.

Chris. Spencer, F. Pr., 1612.

Hugo Collins⁶, F. Pr., 1618.

Hen. Silly⁷, F. Pr., 1630.

Rob. Aisley⁸, F. Pr., 1635.

Joh. Axtell, Equ., 1658.

It is noteworthy that both the Axtells took the oath, prescribed in the Statutes, as all their predecessors had done. But the small folio, to which I have referred above (p. 457), though it contains attestations to the oaths of all the other 'Famuli Collegii' from 1713 to 1845 (and indeed of the Chaplains and Clerks from 1688), has no mention whatever of the 'Famuli Præsidis.' It would seem as if, after the Revolution, even if not before, their position had undergone some essential change, and they were no longer so definitely connected with the College as before. Still, in a book entitled 'Old Orders and Rules,' there is an allowance, under the date of Feb. 17, 1683, to 'the President's man,' for candles; and, even in Dr. Randolph's time, the

¹ Probably the same who was Promns in 1533, and became Cler. Com. in 1546.

² Probably the same who became Cler. Com. in 1555. ³ From Philips to Wood, both inclusive, the names in the Register are written for them. ⁴ Probably this is

the same John Dewhurst who took the B.A. Degree in 1608, and became Chaplain in 1610. ⁵ It is probable, or, indeed, almost certain, that many of those entered at

this time under the name of Fam. Præs. were really 'equisones,' who, of course, had a title to be called by the generic name. ⁶ The same who afterwards signs

the register as a Notary Public. ⁷ There can be no doubt, from the handwriting, that this is the same H. S. who, within a month after his own admission as F. Pr.,

attests the admission of a Scholar, as a Notary Public. ⁸ Admitted Cler. Comp. June 12 following. There is no doubt as to the identity of the handwriting.

'Acts and Proceedings of C. C. C.,' which begin with his Presidency, record his nomination of the following persons as 'President's Servant:'

1757. **Thomas Bradley** in place of **Isaac Parsons**, appointed Butler.

1760. **John Hedges**.

1761. **William Gee**, afterwards Manciple.

1763. **William Gosford Mott**, in place of **Gee**¹.

After this time no appointments are recorded, and there seems to be no evidence of the Fam. Præs. and Equiso battling in any Buttery Book subsequent to that for 1773-4. But the names are still entered *pro forma* in the Buttery Books down to the introduction of the New Statutes in 1855, and the Presidents received a money allowance for two servants, varying, like most of the other allowances, from year to year. Meanwhile, all traces of any connexion of the President's private servant or servants with the College, or of the College groom, in any special sense, with the President, seem to have disappeared.

SERVITORS.

Besides the 'Famuli Collegii' who were recognized in the Statutes, there were probably, from a very early period in the history of the College, youths attached to the service of some of the Gentlemen-Commoners or Fellows individually, and, subsequently, to that of the College generally. These were called Servitors, and were usually poor students, matriculated in the University. See pp. 43, 50, 226, 260, 426. Several of them are no doubt included in the list given on pp. 451-6, and others possibly in the list given on p. 426. See note 3 on that page.

In the Index to vol. xi of the Fulman MSS. there occur the entries: **George Roper**, Fam., 1533; **Thurstian Whitaker**, Lixa, 1612; **Style**, Tegull., 1566, and **Tho. Stiles**, Teg., 1582, the two last (if they are distinct persons) being probably tilers or thatchers temporarily residing in the College for the purpose of repairing the roofs.

¹ While the 'President's servant' was becoming more distinctly a private servant, the 'Equiso' or 'Groom' seems to have been becoming more distinctly a common servant of the College. Thomas Miller, Joseph Miller, and Thomas Jackson are mentioned in this capacity in the years 1759 and 1762.

NAMES WITHOUT ANY SPECIFIC DESIGNATION.

In the Index in vol. xi of the Fulman MSS. there occur the following names without any designation affixed to them :—

¹ **Dun**, 1522, probably same as **John Dunne**, **Done**, or **Donne**, Fellow, 1523.

¹ **Dyot**, 1522, probably same as **John Dyott**, Scholar, 1524.

Kinge, 1522, possibly identical with **Thomas King**, B.A., 1524 (given in Foster).

¹ **Perrot**, 1528, probably same as **Clement Perrott**, Scholar of C. C. C., 1530, afterwards Fellow of Lincoln. F.

¹ **Garret**, 1530, probably same as **John Garrett**, Scholar, 1532.

Mussell, 1536, possibly same as **John Mussell**, B.C.L., sup. 1538. F.

Metcalf, 1571, possibly same as **Wm. Medecalf**, B.A., 1574. F.

Paul Browne, 1573, probably a Chorister, and same as **P. B.** of Magdalen. F.

Villers, 1578. This may be **Pet. Lozillerius Villers**, a French refugee, admitted D.D., 1576, who is said by Wood (*Fasti*, i. 202) to 'have lived in Ch. Ch. for some time.' He may also have been entertained at Corpus, or there may be the frequent confusion between the two Colleges.

Of **Saxbey**, 1530, and **Horton**, 1533, there does not seem to be any probable identification.

¹ All these persons were probably at Corpus in some other capacity, before their election to a Scholarship or Fellowship.

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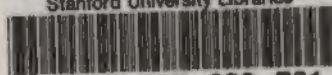
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